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RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE,
TRICHUR, COCHIN STATE.

ART. I.—*On the Jaina Poem Râghavapâṇḍavîya: a Reply to Prof. Max Müller.* By K. B. PATHAK, B.A.

[Read 19th July 1900.]

Prof. Max Müller, in his letter prefixed to the English translation of I-tsing's record of Buddhist practices in the West,[1] attributes to me a statement which needs correction. After telling his readers that Vâmana, the author of the Kâvyâlaṅkâra-sûtras, quotes the Râghavapâṇḍavîya of Kavirâja, the Professor proceeds to say: "Pathak in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1883, p. 20, tries to ascribe the poem to Ârya Śrutakîrti, Śaka 1045." This statement is obviously due to the learned Professor's ignorance of the fact that there are two Sanskrit poems called Râghavapâṇḍavîya. The one that the Professor is speaking of is the Brahminical work of that name, which contains 13 cantos. It was composed by Kavirâja, a contemporary of King Kâmadêva of the Kadamba dynasty, who reigned at Jayantîpur or Banavâsi in the North Kanara District.[2] The other poem of the same name, which is divided into 18 cantos and which forms the subject of my introductory remarks in the *Indian Antiquary*, is the work of the well-known Digambara Jaina author Dhanañjaya. These facts were clearly stated by me in a footnote to my paper[3]; and it is therefore a matter for deep regret that the learned Professor should have fallen into the error of supposing that I tried to ascribe the Brahminical work to the Jaina author Ârya Śrutakîrti. It is the Jaina poem with which I was concerned in my paper on the Terdâl Inscription; and the views which I expressed there concerning the date and the authorship of the Jaina work have since received an interesting confirmation from facts which have recently come to light.

In the inscription at Terdâl Mâghanandi Saiddhântika is spoken of as a famous Jaina ascetic of Kolhâpura. His teacher was Kulachandra and his disciples were king Sâmanta Nimba, Kanakanandi and Śrutakîrti-traividya. If we turn to the Inscription No. 40 at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, we find that this same Jaina ascetic Mâghanandi Saiddhântika is described therein with all the above particulars. We are told;

तस्य श्रीकुळचन्द्रपण्डितमुनेर्शिष्यो विनेयस्तुत-
स्सद्वृत्तः कुळचन्द्रदेवमुनिपस्सिद्धान्तविद्यानिधिः ।
तच्छिष्योऽजनि माघनन्दिमुनिपः कोल्लापुरे तीर्थकृ-
त्सिद्धान्तार्णवपारगोऽचळधृतिश्चारित्रचक्रेश्वरः ॥

TRANSLATION.

The disciple of that good ascetic named the holy Kulabhûshaṇa was the great ascetic Kulachandradêva, whose conduct was good and who was the repository of scriptural learning. His disciple was the eminent ascetic Mâghanandi, who was born at Kolhâpura, who was well versed in the ocean-like doctrines of Tîrthaṅkara, whose courage was unshaken and who was a very emperor in good conduct.

This inscription supplies some interesting literary information. It says :—

Śrutakîrtti-traividya- |
vrati Râghava-Pâṇḍavîyamaṃ vibudha-chamat- |
kṛiti yenisi gata-pratyâ- |
gatadiṃ pêḷd amala-kîrttiyaṃ prakaṭisidaṃ ||

TRANSLATION.

The ascetic Śrutakîrti-traividya achieved a brilliant fame by composing the Râghavapâṇḍavîya which must be read forwards and backwards and which is the wonder of the learned.

From this verse it is clear that Śrutakîrti-traividya wrote the Jaina Râghavapâṇḍavîya and we also learn from the same inscription that he had Devakîrti for his colleague. The last-named ascetic[5] died in Śaka 1085. Now the verses in the Śravaṇa Belgoḷa inscription, which ascribe the poem to Śrutakîrti are quoted from the well-known Kanarese work, the Pampa-Râmâyaṇa, the date of which, as I have pointed out, is Śaka 1076. This date has now been accepted by Mr. Rice in his introduction to the second edition of that interesting Kanarese work. We have now three important facts before us :—

(1) The Terdâḷ Inscription mentions Śrutakîrti-traividya in Śaka 1045, but is silent as regards his authorship of the Râghavapâṇḍavîya.

(2) Abhinava-Pampa[6] ascribes the poem to Śrutakîrti-traividya in Śaka 1076.

(3) The Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa Inscription (No. 40, Śaka 1085) quotes Abhinava-Pampa's verses ascribing the poem to Śrutakîrti-traividya and identifies the latter with the ascetic of that name mentioned in the Terdâḷ Inscription.

From these facts it is easy to conclude that Śrutakîrti's work had not yet been composed in Śaka 1045, whereas between Śaka 1076 and 1085 it was regarded as a well-known poem. It is also interesting to note that Pampa speaks of it as "the wonder of the learned, by which

Śrutakîrti had achieved a brilliant reputation.'[1] From these expressions it is allowable to infer that Pampa knew of only one Jaina poem called Râghavapâṇḍavîya, which was praised by every body. Now in Vikrama Saṃvat 1197 or Śaka 1062, Vardhamâna, the author of the Gaṇaratnamahôdadhi and a distinguished Jaina scholar, frequently quotes[7] the Râghavapâṇḍavîya of Dhanañjaya. We must also remember that Durgasiṃha, a contemporary of the Chalukya king Jagadêkamalla II. (Śaka 106-72), says[8] that Dhanañjaya became the lord of Sarasvatî by composing the Râghavapâṇḍavîya. This must be identical with the work of Śrutakîrti who was living in Śaka 1045. It would be absurd to suppose that two Sanskrit poems bearing the same title and having a double meaning, could have been produced by two Jaina writers of the Digambara sect in the short interval between Śaka 1045 and 1062. If such had been the case, Śrutakîrti's work would have ceased to be "the wonder of the learned" in Śaka 1076. It is therefore clear that Dhanañjaya was another name of Śrutakîrti, and that the composition of his work must be placed between Śaka 1045 and 1062. I need hardly add that Dhanañjaya was a distinguished Jaina author of the Digambara sect and mentions[9] Akalaṅkadêva and Pûjyapâda as his predecessors. These facts will not fail to convince Sanskrit scholars that the Jaina Râghavapâṇḍavîya, which is also called Dvisandhânakâvya, is the work of Dhanañjaya who was also known to his contemporaries as Śrutakîrti-traividya, that it was composed between Śaka 1045 and 1062 and that it is altogether different from the poem ascribed to Kavirâja.

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[1] I-tsing's Records of Buddhist practices in the West, translated by J. Takakusu, B.A., Ph.D. 1896.

[2] Kavirâja's Râghavapâṇḍavîya, Canto I.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV., p. 14.

[4] Inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgol, ed. by Mr. Rice, No. 40.

[5] *Ibid.* No 39.

[6] Spoken of as Abhinava or new Pampa to distinguish him from an olde author of the same name. Introduction to Śabdânuśâsana, ed. by Mr. Rice.

[7] Dr. Bhandarkar's Report for 1884-87, p. 20.

[8] Durgasiṃha's Introduction to his Kanarese Pañchatantra.

[9] Dhanañjaya-kôśa.

ART. II.—*The ancient name of Sanjân.* By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.

[Read 23rd August 1900.]

Sanjân is a small town on the B. B. and C. I. Railway, 90 miles from Bombay. The subject of this paper is to ascertain whether it is the Sindân of the Arab geographers of the 10th and 11th centuries as stated by the *Bombay Gazetteer* (Vol. XIV Thana), and whether it is the town of Hanjamana (हंजमन) referred to in the three Silhâra grants[1] of the 10th and 11th centuries.

Sanjân is a town well known in the history of the Parsees. As the *Bombay Gazetteer*[2] says, "it was here that, about the year 720, a band of Persian refugees settled." Kisseh-i-Sanjân, *i.e.*, the episode or story of Sanjân, is the name of a small Persian poem, written, not in very elegant verses, by one Bahman Kekobâd Hormuzd-yâr Sanjânâ in the year 969 Yazdazardi (1600 A. D.).[3] Therein are described the events that brought the Parsee emigrants to the town of Sanjân, and then led them to settle in the different parts of Gujarât.

I.

The *Gazetteer* says of this town:—

"By the Arab geographers of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, Sanjân, under the name Sindân, is repeatedly mentioned as one of the chief ports of Western India. In the 10th century (915) it is described as famous for the export of an emerald equal to the best in brightness and colour, but harder and heavier, known as the Mecca emerald, because it passed through Arabia. It is also described as a great, strong city with a Jâma mosque. In the twelfth century it is mentioned as populous, the people noted for industry and intelligence, rich and warlike, the town large, and with a great export and import trade."

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[1] (*a*) Asiatic Researches I, p. 357. Paper by General Carnac. (*b*) *Indian Antiquary* V, p. 276. Paper by Dr. Bühler. (*c*) *Indian Antiquary* IX, p. 33. Paper by Mr. Justice Telang.

[2] Vol. XIV (Thana). p. 301.

[3] It is translated into English verse by Lieut. Eastwick. Journal, B. B. R. Asiatic Society, Vol. I, p. 167.

Let us examine how far this statement of the *Gazetteer* is correct. The writer of the above passage bases his description on the authority of the well known Arab writers, Ebn Haukal (950 A. D.), Idrisi (1130 A. D.), Maçoudi (943 A. D.), Istakhri (950 A. D.) and others. As the writer has not given direct references to the works of these authors, except in the case of Maçoudi, it appears that he has taken for his authority the extracts of their works in Eliot's History of India.[4]

Firstly, let us examine the references to Ebn Haukal. According to Eliot's manuscript, Ebn Haukal gives the names of the following towns in Hind[5]:—Fâmhal, Kambâya, Sûrbârah, Sindân, Salmûr, Multân, Hadrawur, and Basmat. According to Gildemeister's manuscript,[6] the names of the towns are Kâmuhul, Kambâya, Subâra, Asûvil, Hanâvil, Sindân, Salmûr, Bani Battan, Jandarûz, Sandaruz. According to Ousley's manuscript,[7] the names of the towns in Hind are Seidan سيدان Meimoun, Multan and Heidour.

Thus we see that one manuscript of Ebn Haukal gives, as principal towns in Hind, the names of 8 towns, another manuscript those of 10 towns, and a third, of 4 towns. Again, we find a difference in the names of one and the same town, in different manuscripts. This is due to the carelessness, at first of the writer, and then of the copyists, in not putting carefully the diacritical points over the letters. We find, even the celebrated geographer Aboulfida (A. D. 1273 to 1331) complaining about it. He says, "The book of Ebn Haukal is a work of considerable length, in which the different countries are described with sufficient exactness. But neither are the names of places marked by the proper points, nor are their longitudes or latitudes expressed; this frequently occasions an uncertainty respecting the places, proper names, &c."[8]

Leaving aside the names of the other cities of Hind, we find that the town spoken of as Sindân in the manuscripts of Eliot and Gildemeister, is Seidan in Ousley's manuscript. But later on (p. 154), where the "distances of places" in Sind and part of Hind are spoken

[4] History of India, Vol. I., pp. 26-130.

[5] History of India, Vol. I., p. 34. [6] *Ibid*, note 1.

[7] The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal, by Sir William Ousley, p. 147.

[8] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. XVIII. "Il y manque la-manière dont doivent se prononcer les noms de-lieux." Géographie d'Aboulféda par M. Reinaud Tome I, p. I.

of, we find the name as Sindân سندان even in Ousley's manuscript. Thus, though there is a little uncertainty about the correct name of the place, we would proceed with our examination of the name taking it to be Sindân.

According to Ebn Haukal "Kambâya is one parasang distant from the sea, and about four from Sûbâra, which is about half a parasang from the sea. From Sûbâra to Sindân, which is the same distance from the sea, is about five[9] days' journey; from Sindân to Saimûr about five; from Saimûr to Sarandip about fifteen."[10] This is according to the manuscript of Eliot. Ousley gives these distances according to his manuscript as follows:—" Sourbah is near the sea: from Sindân to Sourbah is five merileh."[11]

We find from these two passages of the two different manuscripts of Ebn Haukal, that what is spoken of as Sûbâra in one, is Sourbah سوربا in the other. Sûbâra is probably a more correct reading. It is identified with the Sarpâraka of the copper-plate inscriptions, with the Sûrpâraka of the Mahâbhârata and with the modern Sopârâ near Bassein.[12] Thus, according to Ebn Haukal, Sindân is 5 days' journey from modern Sopârâ. So if the town of Sanjân in Konkan is the Sindân of Ebn Haukal, it is five days' journey from Sopârâ. A day's journey, or merileh (مرحلة) as it is called, is, according to Edrisi's Geography, 30 miles.[13] So the distance by miles, between Sanjân and Sopârâ, would be about 150 miles. But we know, as a matter of fact, that it is not more than 52 miles, or more than two days' journey.

Again, according to the above passage, Kambâya, which the *Gazetteer* identifies with Cambay, is one parasang, *i.e.*, about $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles from the sea and four parasangs, *i.e.*, about 15 miles from Subâra, which the *Gazetteer* identifies with the modern Sopârâ near Bassein. We know,

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[9] As corrected by Eliot (p. 39 note). According to Gildemeister's manuscript it is 10 (*ibid*). Ousley's text gives 5. Ousley's text differs a good deal from Eliot's.

[10] Eliot's History of India, p. 39.

[11] Ousley's Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal, p. 154.

[12] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX., p. 44.

[13] Ousley's Oriental Geography, Preface p. XXII note. "évaluant la journée à 30 milles" (Géographie d'Êdrisi, par Jaubert: Tome II., p. 231 cinquième climat première section). 60 milles ou 2 journées (*Ibid*, p. 232).

as a matter of fact, that the distance between Cambay and Sopara is not so short as 15 miles. It is nearly 270 miles.

These calculations of distances tend to show that the Sindân, referred to above by Ebn Haukal, is not the Sanjân of the Konkan but some other town near Cambay. It is another Sindân spoken of as Kachh Sindân in Eliot's History[14] and as the Cutch Sindân (Sandhan) by the *Gazetteer* itself.[15]

We will now examine the reference to the Arab Geographer Edrisi. He says, "From Subâra to Sindân is considered five days. Sindân is a mile and a half from the sea. . . . . East of Sindân there is an island bearing the same name and dependent on India. It is large and well cultivated, and the cocoa-nut palm, kanâ and rattan grow there."[16]

We have seen in the case of the reference in Ebn Haukal, that if the Soubârâ referred to, is the modern Sopârâ the Sindân, referred to, as being 5 days' journey from it, is not the Konkan Sanjân. In the same way the reference in this passage clearly shows that the Sindân of Edrisi cannot be the Konkan Sanjân. Here it is said that there is an island of the same name on the east of Sindân, but we know, as a matter of fact, that there is no sea at all on the east of modern Sanjân. The sea is on the west of it. Suppose, for argument's sake that the writer meant to say "west" instead of "east." Such slips of words may occur.[17] But then, even on the west of the Konkan Sanjân we have no island. So it seems to be clear that the Sindân of Edrisi is not the Sanjân of Konkan.

We now come to the direct references of the *Gazetteer* to the Arab writer Maçoudi. This writer, as it appears from his writings, had come personally to India, and so his references to Sindân and Soufâreh, are not made with any second-hand knowledge. While

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[14] I, p. 450, n. 2. [15] Vol. XIV, p. 302, note 4.

[16] Eliot's History of India, Vol. I., p. 85. Joubert also gives a similar version. 'De Soubara à Sendan, on compte également 5 journées. Sendan سندان à un mille et demi de la mer 'est bien peuplée, et ses habitants se font remarquer par leur industrie et leur intelligence ; ils sont riches et d'humeur belliqueuse. La ville est grande ; elle fait un grand commerce d'exportation et d' importation." A l'est de Sendan est une île du même nom, grande, bien cultivée, ou croissent le cocotier, le palmier, le cana et le retting, et qui dépend de l'Inde." Géographie d'Edrisi. par Joubert, Tome I, p. 172.

[17] Vide *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX., p. 44. for one such instance.

speaking on the subject of the flux and reflux of waters, *i.e.*, on ebb and tide, he says:—

Voici ce que j'ai vu dans l'Inde, sur le territoire de la ville de Cambaye (كنبايةر) célèbre par ses sandales, nommées sandales de Cambaye, qui y sont d'usage, ainsi que dans les villes voisines, telles que Sendan et Soufareh (سندان و سوفارة). J'étais à Cambaye dans l'année 303."[18]

In this passage Maçoudi speaks of Sindân and Soufâreh as towns in the neighbourhood of Cambay. In his quotation from Maçoudi, the writer of the *Gazetteer*[19] makes Maçoudi say that the town of Sindân was "near Sufâreh and south of Cambay." But we find from the above quotation that Maçoudi, at least the manuscript of Barbier de Meynard, says nothing about Sindân being south of Cambay. However, that is not an important point. This reference, then, shows that we must look for the town of Sindân somewhere near Cambay and not at Sanjân in the Konkan. There is another reference to Sindân[20] in Maçoudi in Chap. XVI, where he speaks about an Indian Gulf. That reference also shows that we must look for this Sindân near a gulf somewhere near Cambay and not in the Konkan. A third reference,[21] wherein Maçoudi says that the best emeralds came from Sindân, also points to the neighbourhood of Cambay for the situation of Sindân.

Now we come to the references in Istakhri. Among the cities of Hind he enumerates "Amhal, Kambâya, Sûbâra, Sindân, Saimûr, Multân, Jandrud and Basmand."[22] Then speaking about the distances between the different places, he says: "From Kambâya to Sûrabâya[23] about four days, and Sûrabûya is about half a parasang from the sea.

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[18] Maçoudi par B. de. Meynard, Vol. I., pp. 253-54.

[19] Vol. XIV., p. 302, note 4. [20] Maçoudi par B. de Meynard, Vol. I., p. 330, Chap. XVI. "Puis vient la mer Larawi, qui baigne les territoires de Seimour, Soubarch, Tabeh, Sindan, Kambaye et autres, faisant partie de l'Inde et du Sind."

[21] *Ibid*, Vol. III., p. 47. "Une province de l'Inde, le Sindân et les environs de Kambaye dans les états du Balhara roi de Mankir fournissent une espèce d'émeraude. . ."

[22] Eliot I, p. 27.

[23] According to Abu-l-Fedâ, Sûfâra, Sûfâla, Sûbâra are variant forms. Eliot I., p. 402.

Between Sûrabâya and Sindân about five days."[24] These distances given by Istakhri, which are the same as those given by the Arab Geographer Ebn Haukal and Edrisi, also tend to show that the Sûrabâya and Sindân, referred to by him, are not the Sopârâ and Sanjân of Konkan, because the actual distance betwen them is not 5 days' journey as stated by him. Istakhri[25] further says that there are Jamâ Masjids in all the above towns of Hind enumerated by him. This reference to the Jamâ Masjid also shows that it is not the Konkan Sindân or Sanjan that Istakhri refers to, but it is the Cutch Sindân. We will touch upon this point later on.

I think, therefore, that the town of Sindân, referred to by the above Arab geographers, is not the Konkan Sanjân but the town of Sindân in Cutch. It is the same as the Sindân referred to by Ibn Khurdadba in his Kitabu-l-Masâlik wa-l-Mamâlik[26] as being situated in the countries of Sind. It is the same as the Sindân referred to by Al Bilâduri in his Futuhu-l-Buldân as the town where a large Jâmi Masjid was built by Fazl, son of Mâhân.[27]

This reference to the Jâmi Masjid tends to show that the Sindân referred to by the Arab geographers was not the Sindân of Konkan as supposed by the *Gazetteer*, but the Sindân of Cutch. About this Sindân, where Fazl had built a large Jâmi Masjid, as referred to by Ibn Khurdâdba, Eliot says, that "the town here spoken of is more probably the Sindân or Sandân in Abrâsa, the southern district of Kachh."[28] Giving a reference to the statement of the above Arab author Al Bilâduri and to the above statement of Eliot, the *Gazetteer*, on their authority, says : "Besides the Konkan Sindân the Arab geographers of that time mention the Cutch Sandhân.[29]

Thus we see that it is to the Cutch Sindân that the Arab geographers refer to, when they speak of the Jâmi Masjid as being in the town of Sindân and not the Konkan Sindân. So, also, the Arab geographers, Ebn Haukal[30] and Istakhri,[31] when they speak of mosques in the town of Sindân, refer to the Cutch Sindân and not the Konkan Sindân.

Thus all the Arab authors referred to by the *Gazetteer*, *viz.*, Ebn Haukal, Maçoudi, Edrisi, Istakhri, do not refer at all to the Konkan

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[24] Eliot I., p. 30.
[25] Eliot I., p. 27.
[26] Eliot's History of India I., p. 14.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 129, p. 450.
[28] Eliot I., p. 450.
[29] *Gazetteer*, Vol. XIV., p. 302, n. 4.
[30] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 147.
[31] Eliot I., p. 27.

Sindân or modern Sanjân. I also think that the Sufâra, Sufâla, Subâra, &c., referred to by them is not the modern Sopârâ of Konkan near Bassein.

II.

Now, before coming to the second part of our paper, we will pause a little and inquire who it was that, according to the Parsee tradition, as noted in the Kisseh-i-Sanjân, first called the place (Konkan Sindân) Sanjân.

In the Kisseh-i-Sanjân,[32] referred to above, it is said that Sanjân was so named by the leaders of the Parsee emigrants who settled there. The poem says that after their final defeat at the hands of the Arabs in the battle of Nehâvand (in 841 A. D.) the Parsees wandered for 100 years in the mountains of Khorâssân, and then settled for 15 years in the island of Hormuz. They then betook themselves to the shores of India, where they landed in Div, in Kathiâwâr, and stopped there for 19 years. Thence they sailed to Gujarat, and landed at a place which they latterly named Sanjân. Thus it was in the year 775 that the place was named Sanjân.

The poem says that the leader, a Dastur, of the emigrants went to the ruler of that place, who was named Jâdi Râná, and explained to him the circumstances under which they had left their country and had come to India, and solicited the favour of the allotment of a place where they could make their abode. The Râjâ, after making certain inquiries from the new-comers, and after making certain conditions, welcomed them to his shores and allotted them a piece of ground where they could settle themselves. It was at first a desert-like place, but they soon turned it into a habitable place.

[33] بدشتی در قبول افتاد یکجای
زمین خوش بود آنجا کرد ماوای
قبول افتاد مردم را در آنجا
ز جنگل باز شهری شد پیدا

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[32] The Revâyet that is being published by Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwâlâ, pp. 344-394 Journal of the B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I., pp. 167-191.

[33] Mr. Manockji Rustamji Unwala's printed Revayet, p. 348, Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I., p. 173.

همه جنگل بیابان بود ویران
فرو آمد همه برنا و پیران
چون دستور آن زمین نیکرا دید
در آنجا بهر ماندن جای بنگزید
مر اورا نام سنجان کرد دستور
بسان ملک ایران گشت معمور

Translation.—A place in the desert was accepted. The ground was excellent, and they made it their place of abode. The place was acceptable to all persons. A city was created where there was formerly a desert. It was an uncultivated and an unpopulated desert. All the young and the old landed there. When the Dastur saw this good place, he found it to be a proper place for abode. The Dastur gave it the name of Sanjân, and it was made prosperous like the country of Irân.

According to this passage, then, it was the Parsees who had first named it Sanjân. Now the question is, why it was named Sanjân by the Parsees. One may say that it was so named after a town of that name in Persia. As modern colonists name the new towns in their adopted country after the names of the towns of their mother-country, *e. g.*, New England, New York, so the ancient Parsees perhaps named their new place of abode Sanjân, after a town of the same name in their mother-country of Persia. We find that there were several towns in Persia of the name of Sanjân. In Barbier de Meynard's Dictionary of the Geography of Persia, under the head سنجان Sanjân (Sendjân), we find four towns of the name of Sanjân: (1) A town near the gates of Merw; (2) a locality in the country of Bab-el-Abwab (Derbend); (3) a locality situated near Niçabour (Nishapour); and (4) a town in the district of Khawaf (Koraçan).[34]

Now, as according to the Kisseh-i-Sanjân, after the fall of their empire at the hands of the Arabs, the Parsees had wandered for about 100 years in the mountainous country of Khorassan, before leaving the shores of Persia, one may say that it is very likely that they named their new place of abode after the town of Sanjân in Khorassan, whose memory was fresh in their mind. The last line of the above passage from Kisseh-i-Sanjân is بسان ملک ایران گشت معمور *i. e.*, it became prosperous like the country of Irân. This leads

[34] Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique et Littéraire de la Perse, par C. Barbier de Meynard, p. 323.

us to say that it is probable that the new town derived its name at the hand of the Parsees.[35]

III.

Now we come to the second part of our paper. The *Bombay Gazetteer* says: "In three Silhâra grants of the tenth and eleventh centuries Sanjân is probably referred to under the name of Hanjaman."[36] The writer of the *Gazetteer* does not say on what grounds he bases his statement. He does not suggest the grounds of probability. I beg to state here some facts which supply the grounds for that probability.

The three Silhâra grants, referred to by the *Gazetteer*, are the following:—

The first grant found in Thana is that of the King Ariećsari Dêvarâja of the Silhâra dynasty in Saka 939 (*i. e.*, A. D. 1018).[37]

The words of the grant, referring to the city of Hanyamana as translated by Pandit Râmalochan and communicated by General Carnac, are as follows:—

"The fortunate Ariećsari Dêvarâja, Sovereign of the great circle, thus addresses even all who inhabit the city Sri Sthânaca, his own kinsmen and others there assembled, princes, councillors, priests, ministers, superiors, inferiors, subject to his commands, also the lords of districts, the governors of towns, chiefs of villages, the masters of families, employed or unemployed servants of the king, and his countrymen. Thus he greets all the holy men and others inhabiting the city of Hanyamana."[38]

The second grant referred to by the *Gazetteer* is that of Chhittarâja-deva, Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara of Konkan in Saka 948 (*i. e.*, 1026 A. D.)[39] The plate of the grant belonged to Mr. Hormusji Cursetji Ashburner,

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[35] We have a similar instance in the case of the name of the town of Nowsaree. According to the Parsee tradition, the Parsee emigrants there named the town Nao-sari, *i. e.*, New Sari, because the climate there resembled that of the town of Sari in Persia. The *Gazetteer* says that the story that "Navasari got its name from the Pârsis is incorrect, as Navsari is shown in Ptolemy's map."* But it is probable that the Parsees, finding the name of the place similar to that of a town in Persia, persianized it a little.

* Nasaripa. Ptolemæi Geographiæ Libri octo Græcco-Latini à Petro Montano recogniti. (Fol Amsterdam, 1605, p. 168.)

[36] XIV., p. 302. [37] Asiatic Researches, Vol. I., p. 357.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 361.

[39] Indian Antiquary, Vol. V., p. 276, Sept. 1876—Article by Dr. Bühler.

and was found on his family property near Bhandup in about 1836. The donor of the grant is Chhittarâjadeva of the Silahara or Silâra dynasty, and the donee is one Âmadevaiya. The field granted "was situated in the village of Noura, now Nowohor, belonging to the vishaya or tâlukâ of Shatshashṭhî, the modern Salsette, and included in Shristhânaka or Thânâ." The words of the grant, where the town of Hanjaman is referred to, are as follow :—

"The great provincial chief, the illustrious Chhittarâjadeva addresses with salutations, worship and respect all the assembled men of royal caste, ministers, Purohitas, councillors, chief and minor officials, whether connected with himself or strangers, as well as the lords of râshtras (zillâs), the lords of vishayas (tâlukâs), the lords of towns, the lords of villages, officials, and non-official persons, servants of the king, and *rayats*, likewise the citizens of the town of Hanyamana,[40] belonging to the three (twice-born) castes and others as follows . . . ."

The third grant[41] is that of the illustrious Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara, King Anantadêva, the emperor of Konkan in Saka 1016 (*i. e.*, 1094 A. D.). The donees are "two persons, the great Minister Sri Bhabhana Sreshṭhi and his brother."[42] The subject of the grant is the release of the toll duties. The words of the grant are as follow :—

"Illustrious Mahâmaṇḍlêśvara, King Anantadêva, announces with salutations, honour, respect, and directions, to all princes, councillors, priests, ministers, principal and subordinate officers, both those connected with himself and others, as also all heads of râshtras, heads of vishayas, heads of towns, heads of villages, royal officials specially appointed or not, country people, as well as townspeople of the town Hanjamana of the three classes and so forth . . . ."[43]

The translators of these three grants have thrown no light upon the word Hanyamana or Hanjamana. The translators of the first two grants, Pandit Râmalochan and Dr. Bühler, have said nothing

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[40] The words in the Sanskrit text are हंयमननगरपौरत्रिवर्गप्रभृतीश्च (p. 278, plate II.A., l. 11).

[41] Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX., p. 33, February 1880—Article by the late Mr. Justice Telang.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

[43] The words in the text about the town of Hanjamana are हंजमननगर पौरत् (त्रि) वर्गप्रभृतीश्च. *Ibid.*, p. 35, Plate III, l. 10.

about it. The translator of the third grant, Mr. Justice Telang, says about this word: "I do not understand this." [44] Further on he says: "I can say nothing about Hanjamana." [45]

It is probable that Hanjaman was another name by which the Parsee town of Sanjân was known by the Hindu rulers and by the people. Two facts are disclosed by the Silhâra grants. Firstly, the donors address the tenor of their grants in general terms to all the people of the country, to members of the royal family, to their high and low officials, to officials and non-officials, to all their *rayat*, and then make a special reference to the people of the town of Hanjamana. Why were these people not included in the general terms of the address in the general term '*rayat*'? What was the reason of separately addressing the people of the town of Hanjamana? Did not the people of that town form a part and parcel of the *rayat* of the donor-princes? The reason seems to be that the Parsee emigrants, though they were the subjects of the ruling princes, formed a separate community of themselves. They founded and formed, as it were, a separate colony of their people. They were alien foreigners, not only in the matter of their origin and descent, but in their religion. Hence the necessity of addressing them separately as a foreign community.

Secondly, the inhabitants of this town of Hanjamana, which is named separately in the grants, are spoken of in the first grant as "the holy men and others inhabiting the town of Hanjamana." In the second grant they are spoken of as "the citizens of the town of Hanjamana belonging to the three (twice-born) castes." In the third grant also they are spoken of as "the townspeople of the town Hanjamana of the three classes."

These special terms of reference, and especially the words "the holy men" in the first grant, tend to show that the people of the town belonged to the priestly class. In the second and third grants, the town is spoken of as belonging to "the त्रिवर्गे, *i. e.*, "the three classes." Dr. Bühler, while translating the second grant, translates the word त्रिवर्गे by three castes, and adds the word "twice-born" in brackets after the word "three." We are not in a position to know why he adds this word, but, possibly, he thinks that the reference is to the three castes of Brâhmins, Khshatryas, and the Vaishyas who are generally called Dvijas, *i. e.*, the twice-born. But we must bear in mind that the word

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[44] Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX., p. 38, n. 45. [45] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

used in the grants is वर्ग, not वर्ण, *i.e.*, class, not caste. Mr. Justice Telang has correctly translated it by the word classes. Again, if the donors meant to refer to the three Hindu castes, there was no special necessity, as we said above, of separating the three Hindu castes of the town of Hanjamana, from the similar three castes in the other parts of the country or from the whole *rayat*.

I think that the reference here is to the three classes of the priestly class of the Parsees.

In the Avesta we find the Âthravans (the priestly class corresponding to the Brâhmins) called Thrâyavan.[46] This word is variously translated by different translators. Dastur Edalji Sanjânâ, Spiegel, Barlez, Darmsteter, and Tehmuras have translated it in various ways. Anquetil has translated it, "Chef par des trois Ordres," *i. e.*, the "holy chief of three orders." Kânga has translated it ત્રણ પંથનો *i. e.*, of three religious orders. These three classes referred to are the three grades of the priestly class, (1) the Dasturs, (2) the Mobeds, and (3) the Herbeds. These are the three grades of the priestly class referred to by the Saddar.[47]

This word "thrâyavan" of the Avesta then corresponds to the त्रिवर्ग (trivagarg) of the Silhâra copper-plate grants.

Thus, then, the town of Hanjaman seems to have been called the town of three classes, because, perhaps, the Parsee emigrants mostly consisted of the priestly class. We find from the Kisseh-i-Sanjân that the leader of the emigrants, who went before the ruling prince (Jâdi Rânâ) was a Dastur. We also learn from it that the prince, before allotting any land to them, liked to know something about their religion, manners and customs. The Dastur explained these to the prince. A description of these is preserved among the Parsees in form of Sanskrit slokas. From these and from the description given by the Dastur, as noted in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, it appears that the Dastur's narrative of some of their beliefs and observances may have led the king to find that they belonged to the sacredotal class.

It is for this reason, perhaps, that the king and his successors took all the Parsee colonists to be of the priestly class. Hence their town is referred to as the town of the three grades (classes), in which the

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[46] [illegible] Yasht Khordâd 9, Yasht Beberâm 46, Abân Yasht 86.

[47] S. B. E. XXIV., West, Ch. XCIX.

priestly class of the Parsees is divided. Again, the final reply of the Hindoo prince shows that he was pleased with the new-comers as belonging to a holy class of foreigners. He thus blesses them according to the slokas :—

"O Parsees! May God grant you a progeny of children. May He grant you success and victory. May the immortal Fire grant you victory. May you be free from sins. May you always be holy. May the Sun be auspicious to you for ever. Always revere the Sun. May your desires be fulfilled. Take whatever land you desire in my country. May your respect and honour increase. O Parsees! if any ignorant people will look at you (with an iden to injure you) I will smite them. May you be successful over them. May riches be your lot."[43]

According to the Kisseh-i-Sanjân, the prince took great interest in their spiritual welfare and even helped them to erect a fire-temple, wherein he also gave some offering.

Now the question arises if, by the word Hanjamana, the Silhâra grants referred to the new Parsee town of Sanjân, as pointed out by the *Gazetteer*, why was the town so called? What does it signify? Hanjamana is an Avestaic word meaning "an assembly." It comes from Avesta "han," Sanskrit सन or सङ्, Lat. con, Gr. syn, meaning together, and jam, Sanskrit गम to go. The literal meaning would be "a place where people go together, *i. e.*, meet." If the word could be rendered into Sanskrit, its equivalent would be सन गम or संगम, *i. e.*, a place of junction or meeting. It is now used in the sense of "assembly." How are we then to account for the two names, Hanjamana and Sanjân? We can account for it in two ways.

Firstly, the early Parsees may have named their new town Sanjân, and possibly knew it also by the name of Hanjamana, *i. e.*, an assembly, because all the emigrants met there together. The Hindu rulers, instead of calling the new town by its name Sanjân, which was, as it were, an alien name to them, being originally the

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[43] Translated from a Gujarati version of the Slokas belonging to Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwálá. For all the slokas, *vide* Dastur Aspandyârjee Kamdin's [illegible] (1926), pp. 129-116.

name of a town in Persia, chose to know it by its second name, which pointed out its purpose, and the meaning of which they could easily understand, the word being similar to a corresponding Sanskrit word.

Secondly, the similarity of the two names Hanjamana and Sanjân suggests the idea that possibly Hanjamana and Sanjân may be one and the same name. Hanjamana was the original name given to the new town by the Parsees, and Sanjân was its later corrupted or Sanskritised form. The Avesta 'h' becomes 's' in Sanskrit, as in the case of the Avesta Hapta Hindu which has become Sapta Sindhu in Sanskrit. So Sanjân may be the later Sanskritized form of Hanjamana, which would be at first Sangama in Sanskrit. But then one would point to the Kisseh-i-Sanjân, saying that according to that book it was the early Parsees who themselves gave the name of Sanjân to that town. But we can explain that fact by saying that the book, though written on the authority of oral traditions, was written as late as 1600 A.D., *i. e.*, about 900 years after the event. So the writer, instead of giving the original name of the town, as given by the early Parsees, gave the name by which the town was known in his time.

APPENDIX.

There is one Arab geographer who also refers to one Sindân. It is Albiruni.[49] The passage referring to this town, as translated by Eliot, runs thus:

"After traversing the gulf you come to the small and big mouths of the Indus; then to the Bawârij, who are pirates, and are so called because they commit their depredations in boats called Baira. Their cities are Kach and Somnât. From Debal to Tulishar is fifty parasangs; to Loharânî twelve; to Baka twelve; to Kach, the country producing gum and bârdrûd (river Bhader), six; to Somnat fourteen; to Kambâya thirty; to Asâwâl two days' journey; to Bahruj thirty; to Sindân fifty; to Sufârâ six; to Tâna five."

Prof. Dowson, the editor of Eliot's History, identifies the Bahruj of Albiruni with Broach, and says[50] "Albiruni makes the distance from Broach to Sindân fifty parasangs[51] and from Sindân to Sûfâra six

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[49] Eliot, I., pp. 65, 66. Albiruni's Text by Sachau, p. 102, l. 12.

[50] Eliot, I., p. 402-3.

[51] A parasang (or farsang) varies from 2½ miles to 4 miles in different countries. Ousley and Kinneir take it to be 3½ miles. Eliot, I., p. 400.

parasangs. Abû-l Fida says that Sindân was the last city of Guzerât, and the first of Manibár (Malabâr), three days' journey from Tana. It is hardly possible to reconcile all these statements, but there seems to be sufficient evidence for making Sindân the most southerly. It was on a bay or estuary a mile and a-half from the sea, and the modern Damân is probably its present representative. Sûbâra was similarly situated at the same distance from the sea and finds a likely successor in Surat."

We see here that Prof. Dowson tries to identify Sindân with Damân and Subârâ with Surat. The great dissimilarity in names suggests that this identification is not correct. The distance of Sindân from Broach as given here is [50 (Sindân)-30 (Bahruj) = 20 days' journey, *i. e.*] about 600 miles. Again Prof. Dowson is wrong in inferring that Albiruni makes the distance from Broach to Sindan fifty parasangs. Albiruni speaks of the distance of Sindân from Debal (and not from Broach) as fifty days' journey.

കേരള സാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

Art. III.—*Âpastamba and Baudhâyana.*

By K. B. Pathak, B.A.

[Read 27th September 1900.]

In his Introduction[1] to the translation of Âpastamba's Dharma Sûtra, which he has contributed to the Sacred Books of the East, Dr. Bühler has endeavoured to prove that Baudhâyana flourished before Âpastamba. In support of his contention Dr. Bühler appeals to Mahâdeva, who in his commentary on the Hiraṇyakêśi-sûtra mentions the names of Baudhâyana and Âpastamba. The order in which these names are given is assumed to be chronological by Professors Weber[2] and Bühler. The latter scholar, who is aware that the Charaṇavyûha mentions[3] these names in a different order, seems perfectly conscious of the weakness of the view, and tries to substantiate his position by bringing forward many arguments. As regards these it will suffice to say that they are hardly convincing.

But the student of Sanskrit literature will be interested to learn that Bhaṭṭa Kumârila, who flourished about A.D. 750, offers a most satisfactory reply to the question whether Baudhâyana lived prior to Âpastamba. In a well-known passage in the Tantravârtika we are introduced to an interesting discussion on the validity of local customs. Kumârila says[4] :—

यत्त्वद्यतनानामहिच्छत्रकमाथुरब्राह्मणीनां सुरापानादि दाक्षिणात्यानां मातुलदुहितृविवाहादि स्मृतिविरुद्धमुपन्यस्तम्। तत्र केचित्तावदाहुः। स्मृत्याचारयोरितरेतरनिरपेक्षवेदमूलत्वेन तुल्यबलत्वाद्विहितप्रतिषिद्धविकल्पानुष्ठानाभयपादशेष इति तन्न पक्ष्यमाणबलाबलविभागादयुक्तम्। अन्येत्वेवमाहुः॥

सर्वेषामेवमादीनां प्रतिदेशं व्यवस्थया।
आपस्तम्बेन संहत्य दुष्टादुष्टत्वमाश्रितम्॥
येषां परंपरा प्राप्ताः पूर्वजैरप्यनुष्ठिताः।
त एव तैर्न दुष्येयुराचारैर्नेतरे पुनः॥
तथा मनुनाप्युक्तम्॥
येनास्य पितरो याता येन याताः पितामहाः।
तेन यायात्सतां मार्गं तेन गच्छन्न दुष्यति॥

येषां तु यः पित्रादिभिरेवार्थो नाचरितः स्मृत्यन्तरप्रतिषिद्धश्च ते तं परिहरन्त्येव-अपरिहरन्तो वा स्वजनादिभिः परिह्रियन्ते। ननु गौतमेनाम्नायविरुद्धानामाचाराणामप्रामाण्यमुक्तम्। आह॥

यदिवेदविरोध : स्यादिष्येतैवाप्रमाणता ।
स्मृतिराम्नायशब्देन न तु वेदवदुच्यते ।

न चैतदपि युक्तं स्मृतिग्रन्थेऽप्याम्नायशब्दप्रयोगात्। स्मार्तधर्माधिकारे हि शङ्खलिखिताभ्यामुक्तमाम्नायः स्मृतिधारक इति। ग्रन्थकारगतायाः स्मृतेस्तत्कृतग्रन्थाम्नायः स्मृतिग्रन्थाध्यायिनां स्मृतिधारणार्थत्वेनोक्तस्ततश्च मन्वादिवाक्यप्रतिषिद्धाचाराणां प्रामाण्यमशक्यमभ्युपगन्तुम्। आपस्तम्बवचनं तु बौधायनेन स्मृतिविरुद्धदुष्टाचारोदाहरणान्येव प्रयच्छता निराकृतम्। स्पष्टकामादिहेत्वन्तरदर्शनान्नविरुद्धाचाराणामापस्तम्बवचनस्य वा श्रुतिमूलत्वोपपत्तिः ।

Translation.

The custom of drinking prevalent among the present Brahmin women of Ahichchhatra and Mathurâ, and that of marrying maternal uncles' daughters obtaining among the people of Southern India, are spoken of as opposed to Smṛiti or religious law. On this point some people remark thus :—Such customs may be held equally authoritative with Smṛiti as they are quite independent and may be supposed to be based on Vedic texts; since when a thing is enjoined by custom and prohibited by Smṛiti, its observance can only be regarded as optional, and thus the difficulty may be removed. But this opinion is incorrect owing to the distinction between validity and non-validity which will be presently discussed. Others contend that such customs are approved or disapproved by Âpastamba according to their observance or non-observance in any particular country. Those who inherit such customs from their ancestors are justified in observing them, while others who follow them in the absence of such a prescriptive right are held guilty. Manu[8] also lays down a similar rule—" One should go by the same path which was trod by one's ancestors. A person, therefore, who follows the path of the good is not condemned." Men of course avoid a practice which was not observed by their ancestors and which is opposed to Smṛiti. If they fail to do so, they will be shunned by their relations. It may be objected that Gautama holds such practices invalid as are opposed to Âmnâya. I by this expression is meant a Vedic text, such practices are utterly invalid. On the other hand, if Smṛiti is intended by the word Âmnâya, it is not exalted to the rank of a Vedic text. But this opinion is also erroneous, the word Âmnâya being frequently employed in works on Smṛiti ; for Śankha and Likhita in the chapter on the duties of householders explain the word Amnâya to mean something that refreshes the memory. From

this it is impossible to defend practices condemned in the writings of Manu and others. The opinion of Âpastamba referred to above is refuted by Baudhâyana who cites specific instances of prohibited practices opposed to Smṛiti. When we see a distinct motive for such practices such as desire, it is absurd to vindicate them or Âpastamba's opinion in favour of them by supposing the existence of Vedic texts as their basis.

From this interesting passage it is obvious that Âpastamba claims for local customs as high an authority as Smṛiti itself, provided they have prescriptive right in their favour. This view is dissented from by Gautama, while Baudhâyana not only accepts Gautama's opinion, but cites specific instances of practices condemned by Smṛiti and refutes Âpastamba's opinion in favour of them. This is the gist of the passage quoted from the Tantravârtika, a work the importance of which, from an historical point of view, it is impossible to exaggerate. Let us now turn to the work of Baudhâyana and see whether he holds the views attributed to him by Kumârila. Here is the passage. Baudhâyana says[6]:—

पञ्चधा विप्रतिपत्तिर्दक्षिणतस्तथोत्तरतः ॥ 17 ॥
यानि दक्षिणतस्तानि व्याख्यास्यामः ॥ 18 ॥
यथैतदनुपेतेन सह भोजनं स्त्रिया सह भोजनं पर्युषितभोजनं मातुलपितृष्वसृदुहितृगमननिति ॥ 19 ॥
अथोत्तरतः ऊर्णाविक्रयः सीधुपानमुभयतोदद्भिर्व्यवहारः आयुधीयकं समुद्रयाननिति ॥ 20 ॥
इतरेतरस्मिन्कुर्वन्दुष्यति ॥ 21 ॥
तत्र तत्र देशप्रामाण्यमेव स्यात् ॥ 22 ॥
मिथ्यैतदिति गौतमः ॥ 23 ॥
उभयं चैव नाद्रियेत शिष्टस्मृतिविरोधदर्शनात् ॥ 24 ॥

This passage is thus translated by Dr. Bühler[7]:—

17. There is a dispute regarding five (practices) both in the South and in the North.

18. We shall explain those peculiar to the South.

19. They are,—to eat in the company of an uninitiated person, to eat in the company of one's wife, to eat stale food, to marry the daughter of a maternal uncle or of a paternal aunt.

20. Now (the customs peculiar) to the North are,—to deal in wool, to drink rum, to sell animals that have teeth in the upper and in the lower jaws, to follow the trade of arms and go to sea.

21. He who follows (these practices) in (any) other country than the one where they prevail commits sin.

22. For each of these practices, the (rule of) the country should be (considered) the authority.

23. Gautama declares that this is false.

24. And one should not take heed of either (set of practices), because they are opposed to the tradition of those learned (in the sacred law).

If we analyze this passage, we find that it consists of three parts. First, it cites specific instances of practices obtaining in the North and the South. Next, it proceeds to quote some unnamed author, who says that such practices are good wherever they prevail, though invalid elsewhere, on the ground that local custom is a safe guide. In the last place Baudhâyana tells us that this strange view of the unnamed author is not acceptable to Gautama, and winds up by saying that he himself is opposed to all such practices. Let us now turn to the passage from the Tantravârtika. Here we read that Gautama is opposed to such practices, and in expressing his opinion, he uses the word Âmnâya. This is very interesting, and we can easily identify the sûtra in Gautama, where he says[8] :—

देशजातिकुलधर्माश्चाम्नायैरविरुद्धाः प्रमाणम्

But the most important literary information which the passage from the Tantravârtika conveys to us is that the unnamed author who upholds local customs as against Smṛiti or the sacred law, and who is attacked by Gautama and Baudhâyana, is no other than Âpastamba. This conclusion is further corroborated by the fact that Kumârila frequently goes out of his way to attack Âpastamba for his strange views. We are told[9] :—

यापि चापस्तम्बवचनात्तुल्यबलत्वाशङ्का भवेत् सापि तस्माद्ब्राह्मणः सुरां न पिबतीत्येतेन प्रत्यक्षश्रुतिविधिना निराकृतेति नैवंविधाचारप्रामाण्यमाशङ्कितव्यम्

These passages can point to one conclusion, namely, that Âpastamba is attacked by Baudhâyana. Nor can we forget the fact that the conclusion does not rest on the authority of Bhaṭṭa Kumârila only; but it is amply confirmed by the statement of Baudhâyana himself as explained by Kumârila. These considerations lead us to infer that Âpastamba lived prior to Gautama and Baudhâyana, while Baudhâyana himself is the latest of the three Sûtrakâras.

An interesting question suggests itself here, whether in the text of Âpastamba, which is now extant, we can trace the opinions attributed

to him by Baudhâyana and Kumârila. We find one sûtra[10] which alludes to local custom; but the commentator Haradatta is careful to tell us that we should not understand Âpastamba to defend in this sûtra such practices as that of marrying a maternal uncle's daughter. That this explanation is altogether wide of the mark is abundantly proved by the passages which I have quoted above. At the same time we must admit that since we do not meet with any sûtras defending in express terms local custom as against smṛiti or sacred law, the conclusion is inevitable that the present text of Âpastamba differs, in some respects, from that which was accessible to Kumârila and his contemporaries in the middle of the eighth century.

1 *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. II., Part I., Intro. to Âpastamba, pp. 16-22.

2 Weber's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 110, 2nd ed.

3 *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. II., Part I., Intro. to Âpastamba, p. 16.

4 *Tantravârtika*, Benares edition, p. 138.

5 Manu, IV. 178. Mandalik's edition, Vol. I., p. 542, reads रिष्यते instead of दुष्यति.

6 Baudhâyana, *Dharmasûtra*, I. 1, 17-24.

7 *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. II., Part I., Intro. to Gautama, p. 49.

8 Gautama, *Dharmasûtra*, XI. 20.

9 *Tantravârtika*, Benares edition, p. 142.

10 Âpastamba, *Dharmasûtra*, II., 15, 1.

Art. IV. *Astronomy in its bearing on the Antiquity of the Aryans.* By V. B. Ketkar, Esq.

[Read 18th December 1900.]

Mr. President and Gentlemen,

I beg to thank you for your kind permission to read before this learned assembly a paper on the subject, "Astronomy in its bearing on the Antiquity of the Aryans." But it is so interesting, important, and vast, that to be able to do any justice to it, one must possess special talents, leisure, books, money; and above all health and energy to undertake journeys through the land of research. I confess I possess none of these qualifications and resources; and consequently I do not expect to fulfil even your moderate hopes to hear of some new discovery. At the instance of Rao Bahadur Krishanrao Balal Deval I consented to stand before you to-day, and I leave it to your indulgent consideration to decide how far I was right in accepting the call.

With these introductory remarks I beg to read my paper, hoping that you would give a calm and attentive hearing to it.

Chapter I.—The Calendar.

The civilization of mankind, or rather the first awakening of human intellect, appears to be the latest event in the history of the earth. Even this awakening was not general. It was confined to a small tract of Central Asia between the Indus and the Caspian Sea. The people who dwelt in this tract called themselves Aryans.

Man's history on this earth may be divided into three periods. In the first, he lived solely by hunting or on wild fruits and roots. In the second, he tamed wild animals which he used for food or other services and led a nomadic life. In the third, the growth in the number of his race taught him the necessity and the propriety of resorting to Agriculture as a means of livelihood.

As the knowledge of time fit for ploughing and sowing operations is essential to success in agriculture, the earliest efforts of the Aryan agriculturists must have been directed towards the accomplishment of this important object. But this was no easy work for them. Moreover, the seasons in their country are very irregular, and baffle the

efforts even of the most intelligent meteorologists. This is often the case in higher latitudes. Napoleon attributed the failure of his Russian expedition chiefly to the fact that the winter of A. D. 1811 set in earlier by 20 days than the average of the past 50 years. The Aryans must have therefore appointed the shrewdest among themselves to discover as accurately as they could the length of the Cycle of seasons, or, in other words, the length of the Tropical year. This shows that Astronomy was the child of Agriculture.

People who first resigned their nomadic life and took to agriculture called themselves Aryas, which means ploughers of soil or husbandmen. They were not ashamed, but, on the contrary, proud of this name. The elevation of the word Arya, which latterly came to mean one born of high family, may be traced to this fact.

Clever men charged with the new duty must have seen that the Sun did not rise daily on the same point of their horizon, that he oscillated on it regularly like the pendulum of a clock, and that the seasons varied with the course of his yearly oscillation. On continuing their observations for several years, they might have found that the length of the tropical year, *i.e.*, the cycle of season, varied between 365 and 366 days. This was the first step in Astronomy achieved by man.

The settlements of the early Aryans were few and far between. They somewhat resembled the first European settlements in North America. It was, therefore, necessary for each settlement or village to entrust to a family of learned and respectable men the task of watching the daily progress of the sun's annual oscillation, that they might predict with tolerable accuracy the time of commencing the operations connected with agriculture.

In our time the abundance of time-pieces, watches and almanacs has much lessened the difficulty and importance of the above-mentioned task. Besides this there are observatories to keep the almanacs correct; and regular markets, fairs and festivals help much to keep the knowledge of time up-to-date. In the days of the early Aryans there were no such facilities. Neglect of duty, on the part of the timekeepers, meant death or disaster to the little and isolated colony. This sufficiently explains why they paid almost divine respect to their timekeepers.

These holy timekeepers were called ग्रामपुरोहितः, अग्निहोत्रिनः, कालज्ञः. As they gave timely notice of the approach of the season and sowing

time, and thus secured the welfare of the village to which they were attached, they were most deservedly called ग्रामपुरोहित. At first the reckoning of the days elapsed might have been kept up daily in the morning by notches or beads. But some shrewd and intelligent ग्रामपुरोहितs might have noticed that a particular bright star rose at dawn at the approach of a particular season. This discovery was of great use to them, as it saved the trouble of daily marking the days elapsed since the equinoctial or the solstitial day. It was sufficient if at intervals they only observed what star rose at dawn. It was kept a secret, and for fear that the honour they received from the villagers should wane, the custom of प्रातर्होम, originally introduced as a means of keeping up the daily reckoning of days, was continued as before. Those ग्रामपुरोहितs who knew the secret performed the daily प्रातर्होम even after sun-rise, but those that did not stuck to their old custom of प्रातर्होम before sun-rise. Hence arose the two sects of ग्राम पुरोहितs, called उदितहोमिन् and अनुदितहोमिन्.

Some still more shrewd पुरोहितs might have conceived the idea that the moon, which appears full twelve or thirteen times a year, might be used as an unerring and automatic instrument of measuring time, if only they should discover from observations a cycle of years that contained an exact number of full-moons. They soon found that the least number of years that fulfilled the condition was five, during which the moon appeared 62 times full and completed 67 revolutions through the stars. This discovery spared them the perpetual worry of keeping an account of time, if only they remembered the number of full-moons elapsed since the beginning of the five-year cycle. For this purpose each of the years had a name assigned to it. The names were संवत्सर, परिवत्सर, इदावत्सर, अनुवत्सर and इद्वत्सर. But the custom of प्रातर्होम was not given up, because it did not involve mental anxiety of keeping an account as before. It now became a pure religious duty and a means of keeping sound health.

From this time the ग्रामपुरोहितs assumed the name अग्निहोत्रिन्s, and discharged their old duty of time-keeping under the name of इष्टिs, or fortnightly sacrifices; the one on the new-moon day was called दर्शेष्टि and the other on the full-moon day was called पूर्णमासेष्टि. At every fourth full-moon day an इष्टि of an higher order called चातुर्मासेष्टि was performed, at which they called themselves ऋत्विज् or season-sacrificers. The harvest of the new season was not to be used for consumption before a portion of it was offered to the gods at these public

sacrifices. The villagers joined in the festival and brought offerings and presents for the high priest, who in his turn entertained them at a public feast. After an exchange of blessings and thanks the villagers returned to their homes quite pleased with the ऋत्विज for the good harvest of the season. The three season sacrifices were called आग्रयणेष्टि, श्यामाकेष्टि, and यवेष्टि. The names of the last two are from the names of the corn reaped at the end of the season.

The अग्निहोत्रिन् of the present day, though free from his old duty, which is discharged by the ग्रामज्योतिषि or village astronomer, is much respected for the religious merit he confers by his regular performance of दर्शपूर्णमासेष्टि. He believes that he is discharging a purely religious duty for the good of the people among whom he dwells, never dreaming that his forefathers were once holy timekeepers. He would even resent such an appellation. Superstitious men would call it a blasphemy. But the truth is that the अग्निहोत्रिन्s were the first astronomers and their houses the first observatories in the world.

At one time the word कालज्ञ was deemed a title of high honour. When we read the history of the Chaldean Astronomers, we are struck by the strong resemblance of their manners, customs, learning and highly respected position in society with the same of our ancient ऋषिs or अग्निहोत्रिन्s. We cannot therefore resist the inference that the word Chaldean might be a corruption of the word कालज्ञ, and that the Chaldeans were a tribe of Aryans that migrated to Babylonia or Assyria. Their influence reached such a pitch that the country they migrated to was called Chaldea after them. This question, in my opinion, has not received that amount of attention and thought on the part of the Antiquarians which it deserves. A visit to places of interest such as Basora or a travel in a spirit of research through Mesopotamia would be productive of more interesting and authentic information on this question than reading a heap of books.

I will now speak a few words about the Aryan Calendar and its accuracy. A small tract called वेदांगज्योतिष gives all the details about it. But it is so much vitiated by wrong readings that most of the verses are meaningless. The tract calls itself कालज्ञान and tells that it is based on the book written by लगध. The positions of the solstitial points among the stars in its time show that it was composed at about the year B. C. 1300, and that लगध lived in latitude 35° north. The Calendar was quinquennial, and contained 1,830 mean

solar days, 62 lunar and 67 siderial months. But five tropical years, according to modern observations, are equal to 1,826·2 days, and not 1,830 days. The five-year cycle was therefore the first approximation to the system of Luni-solar chronology.

The difference of 3·8 days is not small, and unless there was some arrangement for removing the difference, the calendar might have become in a few cycles quite useless. Although the वेदांगज्योतिष does not explicitly speak on this point, yet the following verse in it serves to throw some light on the mystery.

स्वराक्रमेते सोमार्कौ यदा साकं सवासवौ
स्याच्छ्रविष्ठादि युगं माघस्तपः शुक्लोऽयनं ह्युदक् ॥ १ ॥

This verse states the time when the first cycle or आदियुग commenced. This leads to the inference that there was a major cycle consisting of a certain number of five-year cycles, at the end of which full coincidence of the Lunar and Solar years was secured by the omission of the last intercalary month, so as to fulfil the conditions characteristic of the आदियुग or the first of the five-year cycles. The three major cycles probably consisted of 6, 6, and 7 minor cycles in succession, and they together contained 1,175 lunar and 1,270 siderial months and 95 tropical years. These are, according to modern observations, equal to 34,698·44, 34,698·5, and 34,698·01 days respectively.

Chapter II.—The Vernal Equinox.

The tropical year is the time taken by the sun from leaving the vernal equinox to its coming there again. There is another year called siderial, which is the time taken by the sun from his departure to his arrival at the same star. Had the equinoctial points been fixed like the stars, there would have been no difference in the two years. But as the former points recede 50″·2 in a year, the sun arrives 20 minutes earlier at the equinox than he does at the star. The primitive Aryans, having no means of detecting this small difference of 20 minutes in a year, believed that the equinoxes were stationary, and had prepared their calendar upon this false hypothesis. Great was their astonishment when, after the lapse of a thousand years, the vernal equinoctial point which formerly coincided with the star अश्नि or B Tauri was seen to have receded towards the star रोहिणी or α Tauri. प्रजापति or the god of the creation was supposed to dwell at the

vernal equinox. From this station he controlled the year, and was on this account called संवत्सर. As they could not account for this anomaly they ascribed it to the illicit love of प्रजापति for his daughter रोहिणी. Thus after the lapse of every thousand years the vernal equinox receded through the space of one asterism and became a matter for great surprise. The ancient Aryans have left records of their successive surprises, which have become invaluable means of fixing the different epochs in their history and of demonstrating their high antiquity. No other nation has perpetuated the memory of the ancient astronomical phenomena like the Aryans, which is a proof of their mental developement being the earliest in the world.

Mr. B. G. Tilak, as an independent savant in the field of researches, holds a similar view in his book *Orion*, which I should like to recommend for your perusal. I will content myself with mentioning here some of the dates ascertained from references to astronomical phenomena.

B. C.

4000 Era of मृग, when the vernal equinox was in the Orion, or more correctly near the star β Tauri, as implied in the story of वृषाकपि in the Rig-Veda. The present longitude of the star in A. D. 1900 from the equinox is 81° 12′.

3068 The Era of कृत्तिका or Pleiades, when they rose due east as mentioned in the शतपथब्राह्मण.

1300 Era of वेदांगज्योतिष when the southern solstitial point was at the beginning of धनिष्ठा

500 Era of भरणी implied in the story of विश्वामित्र in the *Mahâbhârata*.

CHAPTER III.—INDISPUTABLE EVIDENCE IN PROOF OF ARYAN ANTIQUITY.

(1) *Rising of the Pleiades due East.*

The late Mr. Shankar Bâlkrishna Dixit has discovered in the शतपथब्राह्मण certain passages which record means of determining the position of the vernal equinox correct to within a degree of arc. The passages run as follow:—

(कृत्तिकाः) एता ह व प्राच्य दिशो न च्यवंते ।
सर्वाणि ह वा अन्यानि नक्षत्राणि प्राच्यै दिशश्च्यवंते ।

They mean that the cluster of Pleiades rise due east [illegible] no other asterism does so.

The latitude of the principal star in the cluster, or more roughly speaking of the whole cluster, is 4° north. With this latitude the cluster could rise due east only when the equinox was 10° east of the star. At present (A. D. 1900) the equinox occupies a point 50° west of it. The equinox has therefore retrograded full 60° from the time when the passage was first composed, for it speaks in the present tense. The equinox moves backwards at the slow rate of 1 in 72 years. The passage is consequently 4,968 years old. Its date, according to Christian chronology, is B.C. 3068. Of course, the date of the Rig-Veda, which must be at least a thousand years older, comes to B.C. 4000.

(2) *The occultation of the star δ Cancer by the planet Jupiter.*

I have my own humble quota to add to the above indisputable proof of the high antiquity of the Aryans. I take for my basis the following passage from तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण—

ब्रहस्पतिः प्रथमं जायमानः ।
तिष्यं नक्षत्रमभिसंबभूव ।

It means that the planet Jupiter, the first born, or for the first time occulted the star तिष्य. This star can be no other than the star δ Cancer, and the tense of the verb indicates that the occultation took place at a very ancient date.

Prior to this occultation Jupiter had been passing by the star every twelve years, but was unable to occult it. For the latitude of the star was north and that of Jupiter was south, his ascending node being situated to the east of the star. The inclination of Jupiter's orbit to the ecliptic is 79′ and the star's latitude is 4′ north. Supposing these to be invariable, or variable within very narrow limits, which is really the case, the node of Jupiter must be 3° west of the star to render the occultation possible for the first time.

At present Jupiter's node is exactly 28° to the west of the star. It has therefore receded 25° from its old place. The retrograde motion is so slow that it amounts to 4° in a thousand years. The occultation must have therefore taken place 6250 years ago, or about the year B.C. 4350.

A passage about बृहस्पति also occurs in the Rig-Veda in a modified form. It is there ब्रहस्पतिः प्रथमं जायमानो महो ज्योतिषः परमेव्योमन्. The me[illegible] is not clear, but one thing is certain, *viz.*, that the occ[illegible]curred for the first time at a remote period anterior to

तैत्तिरीयसंहिता as the tense of the verb अभिसंचभूव shows, and therefore in the days of Rig-Veda or, roughly speaking, B. C. 4000.

From a consideration of the situation of the vernal equinox as implied in the story of वृषाकपि the date of the Rig-Veda goes as far back as B. C. 4000. The date of the शतपथब्राह्मण B.C. 3068 also lends its support to the date of Rig-Veda. It is therefore B. C. 4000 or thereabouts.

CHAPTER IV.—ORIGIN OF ASTRONOMY.

A brief sketch of the rise and progress of Astronomy may not be out of place here. As mankind progresses in civilization the number of duties for which they are responsible also increases. To discharge all the duties without confusion or mistakes a knowledge of time is indispensable. Hence every nation that rose from a barbarous condition devoted its earliest attention to the acquirement of this knowledge. If we study the history of any science we find that attempts are made at first to discover certain broad rules and then to account for discrepancies in them by a number of special ones. It is the same with Astronomy. All the early civilized nations strove hard and prepared calendars based on broad and striking phenomena that recurred again and again after a certain time. Their calendars were therefore made up of certain cycles. The Aryans regulated the roll of their duties with the aid of the five-year cycle, and the Hebrews with the aid of their nineteen-year cycle. The Metonic cycle, discovered by Meton, an Athenian, B.C. 432, was of great use in predicting eclipses without the help of calculations.

When human knowledge reaches the stage of cycles there generally comes on a lull lasting for hundreds of years, required for the accumulation of minute and reliable errors. A blank period lasted from B.C. 1500 to B. C. 200, during which the only people busy at work were the Assyrian or Chaldean astronomers, who were laying a store of Astronomical knowledge. The Aryans and their descendants the Hindus seem to have done nothing beyond ascertaining the synodic periods of the planets by which they could, though very roughly, foretell the times of their heliacal risings and settings. On the fall of the Persian Empire, B. C. 322, Alexander the Great is said to have found at Babylon records of ancient observations, made by the Chaldean astronomers, for 2000 years. These he sent to his tutor Aristotle, in Greece, from whom they appear to have passed into the hands of the Greek

astronomers of Alexandria during the rule of the Ptolemys. Several astronomers might have attempted to reduce to calculations the seemingly irregular motions of the wandering stars. But nothing but their names have been handed down to us. The earliest work now extant is that of Hipparchus, B.C. 140. He is justly called the father of Astronomy. The next great astronomer was Ptolemy, who built up a complete system of Astronomy in A. D. 150. His book is called Syntaxis.

During the interval that passed between Hipparchus and Ptolemy India was invaded by a race of Sythians or Shakas, who had come from Persia or Egypt. The Coptes, the descendants of the early Egyptians, better known under the name of Shakas, adopted the Julian calendar in B.C. 22 (see the French Annuaire for 1894, page 57). The Shakas brought with them not only their new calendar but also several small tracts on astronomy. Our Shaka era named after Shaliwahan is undoubtedly of the Egyptian origin, for the simple reason that it began in our country exactly at the beginning of the second century of the new Egyptian era. For 22 + 78 make 100. As the five सिद्धांतs. mentioned in the पंचसिद्धांतिका of वराहमिहिर follow the Shaka chronology there can be no doubt that they were all derived from tracts brought by the Shaka invaders. This settles for ever the question as to the claims of the Hindus for originality in astronomy. If further proofs be required they can be found in the internal structure of the सिद्धांत s. They are too many to be mentioned here, the chief of which are the longitude of उज्जयिनी the capital of विक्रम from Alexandria, the exact coincidence of the number of stars with those given in Ptolemy's catalogue and the complete agreement with Ptolemy's solar system. Even the name पितामह may be the sanskritized form of one of the Ptolemy kings under whose auspices the tract was originally prepared, just as the Alphonsine tables are named after King Alphonso of Spain सिद्धान्त is perhaps another form of Syntaxis. It is not a little surprizing that the Hindu सिद्धांतs. contain nearly the same number of chapters or subjects, *viz.* 13, as those of the Syntaxis of Ptolemy. All this evidence proves one truth, *viz.*, the Hindus borrowed astronomy from the Greek astronomers of Alexandria.

From this it should not be understood that I mean to disparage my countrymen, who have been ruling the whole civilized world by

their invention of the decimal notation. My object is only to rescue the truth.

It would not be out of place to mention here that I have lately written in Sanskrit a book on Practical Astronomy. It is called ज्योतिर्गणितम् and is intended to supply a want felt throughout India at the present day. It is a real improvement on the existing old but nearly useless astronomical works. The erroneous results which they give are chiefly due to three main causes :—

1. The wrong supposition as to the forms of the orbits of planets.
2. The rough nature of the early observations and the consequent errors in the chief elements of the orbits.
3. The ignorance of the laws and theory of Gravitation and of the perturbations due to it.

The first two causes sometimes produce an error of several degrees in the Helio-centric places of the planets. The third cause often produces an error of several घटिकाs. in the times of तिथिs. The present error in the longitude of the moon's apogee is large enough to produce an error of an hour or so in the times of the eclipses.

All these errors have been rectified in my book. It is based on the works of Western Astronomers Leverrier Hansen and Newcomb. I have added new subjects and methods which cannot be described here even in a cursory way. Among others my contrivance for getting rid of the trigonometrical formulæ in the calculations of the geocentric places of planets deserves special mention. A perusal of its English preface will, I hope, satisfy the curiosity regarding it. I have also added a chapter to the book by which any date of the Shaka era can be converted into its corresponding Christian one and *vice versâ*. The date of the beginning of the कलियुग for instance can thus be fixed as Friday, the 18th of February, B. C. 3102. Gentlemen now I have done, but before I sit down I once more express my thanks for the trouble you have taken to meet here.

Art. V.—*Time and Place of the Composition of the Gathas.* By P. A. Wadia, M.A.

[Read 12th March 1901.]

The fragmentary mass of writings, which at present are known under the name of the Zend Avesta, and which form the sacred books of the Parsees, may for our purposes be roughly divided into two parts the Gathas, and the rest of the Avesta. The external form, the idiom and metrical composition of the Gathas lead us at once to make a distinction between them and the rest of the scriptures. Evidently they are the oldest of the writings which have come down to us. If we look to the subject matter of the Gathas, the same distinction appears between them and the rest of the Avesta. In the Avesta, the spirits presiding over the different phenomena in nature are found in abundance, sometimes placed on a level with the Creator. We find in it legends and fables belonging to a later time. Whereas in the Gathas all these are absent, everything here is sober and historical. We have no legends or fables; Zoroaster is simply a human being endowed with a superior intelligence; the spirits presiding over nature are hardly to be found; and the seven Amshaspands are attributes of God, more than personified spirits. Thus both the form and the matter of the Gathas are sufficient evidence of the difference that exists between them and the rest of the Avesta. They reveal the religion in a purer, more abstract, and less developed form, and must therefore have preceded the rest of our writings by a considerably long period.

The task we have undertaken in this paper is to attempt to ascertain the probable time during, and the place in, which they may have been composed.

Mon. Darmesteter is of opinion that the Gathas, such as we possess them to-day, are only a re-edition of ancient texts, lost during the Alexandrine period; that they were composed during the early part of the era of Christ, and that they show traces in them of influences and opinions of a recent date. He grants the possibility that they might have reproduced the songs as they were actually written and sung during early times of which Herodotus makes mention, but at the same time he urges that we have no data to enable us to say with certainty that they are actually the same.

We venture, however, to dissent from this view. The archaic form of the language leads us to suggest a very early date for the Gathas;

the hypothesis that the Gathas may have been written in the first century A. D. in a dead language, which is urged by Darmesteter, it seems difficult for us to adopt when we find that the songs, as they are handed down to us, appeal to the people at large, and seem to have been sung before large assemblages, instead of being confined to a few savants. The historical allusions found in the songs seem to point likewise to an early date; if they were composed so late as Darmesteter suggests, we might have found in them at least some evidence of the history of later times; but of this we have no trace. The organization of the people, such as it is found in the Gathas, points to a time when settled agricultural life was not yet the order of the day, when a regular political government had not yet been in existence, when tribe fought against tribe for years and years without any decisive result, when the followers of the religion of Mazda had often to endure the hardships of failure and defeat. There is no trace here of the history of the Achaemenide Empire, of Darius and Xerxes, no trace of the Alexandrine invasions, no trace even of the Sassanides. We cannot, therefore, assent to the theory that the Gathas were only a re-edition of ancient texts made during the early years of the Christian era.

Mon. Darmesteter finds a confirmation of his theory by tracing a close analogy between the *Vohu Mano* of the Gathas and the Logos of Philo of Alexandria, and explains this identity of opinions by the view that the re-editors of the Gathas, or rather of the Avesta in general, over whom presided a man holding Neo-Platonic views, must have been influenced in this doctrine by the Logos of Philo. To this we reply, firstly, by the remark that the conception of *Vohu Mano* is not so well developed in the Gathas as it is in the later Avestic writings, that in the Gathas it is wavering between an abstract attribute of the Deity and a personified being. But even supposing that this close analogy exists to its full extent, we have historical evidence that this conception was familiar to the Mazdeasnians long before the time of Philo. The theory of *Vohu Mano* and the rest of the Amshaspands is mentioned in a passage of the "Isis and Osiris;" and this exposition of the Persian doctrine is usually attributed to Theopompus, from which we may infer the existence of a belief in the Ameshа Spentas in the Achæmenian period. But Mon. Darmesteter remarks in a note (note 3, Vol. III, Zend-Avesta, p. LXV) that the author describes the Zoroastrianism of his own times (the second century

A. D.), and "quotes Theopompus for a special doctrine, that of the periods of the world's life." But although this last point may be correct, the first part of Darmesteter's theory does not seem to be justified by investigation. The whole passage of Plutarch's is a well-arranged composition, written in a style that does not vary, and "may be regarded as an exposition of the system described by Theopompus, probably in the eighth of his Philippics."* We may therefore regard it as very probable, or almost certain, that the doctrine of the Amshaspands was known to the Mazdeasnians in the times of the Achæmenides, and could not therefore have been derived from external sources. If so, the Gathas could not have been composed so late as Mon. Darmesteter supposes, thoroughly embodying as they do the doctrine of the Amshaspands. Having now determined thus far that the Gathas could not have been composed later than the Achæmenide period, we shall proceed to trace the time during which, and the place where, they may have been written, whether by one man or several, by collecting together in detail all the glimpses of history which the Gathas reveal to us. Taking this for our basis, we shall seek in the early history of the East, the time and place that may roughly correspond to those indicated by the Gathas.

The political condition depicted in the Gathas.

Yasna XXIX, 2, 3 and 6, seem to imply that the enemies of the religion are for the moment too strong, and cannot be repelled. Yasna XXXI, 1 and 14, make the opponents of the religion the destroyers of the fields of the faithful; in short, robbers and plunderers. XXXI, 16 and 18, allude to the economic and social organization of the Avesta people, and subdivide it into four grades, the house, the village, the district, and the province, or the *Nmana*, *Vis*, *Zanta* and *Dahyu*, they also refer to the enemies of the religion who destroy everything that they come across.

XXXII, 1, gives us again an allusion to the tribal organization of the times, and makes the enemies of the religion heads of various tribes, who, allied together, bring their followers against the followers of the faith. Yasna XXXII, 7, hints that the followers of Mazda have no conception of the number and forces of their enemies. XXXII, 14, talks as if the opponents had at one time got the upper hand and prevailed over the faithful.

* See Maspero—"The Passing of the Empires," p. 579, note 4.

XLIII, 14, speaks of Zoroaster as inducing the chiefs of various tribes to take up his side against the enemies.

Yasna XXXI, 2, had alluded to a civil struggle among the connected tribes themselves, and here in Yasna XLIV, 18, Zarthushtra asks of Mazda to which side he will give the victory; in the same Yasna 16 and 17 show that the contest between the tribes is constant and does not leave the victory with any one party decisively. Yasna XLIV, 20, implies that the hostile tribes have never governed their dominions well, and seems to imply that they were more or less nomad tribes.

Yasna XLV seems to suggest that a victory has been won by the followers of Mazda, and Zarathushtra collects together his tribesmen from near and from afar to listen to the words of wisdom.

Yasna XLVI, 1, seems to be written at a time when the followers of the faithful were defeated and almost driven from their homes. XLVI, 2, says that Zoroaster is aware of the cause of these disasters, and that he seeks the help of Mazda. In the same Yasna 4 and 5, he shakes off his dejected mood, and makes an appeal to all to rise and fight for the good cause. Section 12 of the same Yasna again repeats that there is hope even for the enemies, not only for the hostile Aryan tribes, but also for the non-Aryan aborigines of the land, "If these shall repent they shall be blest." We have in this same section a hint as to the conversion of one of the tribes called Fryana. In the rest of Yasna XLVI, Zarathushtra calls upon firstly, Vistaspa the king, secondly, upon the members of his own family, and then upon all the followers of the religion in general to take heart and fight against the enemies.

Yasna XLVIII seems to have been composed at a time when a struggle was once again expected. Section 5 implies that a stable and settled industrial life, resisting all raids and assaults from outside, is the best reward by itself for those who follow that life; and in Section 8 Zarathushtra asks Ahurah how to encourage the chiefs to take up the good cause. The following sections again speak of the uncertainty as to the results of these wars; and the Yasna ends with the hope that the followers of the faithful shall prevail.

Yasna XLIX, 1, says that a chief, Bendva by name, had proved himself very formidable, and had succeeded in defeating the followers of Mazda; the man appears to have had an organised following of his own, almost on a level with the tribe of Mazdiasnians. Section 7

alludes to the division which we have already noted elsewhere, *viz.*, the division into chiefs, peers, and followers.

Such are briefly the historical data afforded to us by the Gathas. The people whom it puts before us are tribes hitherto nomadic in their organization, but at the same time aware of the benefits to be derived from a settled agricultural life. At least the author of the Gathas seems to be fully aware of the benefits which would accrue to civilization if a settled agricultural life were adopted, not only in one place and among one tribe, but in all adjacent districts and amongst all neighbouring tribes. He therefore calls upon his followers to fight against their enemies until they succeed. The struggles of which the Gathas speak seem to be struggles between one tribe and another, all the tribes being ethnologically connected. Some allusions are made to non-Aryan nomadic hordes also, briefly designated as Turanians. The organisation of the tribes seems to be divided into a house, a village, a district, and a province. But this organisation is overlapped sometimes by another, in which heads of provinces are allied together having a sovereign chief, whose peers or equals they are said to be; and against them, or rather under them, are placed their retainers and followers. These internecine strifes—if so we may venture to call them—are present all through the Gathas; sometimes the one party wins, sometimes the other, and the strifes have not yet ended when the Gathas close. There is not the least mention here of any place from which we can infer where these strifes were located; we are left to pure conjecture, and any hints we may get as to the locality can only be derived from the later Avestic writings. At the same time the plain, sober, matter-of-fact way in which the songs are composed leads us to affirm that they deal with real personages and real incidents in history, and there seems no reason whatsoever to impeach their value. There are indications in some places as in XLVIII, 5 and 10, that the tribe or tribes which followed the religion of Zarathushtra were sometimes obliged to submit to the authority of an anti-Zoroastrian king; sometimes as in XLVI, 1, Zarathushtra himself calls upon these hostile chiefs to offer their services to him. From these indications we gather that the struggles were for the most part internecine at any rate in the Gathas. We here have no mention of a formidable authority external to the tribes. It is only in later

Avestic writings that allusions are found to the existence of an external power warring against the followers of the religion.

Having thus ascertained what the political condition of the country was, as it is given to us by the Gathas, we will proceed to examine what period and place in history corresponds to these conditions.

The historical researches of a recent date have entirely changed the aspect of affairs as regards the theories of the original home of the Aryan race. The opinion that had hitherto been entertained on this topic was that the south-west of Asia or the plateau of Iran was the home of the primitive Aryans. But lately the view first adopted by Latham that the original home is to be sought in Europe has been gaining ground, and is now accepted as almost demonstrated by Penka, Canon Isaac Taylor, Prof. G. H. Rendall, and especially by Dr. O. Schrader. According to this last-mentioned writer the south-west Russian steppes are the region where the Aryan nomads first tended their flocks, and whence they spread eastwards to Asia, and by the Volga, Don, and Danube, throughout Europe. These Asiatic nomads gradually swept before them all the non-Aryan or Turanian tribes who were too weak to stem their progress, and occupied the western edge of the great plateau where they soon became mainly represented by the two compact groups, the *Persians* to the south on the farthest confines of Elam, and the *Medes* between the greater Zab, the Tournat, and the Caspian. This must have been about the end of the 9th Century B.C., when we find historical mention of them made in the Assyrian monuments as we shall see later on. But there are two possible ways by which the Aryans may have descended into the countries designated; the one is by way of Mount Caucasus into the plains of the Kur and the Araxes, and this is the way by which they are said to have migrated by Prof. Maspero in his history of the East.* The other is by the Aral sea and up the Oxus and Jaxartes into the province of Sogdiana, Bactria, etc. From these lands they further passed over into Media and Persia. This is the opinion put forward by Dr. Schrader. For our part, we are inclined to hold to the latter opinion for reasons for which we would refer to Dr. Schrader's pre-historic antiquities. There is one reason, however, which influences us decisively to this view. It is already established as a fact that the Indo-Iranian branch of the Aryan faimly was once closely knit together. The migration of one part of these Aryans to

* "The passing of the Empires," p. 452.

India cannot be placed later than the 12th century B. C. If so, it would be possible for us to account for the presence of Aryan tribes in Media about the 9th century B. C. in history. But if we suppose that the Medes or Aryans first passed through Media before they came to Bactria, whence lies the safest route to India, then the migration to India could not have taken place earlier than the 9th century B. C. We feel therefore inclined to hold to Schrader's view that the Aryans passed into Bactria and the east of Iran, from whence a part of their group crossed over to India, and the rest may, with the lapse of time, have migrated towards Media and Persia.

We will now refer to Herodotus' narrative of the rise of the Median power. "There was a man among the Medes of the name of Deiokes, of great reputation for his wisdom, whose ambitious views were thus disguised. The Medes were divided into different districts, and Deiokes was distinguished in his own by his impartial distribution of justice." The men of his village, observing his merits, chose him to be the arbiter of all their disputes, and he did his best to settle their differences on the line of the strictest justice. The people of neighbouring villages unanimously resorted to his tribunal. The number of complaints continually increasing, Deiokes announced that he did not intend any longer to hear causes. Hereupon robbery and lawlessness prevailed throughout the country, "wherefore the Medes assembled from all quarters, and held a consultation on the state of affairs, determining to have a king. Their choice fell upon Deiokes, and he was proposed and elected king, whereupon Deiokes had a great palace built, and calling upon his subjects to leave their villages, built the city now called Ecbatana."

Two or three facts, as Prof. Maspero remarks, stand out from this legendary background. It is probable that Deiokes was an actual person; that the empire of the Medes first took shape under his auspices, that he founded an important kingdom at the foot of mount Elvend. Herodotus credits Deiokes with a reign of 53 years from 700 to 647 B. C. The records of Nineveh contain a mention of a certain Dayaukku, who was governor of the Mannai (Medes), and an ally of the Assyrians in the days of Sargon; moreover, about 713 B. C. reference is made to an expedition across the territory of Bit-Dayaukku, which is described as lying between Elippi and Karalla. It is therefore probable that the Dayaukku, who gave his name to this district, was identical with the Deiokes of later writers.

"He was the official ancestor of a royal house, a fact proved by the way in which his conqueror uses the name to distinguish the country over which he had ruled; moreover, the epoch assigned to him by contemporary chroniclers coincides closely enough with that indicated by tradition in the case of Deiokes."

Jumping over half a century, we come to the time of Assurbanipal, when the Assyrian empire had not yet fallen. According to Herodotus, a certain Phraortes, son and successor of Deiokes, came to the throne of Media about 655 B. C. We are told that this Phraortes first conquered all the neighbouring princes who had remained independent, and then subjugated the kings of Anshan, the descendants of a Chaispis, alleged son of Akhamanish, who ruled over half of what was known as Elam. Then the Medes rose against the Assyrians. Now the ancient form of the name Phraortes, as handed down to us by a passage in the great inscription of Behistun (Col. II, l. 14) is Frawartish, or Frawarti; and according to Justi, this means, *the man who proclaims faith in Ahura-Mazda*. The existence of this Phraortes was at first called in question by the Rawlinsons; but later authorities seem now to be inclining to hold that this Phraortes really existed, whoever he may have been. If this be correct, we have strong reasons to affirm that at any rate the main outlines of the Zoroastrian religion were already fixed at this time, that is to say, about the middle of the 7th century B. C. The names of the tribes which Herodotus mentions as being subdued, and formed into a Kingdom by Deiokes have, according to M. Lenormant, strong affinity to Zend or Iranian names, a fact which, if true, would confirm us in our supposition. The political condition, however, of the country which the Gathas lay before us, and the surroundings of which they give us a glimpse, as we have already observed, is that of a country in which the people had not yet settled down to an agricultural life, in which the highest authority was the head of the province (Daihyu), and where a constant conflict seems to have been waged between the governors of one province and another. The Gathas must therefore have been composed earlier than the time of Phraortes, before even the rise of the Median power, that is to say, before the rise of a sovereign authority keeping under strict obedience the subject provinces. We must therefore assign to the Gathas a date earlier than 700 B. C. This conclusion, at which we have thus arrived, seems to receive confirmation if we accept Justi's identifica-

of the word Deiokes with the Zend *Dahyupaiti*, the master of a province; Deiokes being an abbreviation from *Dahyupaiti* with the suffix *Ka*.

And this same train of reasoning, moreover leads us to conjecture that the Zorastrian religion first took its rise among one of the Median tribes, of which there were many such in the time preceding the rise of the Medic Empire. The identification of the Vistaspes of the Avesta with the Hystapes, father of Darius, whom history mentions, is therefore out of the question, since Histapes, father of Darius, lived long after Phraortes of Media.

Philology leads us to the same conclusion, that Media was the birth-place of Zoroastrianism. Zend, the language in which the sacred writings were composed, was a dialect akin to, yet different from, that of the Achemenide inscriptions. Hence the Avesta must have been composed not in Persia, but in lands in the vicinity, probably in Media.

The hypothesis that Zend was the language originally spoken in Bactria rests, as Mon. Darmesteter says, on three propositions: (1) Zend is not the language of Persia; (2) It is in Bactria that, according to tradition, Zoroaster made his first important conquests, *viz*, over king Gustasp or Vistasp; (3) the geography of the Avesta knows only the east of Iran; the last argument is nowhere so impressively advanced as by Geiger in his civilisation of the East Iranians.

The *first* argument is negative, and helps us in excluding Persia from the question.

The *second* proposition, even granting its validity, does not give us the inference that Bactria was the place where Zoroastrianism first took its rise. Supposing Zoroastrianism to have originated among one of the Medic tribes, it is quite within the bounds of possibility that Zoroaster should have attempted to convert neighbouring tribes to the religion of Mazda. Of this we have indications in the Gathas, where a border tribe Fryana is mentioned as being converted. A Bactrian tribe may very well have been the first to be converted, and hence a great importance might naturally be attached to that country in Zoroastrian legends.

The *third* fact advanced, *viz.*, that the geography of the Avesta knows only the East of Iran, is not exact. Mr. Geiger argues that taking all geographical names mentioned in the Avesta into consideration, it appears that the greater part of them belong to the

north-east of Iran. But this, supposing it to be correct, does not give us as an inference that the north-east of Iran or Bactria was the birth-place of Zoroastrianism. Taking into consideration the fragmentary condition of the Avestic writings, it is just possible that the geographical names of places in West Iran may have been lost in the rest of the writings that have not come down to us. Moreover, as has often been shown, the Avesta is positively familiar with some places which are located in the West of Iran, *e. g.*, Ragha, Aryanem Vaejo, Ranha, Varena, etc. The argument therefore loses much of its force. Further the Gathas, undoubtedly the oldest portion of the Avestic writings, with which alone we have to do here, are entirely silent as to places in West Iran or East Iran. It is only the later Avestic writings that mention these places. Supposing these later writings to have been composed during or after the time of the Persian empire, or sometime earlier, when the religion had spread through Bactria and other adjacent places, we might well account for this seeming anomaly—that places in East Iran should be mentioned in the Avestic writings more frequently than those in West Iran. As Mills and others have shown the Mazdeeism professed by Darius and the Persians was not the pure Mazdeeism of the Medes, but a schismatic form of it. The true followers of Mazda might therefore well have confined themselves to East Iran in the first fargard of the Vendidad, when they were professing to trace the regions where the Mazdiasnian religion prevailed in its purest and best form. (That is the passage most often relied on in the course of the argument.)

But it is not even true that tradition assigns Bactria as the birth-place of Zoroastrianism. According to another tradition preserved by the Pehlvi commentary of the Vendidad, it was at Ragha, in West Iran that Zoroaster was born, and a celebrated passage of the Yasna proves the existence at Ragha of a sacerdotal estate where the grand-priest, the Zarathushtra, was the governor of the province and possessed temporal along with spiritual power. Everywhere else, says the Yasna, there are five grades of chiefs; the chief of the house, the chief of the village, the chief of the district, the chief of the province, and the Zarathushtra is the fifth." Thus it is everywhere except in Ragha, the town of Zoroaster, where there are four chiefs: "The chief of the house the chief of the village, the chief of the district, and the Zarathushtra is the fourth." In other words, the grand-priest at Ragah held the position of *Dahyuma*, chief of the province. The

Yasna (XIX) might well have been composed in the times of the Medic ascendancy, a suggestion confirmed by Justi's identification of Deiokes with *Dahyupaiti*. This is, moreover, confirmed by two independent sources; on the one hand A. Marcellinus attests to us the existence of a sacerdotal Magian state in Media (XXIII, 6); on the other, the historians of the Arab conquest talk of a fortress near Rai, Ustunavend, seat of the power of the Magi chief, in the time of Magism. (*vide* Darmesteter — *Etudes Iran.*)

We therefore think it probable that the Zoroastrian religion first arose among one of the Medic tribes, and that its date cannot have been later than the 7th century B.C. We now proceed to ascertain whether a more exact time and place cannot be found for the Gathas.

"The Assyrian chronicle," says Prof. Maspero, "have handed down to us a considerable number of noble houses," scattered over Media and the adjacent districts, each of them autonomous and a rival of its neighbour, and only brought into agreement with one another at rare intervals by their common hatred of the invader. Some of them were representatives of ancient races; others belonged to tribes of a fresh stock, that of the Aryans, and more particularly to the Iranian branch of the Aryan family. We first catch glimpses of them in the reign of Shalmeneser III (860-825 B.C.), who calls them the Amadai, or "Madai;" it is the first mention that we meet with in history about the Medes. *

After this first contact with Assyria, intercourse and conflict between the two nations became more and more frequent every year. Rammân-nirari waged ceaseless war against them; Tiglath Pileser III twice drove them before him from the south-west to the north-east, as far as the foot of Demavend; while Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, during their respective reigns, kept anxious watch upon them, and endeavoured to maintain some sort of authority over the tribes which lay nearest to them. We may lay it down therefore as historically certain that Aryan tribes are found in Media by the beginning of the 9th century B. C. How long before this time they may have arrived there we cannot ascertain. But the condition in which they are found at that time does not show that they had settled there very long back. Now the condition of the Medic tribes in the beginning of the 9th century B.C., as we have historically ascertained from hints in the Assyrian chronicles, corresponds very

* Passing of the empire, Vol. III, pp. 89 and 418-9.

closely to the state of affairs which the Gathas disclose to us as existing in the times in which they were composed. May we not therefore suppose that this was the place and this the time of the composition of the Gathas — *viz.*, Media as the place, and the ninth century as the time? The tradition which assigns Bactria as the birth-place of Zoroastrianism is not supported by the Gathas. Vistaspa is mentioned here only as a king, and nowhere is he called the king of Bactria. It is only tradition of a later date that makes Vistasp, king of Bactria. The first fargard of the Vendidad, which has been very often brought forward, even by savants, men like Mills, in support of a Bactrian origin, has ever since M. Bréal's searching criticism in his "fragments Zends" been generally acknowledged to be historically of no value whatsoever. It is a list of geographical names consisting of many mythical as well as real historical places; and the historical value of the list is now discredited by the hypothesis of Schrader of a European primitive home for the Aryans. We cannot therefore look upon Bactria as the original home of Zoroastrianism.

There are some allusions in the later Avesta which seem to confirm our supposition that Media was the birth-place of Zoroastrianism, and that the Gathas were composed about the 9th century B. C. In Yesht V., Section 29, Azi Dahaka, the traditional foe of the followers of Mazda, the foreign invader, is mentioned as reigning in Bawru or Babylon. (*Cf.* Harlez and Darmesteter's remarks on their commentaries.) In this we may perhaps detect an historical allusion to the Assyrians and their constant attacks on the Medic tribes, of which we have spoken already, supposing as we have done that the Yashts were composed much later than the Gathas. Later on when Assyria was forgotten, Azi became an Arab, and we find the change completed in Firdausi, where he is always treated as an Arab. We might also detect an allusion to the Assyrian empire in the first fargard of the Vendidâd. Varena is mentioned as the place where Azis Dahaka fought against Thraetona. Varena is identified with *Patish Kavhgar*, and localized by the Phelvi commentators to the south of the Caspian Sea, and is further identified with the Patusharra of the Assyrian inscription by Tiele (Babylonian and Assyrian history). If Azis Dahaka be at one time localised, as we have noticed, in Babylonia, might this not be an indication of the time when Assyria was in possession of the land, or at any rate fought against the tribes in-

habiting them? It would be thus a reminiscence of the times when Assyria came into hostile contact with the Medic tribes. (Darmesteter's *Etudes Iraniennes*, Vol. II., p. 212.)

Another confirmation of our hypothesis might be found in the coincidence between the animals mentioned in the Avesta or rather in the Gathas, and the historically established fauna of the Medic lands. All the animals held sacred in the Avesta, of which we find mention made in the religious writings, are found in Media at the time when the Medes first came to our notice. In the annals of Tigleth Pileser III, we find mention made of horses as being given as tribute by the Medic chiefs to the kings of Assyria, and according to Polybus X, 27) in the time of the Seleucides Media supplied nearly the whole of Asia with these animals.

A. Marcellinus (XXIII, 6, Section 30) mentions the Nysian breed of horses as being well known during the Byzantine period. And we find in the Avesta indications that the horse is highly esteemed. Now the value of the horse generally consists in serving in warfare; it must, therefore, have been an especial favourite with the chiefs of tribes. And this conclusion we find verified by the fact that the word *Aspa*, horse, is of frequent use in the formation of names of princely families handed down to us, *e. g.*, Aurcat-Aspa, Ker-Saspa, Erzraspa, etc.

The bronze bas-reliefs on the gates of Balawat portraying the two-humped camel show that the camel was a familiar animal in Media during the time of the Assyrian Empire, and we find allusions in the Gathas to this animal, *e. g.*, Yasna XLIV, 18, "When shall I get justly and rightly my reward ten mares with their stallions and a camel?" Yasht IX sec. 30, praises a Turanian for possessing 700 camels. A camel is likewise more highly prized than a horse or a cow (Vendidad VII., 42). The Avesta also praises dogs and gives them a very great value, as is shown by the penalties prescribed in the Vendidad for the man who beats or kills a dog. This indirectly gives us the conclusion that the Avesta people must have been mainly pastoral in their (industrial) organisation. We find this confirmed by Herodotus, who says, respecting the Magi, that they kill every thing except man and the dog. (Herod. I., 140.) Among the fauna of Media, of which we find mention in history, *e. g.*, in the annals of Esarhaddon II, we find the dog, sheep, goat, likewise enumerated. (Maspero—passing of the Empire, p. 454.) We therefore think

that the animals of which the Avesta makes a special mention as being particularly useful, being all found in Media, if other evidence leads us to locate the rise of the religion in Media, the circumstance acts as a corroborative argument supporting the main conclusion.

Further, we very often find in the Gathas and in the later Avestic writings, allusions to struggles with non-Aryan races; may not these—or at least some of these—non-Aryan races be those usually designated under the name of Scythians, whom history often mentions as making incursions upon the borders of Media, *e. g.*, they are mentioned as settling on the eastern basin of the Araxes, on the frontiers of Urartu and the *Mannai* (that is to say, the Medes) about 678 B. C. in the reign of Esarhaddon, and again previously to that about 716 B. C. in the reign of Sargon II.

We now come to an argument of a different nature, which likewise seems to support our view. The names of the six tribes whom Herodotus declares to have been in existence in Media about the time of Deiokes have been traced to Iranian derivations, and M. Lenormant derives some conclusions from this identification. One of the names means "natives," another "nomads," a third "dwellers in tents," a fourth "owners of the soil," and only one is expressly designated as "Aryan people." If so, we infer that the rest of the tribes must probably have been non-Aryans; and this inference can agree very well with the supposition that the tribes designated as Medes were Aryans who had gradually advanced from the east towards the west, or from Bactria and Sogdiana towards the central plateau of Iran. Here in Media they became the ruling class, keeping the original inhabitants in subjection. In the course of time, these aborigines themselves came to be designated as Medes. (*Vide* Oppert's Peupleet la Languedes Médes Ch. III.

The course of these migrations, which we have sketched out, is in complete harmony with Schrader's hypothesis that the Aryans originally must have started from the steppes of the Southern regions of Russia in Asia, since on this hypothesis the Aryans must have passed through Bactria and Sogdiana before they came to Media.

We are therefore inclined to hold to the opinion that Zoroastrianism as a reforming doctrine handed down to us in the Gathas, must have taken its rise about the 9th century B.C. among one of the Medic tribes, and that Vistasp, whose name has been so often conjoined with

that of Zoroaster, must have been either the head of this tribe, or following later tradition, must have been the king of one of those tribes which were at first hostile to the religion, and whom Zoroaster succeeded in winning over to his own side.

This is the conclusion at which we are able provisionally to arrive by the aid of data afforded to us by history. Have we any reason to assume that the Medes were already Zoroastrians when they came down from Bactria and the East? Do we possess any data historically ascertained, which might enable us to trace the existence of Mazdaism in Bactria? We have no such data up to the present. Much stress was formerly laid on the traditionary history of Ninos, the alleged founder of the Assyrian empire, who was said to have reduced all Central Asia, including Bactria, to subjection. Men like Harlez have made statements, historically supposed to be valid, founded on this legend, first put forward in Diodorous Siculus. History now regards the story of Ninos as purely mythical and legendary; and thus it comes about that history has hitherto afforded us not a single item of information regarding the early times of Bactria. Under these circumstances to conjecture that the Zoroastrian religion first took its rise in that land is to assert or put forward a hypothesis incapable of verification for the time being.

On the other hand, supposing our theory regarding the time and place of the composition of the Gathas were correct, we may perhaps account for the the tradition of its Bactrian origin, which took its rise in later times, by saying that it was founded upon the historical reminiscence of an original migration of their ancestors from Bactria into Media. It is just possible that the later followers of the religion in their zeal for proving the antiquity of that religion, gave to Vistasp, who may have been a chieftain of one of the Medic tribes, that had emigrated from Bactria, the title of king of Bactria.

If so, we believe we have sufficient grounds, in the present stage of our historical knowledge, to assert that the Gathas may have been composed about the 9th Century B. C., and that their birth-place was one of the tribes of Media.

Art. VI.—*An Untranslated Chapter of the Bundehesh.*

By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

(Read 1st August 1901.)

With reference to a man's actions in this world and his rewards and punishments in the other, there is in Parsee books, what the Rev. Dr. Cheyne calls in his Bampton Lectures of 1889, "a very noble allegory." He says :—"There can be but one opinion among those who have thus perused the Gathas, that, in the midst of a world almost wholly given up to a gross material eschatology, this ancient Irânian prophet declared the true rewards and punishments to be spiritual. His teaching is based on a distinction, which to the Jews came much later, between the material or bodily life and the mental or spiritual, the latter of which connects us with 'those veritably real (eternal) worlds where dwells Ahura.' This distinction did not pass away with Zarathustra ; it pervades the Avesta . . . In short, heaven and hell are not primarily the localities appointed for souls after death; the one is 'life,' 'the best mental state,' the other is 'life's absence,' 'the worst life'—a high doctrine which is embodied in a very noble allegory in the Vendidad . . . . Conscience, in fact, according to the fine allegory, appears to the soul of the deceased man and conducts it to its place." [1]

What is this noble allegory? According to the Parsee books, at the dawn of the third night after death, the soul of a deceased person sees before him, a picture of his own deeds and actions in this world. If he is a religious man, he sees a picture of his deeds in the form of a handsome, well-formed, strong damsel. If he is a sinful man, he sees before him, a picture of his deeds in the form of an ugly, ill-formed, weak woman. The former, *i.e.*, the handsome damsel, speaks words of praise, and welcomes the soul and presents itself as his own picture. The latter, *i.e.*, the ugly woman, taunts the soul for not having done his duty while in the world.

For a poetic description of this beautiful allegory I would refer my readers to a short paper, entitled "Gutre-Tombe—A Zoroastrian Idyll," by Rev. Dr. Casartelli of St. Bede's College, Manchester, in the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume.[2]

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[1] The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter, by Rev. Dr. Cheyne, 1891, pp. 398, 399.

[2] The K. R. Cama Memorial Volume, Essays in Irânian literature written by various scholars and edited by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., 1900, pp. 74-78.

Some think that this allegory had "suggested to Mohammed the idea of the celestial houris." "But at any rate," says Dr. Cheyne, "this Zoroastrian allegory suggested the Talmudic story of the three bands of ministering angels, who meet the soul of the pious man, and the three bands of wounding angels, who meet the bad man when he dies."[3] Several Parsee writings refer to this allegory. They are the Vendidad (XIX. 27-32), the Vishtâsp Yasht (VIII. 53-64), Hâdôkht Nask (chaps. II. and III.), Virâf-nâmeh (chaps. IV. and XVII.), Minokherad (chaps. II., 123-157), and the Dâdistân-i-Dini (chaps. XX. and XXI.). I beg to draw attention to-day, to another writing, wherein the subject of the allegory is described, and that in a rather different and amplified way. The book I propose referring to is the Bundehesh.

Of all the Pahlavi books, there is no book so often referred to, and so often translated, as the Bundehesh. It was first translated by Anquetil du Perron in French in 1771. Dr. Windischmann translated it into German in 1803. In 1868 Dr. Ferdinand Justi translated it for a second time into German. Dr. West, the best Pahlavi scholar now known, translated it in 1880 into English in the fifth volume of Max Müller's Sacred Books of the East. In 1818 it was translated into Gujarati by Dastur Edalji Darabjee Jâmâsp-âsânâ; but as Dr. West says, that translation was more a paraphrase than a translation, I beg to take this opportunity to present to the library of our Society, a copy of my Gujarati transliteration and translation with notes, just published. It will be the first complete translation of the Bundehesh in Gujarati.

The texts, which all these translators have followed, and which Dr. West has described at some length, do not contain the chapter which refers to the above allegory about the future of the soul. So, through the medium of the Journal of our Society, I beg to place, for the first time, before Irânian scholars, the text and translation of this chapter. Dr. West, though he has not translated the chapter, has drawn the attention of students to a copy of "the more extensive text"[4] of the Bundehesh which contains this and several other chapters. He has named this text TD, as it belongs to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria of Bombay. At the time when Dr. West wrote, that was the only "more extensive text" known. But in 1899, Dastur

[3] The origin of the Psalter, p. 437. [4] S. B. E., Vol. V., Introduction.

Kaikobâd Âdarbâd of Poona, in the preface to his "Text of the Pahlavi Zand-i-Vohaman Yasht" drew attention to another "extensive text" of the Bundehesh in the library of his uncle Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Hoshang Jâmâsp of Poona. This text, which I have named DH, from the name of its owner Dastur Hoshang, is not as complete as TD, some of its folio in the middle of the book being missing, but is older than TD. The Trustees of the Parsee Punchâyet, on the recommendation of the Victoria Jubilee Pahlavi Text Committee, at one time thought of printing this older text DH, by the photo-zinco process, at Poona, but gave up the idea, as some of its folios are wanting. They have now begun printing the later but more complete text TD. I would refer my readers to my introduction to the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume, for a genealogy of the writers of these two old manuscripts.

For the text of my translation of the hitherto untranslated chapter referred to above, I follow the text of DH. I have given collations here and there from a copy of the TD kindly lent to me by its owner. I take this opportunity of offering my best thanks to Dastur Hoshangji and to Mr. Tehmuras for kindly allowing me the use of their valuable manuscripts.

On the subject of "the much more extensive text" of TD—and what applies to TD applies to DH also — Dr. West says, "Whether TD may be considered as a copy of the text, as it stood originally, or merely of an after recension of the work, can hardly be determined with certainty, until the whole contents of the manuscript have been carefully examined."[3] . . . .

From the contents of this new chapter, which I have translated, I am inclined to believe, that the much more extensive texts of TD and DH, are not copies of the text as it originally stood, but are of copies of an after recension of the work."

I have two reasons to believe so. Firstly, take the case of the allegory above referred to, as presented in this new chapter. While in all the other Avesta and Pahlavi books, a man's conscience, or his actions, are represented, as appearing before his soul, after death, in the form of a damsel, in this new chapter, in addition to their being so represented, they are represented—(1) in the form of a cow (tôrâ-karp), and (2) in the form of a garden (bostân karp)

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[3] S. B. E., V., Introduction XXXVIII.

This is foreign to the old idea of the allegory, as presented by the older Avesta books and other Pahlavi books. So this is an interpolation by the writers of a later recension of the original Bundehesh. These three different allegories, of the maiden, the cow and the garden, remind us of "the three bands of the ministering angels" in the Talmudic story above referred to, but they are foreign to the original source of the ancient Avesta book of the Vendidâd. [6]

The second fact which induces me to believe that these "much more extensive texts" are copies of a later recension of the work, and not of the text of the Bundehesh as it originally stood, is the comparison of the number of the chapters of the Bundehesh with the number of the chapters of the Avesta Dâmdâd Nask, of which it seems to be a Pahlavi rendering.

Dastur Edulji Jamasp-asana says that the Bundehesh was a Pahlavi rendering of an Avesta Nask. [7] Dr. West adduces two proofs to show, that the Damdâd Nask is probably the origin of the Bundehesh. Firstly, the similarity of the contents of the Dâmdâd Nask, as given in (*a*) the Dinkard, (*b*) Din Vajarkard, and (*c*) the Revâyets [8] and of those of the Bundehesh.

Secondly, the reference to the Damdâd Nask in the Zâdsparam, the contents of which, and in some parts, even the language of which, are similar to those of the Bundehesh. [9]

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[6] The later writer, finding that in the Talmudic story, the soul of the pious man was met, one after another, by three bands of ministering angels, perhaps thought it advisable to improve upon the only old allegory of the damsel and added one after another two more,—one, of a handsome cow and another, of a beautiful garden.

[7] Preface to his Bundehesh, pp. 4-5.

[8] For the originals of the Pahlavi and Persian passages, *vide* my Gujarati translation, transliteration and notes of the Bundehesh (1901), Introduction, pp. 11-15.

[9] Dr. West says on this point :—"Zâdsparam uses, in many places, precisely the same words as those employed in the Bundahis, interspersed with much matter written in a more declamatory style ; it is, therefore, evident that he had the Bundahis before him to quote from." (S. B. E. V. Introd., p. XLVII.) I beg to differ from Dr. West. Had the Bundehesh been before Zâdsparam, he would have named that book as his authority, instead of naming the Damdâd Nask. But as he has named the latter book, I think that the writers of the Bundehesh and Zâdsparam both had a common book, perhaps a summary of the Damdâd Nask, before them.

It seems to me that the very names of the two books adduce a third proof. The word Bundehesh signifies "origin of the creation." The word Dâmdad signifies something similar. It means "the giving (dâd) of the creation (dâm)." In the passage[10] of the Dinkard, which gives the contents of the Dâmdad Nask, we find in the very beginning "Yehabûntan-i-Dâm," as another word for "Dâmdad." In this other word, we find for the Pahlavi word dâd, its Semitic equivalent (Yehabuntan). In the description of the division of the 21 nasks into three classes, given in the 8th book of the Dinkard, occur the words Dehesh nê-i-gêtî dâd (Dahisnô-i-steh-dadô, *i.e.*, production of the wordly creation) which, Dr. West thinks, refer to the Dâmdâd Nask, and are "evidently another name for the Dâmdâd."[11] All these similarities of names point to the fact, that the Dâmdâd Nask was the origin of the Bundehesh.

Now we know from the Revâyets, and from Din Vajarkard, that the Dâmdâd Nask had 32 chapters.[12] So the Bundehesh, which had Dâmdâd Nask for its origin, must also have 22 chapters. But "the much more extensive text" presents about 42 subjects or chapters. This shows, then, that these more extensive texts are copies of later recensions, and not of the original texts of the Bundehesh, which, following its source, the Dâmdâd Nask, must contain about 32 chapters. As a matter of fact, we know that the shorter text, hitherto translated by various translators, only contains about 32 or 33 subjects or chapters. So I am of opinion, that the texts hitherto known and translated, before the discovery of TD, and the later discovery of DH, are copies—with the exception of a few interpolated references to the Arabs and to subsequent historic events—of the Bundehesh originally known, and that the much more extensive texts TD, DH and others, are copies of later recensions, in which many chapters are subsequently added.

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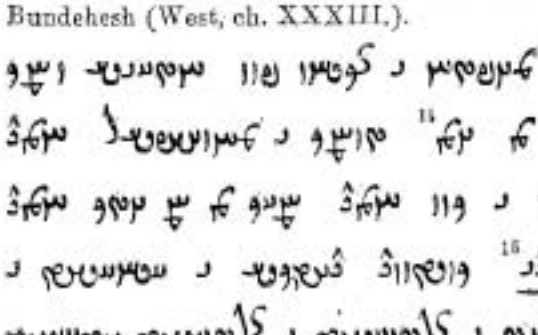
[10] *Vide* the Introduction of my Bundehesh, p. 11, for the passage.

[11] S. B. E., Vol. XXXVII., p. 8, Dinkard, Bk. VIII., ch. I. 16, note 3.

[12] این کتاب سی و دو کرده است Manuscript Revâyet, of the Bombay University Library, Vol. I., Folio 109 A., l. 16. *Vide* also Fragmens relatifs a la Religion de Zoroaster par Mohl et Olshausen, 1829. La second morceau, p. 12., l. 10

[illegible] Din-i-Vajarkard (from an extract kindly supplied by Dastur Kaikobad Aderbad). For the originals of the Persian and Pahlavi passages, *vide* the Introduction to my Bundehesh, pp. 12-13.

I would like to say here a few words on the subject of the name of the original writer and the date of the Bundehesh. In reference to these subjects, I lay stress on the following passage[13] of the Bundehesh (West, ch. XXXIII.).



Translation.

All other priests, who are spoken of in the Khodâî-nâmeh, as belonging to the same family, are of this family of Mindchêher. Also these Mobads, who are of the present times, call themselves of the same family, and also I (your) servant, whom the people call Dâtakiya (the son) of Asha-Vahishta (the son) of Goshan Jam (the son) of Vâhrâm Shâd (the son) of Zarthusht, which Zarthusht is (the son) of Adarbâd Marespand (am of the same family).

I conclude from this passage that the Dâtakiya, referred to here, was the author of the original Bundehesh, and he was the 5th in descent from Âdarbâd Marespand, who was the chief Dastur of the Court of Shapur II., who reigned from 309 to 379 A.D. Supposing that Âdarbâd Marespand flourished in the latter half of the period of Shapur's reign, say, at about 350 A.D.—and calculating 25 years for each generation, we can say that this Dâtakiya lived at the end of the 5th century (350+125=475).

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[13] Taken from DH, folio 229 a., line 16.

[14] DH has [illegible] which is evidently miswritten for [illegible] and which TD has written correctly.

[15] DH has [illegible] which is miswritten for [illegible] and which TD has written correctly.

Dr. West translates the words 'Dâtakiya-i-Ashavahishta' in the above passage as "the administrator of perfect rectitude." He then begins a new sentence with the next word "Yudân-Yim." But on referring to the older manuscripts D. H. and T. D., we find that the words Asha-Vahishta and Yudân-Yim (Goshana Jam) have an "i" (ی) between them. This shows that Asha-Vahishta also is a proper name and the (ی) i between that word and the next word shows the line of descent. In the same way the ی i between Asha-Vahishta and Dâtakiya shows the line of descent.

So, I think that the Bundehesh was written, at first, at the end of the fifth century. Later on, additions have been made to it from time to time. So, we find allusions to the Arab conquest and even to some subsequent events. Dr. West has referred to these allusions at some length. Dr. Darmesteter, in a paper read before the Jarthôshti-Din-ni-khol-karnâri Mandli in Bombay in 1887, referred to the words *Zing-i-Siâk pôsht* (*i.e.*, the black-skinned negroes) in chapter 23, and said that the words alluded to the Zangis or the people of Zanzibar. He thought that it was a reference to an event which occurred in 862 A.D. The people of Zanzibar had settled in the Eastern countries of Irân at the end of the seventh century. In 686 A.D. a chief, named Ali bin Abdul Rehman, said that he had descended from Ali, and that the Khalifate was due to him. He raised an army of Zanzibar slaves and conquered the Persian territories in the east of Irân. It was im 892 A.D. that the Persians finally drove away the Zangbaris from Persia. So Dr. Darmesteter thought that the above was an allusion to the Zanzibar people of that time, and placed the latest date of additions to the Bundehesh as late as from 862 to 892 A.D.

At the end of chapter 34 we find the following words in all manuscripts: "Âkhar val Tâzikân vazlûnt," *i.e.*, "at last (the sovereignty) went to the Arabs." The older manuscripts D. H. and T. D. give the following words instead of the above:—

"Vad zinâkih aiyâft anshakni Tâzikân vad shant-i-chehâr sad chahal-ô-haft-i-Pârsikân. Kun panj bist-o-haft shant-i-Parsik."

I translate this passage as follows :—

"Up to the time the wretched Arabs got the place (of Irân), 447 years of the Parsis. Now 5 times 27 years of the Parsis."

I understand the passage to mean as follows :—In the paragraph preceding the one, where this sentence occurs, it is said of Ardeshir Bâbakân and the Sassanians, that they reigned for 460 years. Now the writer means to say that all these 460 years were not of the rule of the Sassanians. 447 years were of the Sassanian rule and the remaining (460-447) 13 were of the period when Yazdagird was flying here and there after his first defeat.

But the most important part about the latest date of the Bundehesh is the last part, wherein the writer says :— "Now 5 times 27 years of the Parsis," *i.e.*, 135 of the Parsis. We know that even after the death of Yazdagird the Parsis ruled for some time here and there, in the mountainous tracts of Khorâssân and adjoining districts. So the writer means to say that the Parsis ruled here and there for 135 years after Yazdagird. And as he uses the word *kun*, *i.e.*, now, it appears that the date when this part was added to the Bundehesh was 786 A.D. (651 the date of Yezdazard + 135).

With these prefatory remarks I give the text and translation of the chapter.[16]

Madam Chinvahar va robân-i-vadardagân (D H f. 217 a. l. 3).

1. Yemalelûned pavan dîn, algh Chekâtî 1 yâk sad gabrâ bâlâî, mîyân-i-gehân, mun Chekâtî Dâîti karîtund, gôk[17v]-i-

On Chinvahar (bridge) and the souls of the departed.

1. It says in religion, that (the mountain) Chekâtî, which is as high as one hundred persons, (and) is in the middle of the

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[16] This chapter is the 37th in order in T. D. as pointed out by Dr. West under the heading of "On the Chinvad bridge and the souls of the departed." —(S. B. E., V. Introduction, p. XXXVII.)

[17] گوک p. قوق plain ground. T. D. gives گوک If you read it gôd, it is p. گود low-lying ground. Perhaps it is کوک a dome, cupola. If گوک is read *jard* it is miswritten for کژد yellow. cf. Virâf V, 5 [illegible]

tarâzûk Rashna yezato. Tahi[18] pavan bûn-i-kôf-i-Albûrz pavan kôst-i-apâkhtar, va tahi pavan rôêshman kôf-i-Alburz pavan kôst-i-nîmrôj, mîyân madam zak Chekât-i-Dâîtî yekavîmûnêt.

world, (and) which is called Chekâtî Dâîtî, (is) the place of the balance of the angel Rashna. One end (of the bridge) is at the foot of the mountain of Albûrz on the northern side, and one end on the top of the mountain of Albûrz on the southern side, and its middle part on that Chekât-i-Dâîtî.

Pavan zak mîyânê zînâk[19] tahi[20]-i-tîz-i-shûpshîr[21] hûmânâk yekavîmûnêt,[22] mûnash nuhînizê darnâê va pehnâê. Va tamman yekavî-mûnêt[23] minôyân yazad-dân[24] mûn mînôyîkhâ rôhân-i-

In that middle part (there is) a place with a sharp edge, which is like a sword, whose length and breadth (are) nine spears; and there are spiritual Yazatas there, who purify pious souls; and

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[18] Same as [illegible] tih p. [illegible] single, bottom or [illegible] single, a unit; end, point. cf. Pahlavi Vendidâd XIX., 30. Spiegel, p. 217, l. 21.

[illegible] (sic) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

i. e., It has two ends, one is in the Chekât-i-Dâîtî and one on the Alburz. cf [illegible] Dâdistân-i-Dînîk, question XIX., S. B. E. West Pahl. texts, II., chap. XX., 4 The word [illegible] can also be read tîh. p [illegible] to sharpen, to give an edge. In the Dadistân the word is written tîg P. تیغ point of a spear.

[19] T D. Zinâkî. [20] T. D. omits.

[21] [illegible] T D. has [illegible] arb. سیف (pl. سیوف) a sword, scimitar. The writer of D H. seems to be doubtful about this word Shûpshîr, because he writes in Persian, below the word, با م (bâ mîm), i. e., he asks the reader to read the word with "m" instead of "p" shûmshîr instead of shûpshîr.

[22] In D. H. and T. D. we have "yekavîmûnât yekavîmûnêt," but the word seems to be written twice. T. D. has simply "yekavîmûnêt."

[23] Dadistân ques. XX., S. B. E., XVIII., West, ch. XXI., 5.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[24] cf. Pahlavi Vendidâd XIX., 30. Sp. p. 216 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

i. e., "Which (bridge has) spiritual angels of its own.

âbalôhân yôshdâsarend va kalbû[25]-i-mînôyî pavan rôêshman-i-zak pûhar vadûshakhû azîr zak puhar.

2. Amat mardûm barâ vaḑîrend seh lêlyâ rôhân pavan nazdîk-i-tan tamman âighash rôêshman yehevûnt yetîbûnêt; va zak lêlyâ mûn Vîzarîsh shêdâ va hamkârân kabad ân shap[27] avshân khadîtûnêt, va hamâê pûsht lakhvâr val âtash vâdûnêt i tamman afrûkht yekavîmûnêt. Hanâ râê zak seh lêlyâ vad yôm tamman aighash rôêshman yehevûnt âtash pavan afrujashna yakhsûnd. Va amat zak âtash lôît pûsht lakhvâr val âtash-i-vâharâm ayûp âtashân-i-ham-afrank[28] hômand vâdûnêt. Den zak seh lêlyâ amat karînashna va vashûpashna val tan yâmtûnêt adînash aêtûn dûshkhvâr medammûnêt chîgûn g a b r â î amatash mân[29] khefrûnd.

spiritual dogs (are) at the head of the bridge; and heli is below that bridge.

2. When men die, for three nights, the soul rests near the body, at that place, where there was the head; and on those nights, (he) who (is) the demon Vîzarîsh, with (his) co-workers, looks much at them during the night, and always turns his back towards the fire[26] which is kindled there. For that reason, during the three nights, up to (the dawn of) the day, the fire is kept burning there, where his head (is lying). And when the fire is not there, he turns his back to the Âtash-Vâhrâm, *i.e.* to the all glorious fires. During the three nights, when pain and misery come to the body, then as much uneasiness appears to him, as to a man when his house is being dug up.

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[25] Compare this idea of the dogs watching at the gates of Heaven with the similar Vedic thought. "Fear not to pass the guards. The four-eyed brindled dogs—that watch for the departed." (*Vide* my Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, pp. 9-10.)

[26] It is a Parsee custom to keep the fire burning for three nights, in the room, where a dead body is placed before its removal to the Tower.—*Vide* my paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees," p. 10. Vendidâd VIII., 79-80.

[27] ۵۵۳ P. آن شب. This is a repetition, "zak lêlyâ" having been already mentioned a little above. The word can be read "andâz" P. انداز purpose, intention or measure. Then the phrase "kabad andâz" may mean "with great intention" or "several times, repeatedly."

[28] P. افرنگ dignity, grandeur.

[29] DH has mâni. Mân of TD is better, P. مان Av. [illegible]. It can also be taken in the sense of "family."

3. Zak seh yôm rôbân pavan bâlên i tan pavan zak âbmîd[30] yetîbûnêt aigh yehevûnêt amat khûn tâpêt va vât val tan vazlûnêt[31] va li lakhvâr vazlûntan tôbân yehevûnât. Va âkhar lélyâ i seh yôm den bâmî ât zak rôbân âhloban denman yemallûnêt aigh: "neyôk valman mûn min zak i valman neyokih katarchûé, aigh li neyôk azam har kas neyôk, avam Aûharmazd pavan kâmê sharîtâih[32] yehabûnt."[33] Va ât zak rôban darvand yemallunet denman "Zak tan jân na karp mûnash levatman pavan dûbârishna, dûbârêt. Homanam[34] âkhar min latamman val aigh dûbâram."[35]

3. For those three days, the soul sits before the head of the body, in the hope, that it may so happen, that the blood (of the dead body) may be heated and the wind may enter the body[32] and "I may be able to go again (into the body)." And afterwards, on the third night at the dawn, if the soul be pious, it says thus: "He is good from whom goodness (proceeds) to any body else, *i.e.*, (if) I am good every body else will be good through me, Aûharmazd has created me with a free will." And if the soul be sinful, it says thus: "That person, whose life and body were together in a state of loitering, loiters. Then, to which place shall I run from here?"

4. Va ât âhloban tîz pavan zak gôbashna vâtî paḍîrê yâtûnêt i shapîr neyôktar v hubôîtar pîrôjgartar min hamâk vâtân i pavan gêtîha mûn rôbân barâ hûravâkhmînêt. Va ât darvand vâti padîrê yâtûnêt gandêtar va pûtêtar a-pîrôjgartar min hamâk

4. And if (the soul be) pious, immediately with those words, there comes before him a wind, which is better, more excellent, more fragrant, more auspicious than all the winds that are in the world, and which pleases the soul. And if (the soul be) sinful,

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[30] For [illegible] p. [illegible]. [31] *i. e.*, the body may be resuscitated.

[32] *Lit* royal will. *Cf.* Hâdôkht Nask II., 5.

[illegible]

[33] DH yehabûnêt. [34] In the sense of [illegible]

[35] Cf. Virâf XVII., 7. [illegible]

vâtân pavan gêtîha mûn rôbân dûshmarîha[36] pîm[37] yâmtunêt.

there comes before him a wind, more stinking and more putrid (and) more inauspicious than all the winds of the world, which brings to the soul a fear of evil recollections.

5. Va âkhar yedrûnd ât zak rôbân val hamâk mûn âhloban mûnach darvand. Ât âhloban den râs adinash tôrâ-karp val padîrê yâmtûnêt farpîh pûr pim mûn robân azash patîkhûih[38] va charpîh yâmtûnêt. Ḍud[39] kanîk-karp padîrê yâmtûnêt hû-karp i sapîd vastarg i pânzdah sâlê mûn min hamâk kôstê neyôk mûn rôbân patash shâd shayêt.[40] Dûd bôstân i-karp yâmtûnêt pûr-bar pûr-maya pûr-mîvê pûr-patîkhû mûn rôbân hu-ravâkh-mînîh va patîkhu-mînashnîh yâmtûnêt. Ait bûm[41] vahîshtîk

5. Then they carry that soul, whether (it belongs) to all who (are) pious, or who (are) even sinful. If pious, there comes before him in the way, the figure of a fat and milky cow, from whom come to the soul, happiness and sweetness. Again, there comes before him the figure of a damsel, who is well-formed, of white clothes, of fifteen years of age, who is good from all sides, (and) with whom the soul is pleased. Again, there comes the figure of a garden, full of leaves, full of water, full of fruits, full

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36 Perhaps miswritten for [illegible] unpleasantness. It will then be the opposite of the above hûravâkhminîh.

37 P. [illegible] cf. Virâf I. 20. [illegible]

38 [illegible] This word occurs in Mînôkhêrad II., 2, where its Pazend equivalent is [illegible] Neryôsang gives its Sanscrit समृद्धि samriddhi (prosperity, opulence). It is there used in the sense of prosperity. a Avesta [illegible] or [illegible] to nourish [illegible] nourishment.

39 *Lit.* another. Here used in the sense of 'secondly, thirdly.'

40 DH [illegible] but TD has [illegible] which is better. P. شاد شود so perhaps shâyêt is from Pazend [illegible] or it is miswritten for [illegible] yehavûnêt.

41 DH [illegible] but TD [illegible]

demman pish min hamâr dakhshê pavan gêhân khadîtûnêt.

of fertility, from whom blissfulness and fertile thoughts come to the soul. It is a paradise-like place, incalculably more (paradise-like) than that of which one sees signs in the world.

6. Aît mûn zak rôbân ayôk ayôk pûrsêt amatash padîrê yehevûnêt. Pûrsêt aigh "lak mûn hûmanî mûn li aîtûn mayammûnêt? aighat harvesp khvârih va âsânih." Patash aêtûn valmanshân ayôk ayôk pasakhun yemallûnd. "Li hûmanam âhloban Dîn i lak kûnashna[42] ziyat varzît. Amat lak neyôkih kard li lak râê latamaman yehevûnt humanam.

6. There are some souls, who, when they meet, ask one another. One asks: "Who art thou, who appeareth thus to me? that is thou art all happiness and ease?" They, one by one, reply to him thus: "Oh righteous man! I am the Din (i.e., religious picture) of thy work, which you performed. When you performed good deeds, I was formed here for thee."

7. Ât zak rôbân darvand adinash tôrâ-karp val padîrê yâmtûnêt khushk va zârva sahamkîn mûn rôbân khûshk khushkih va zâr charpih azash yâmtûnêt. Ḍûd kanîk-karp rasêt sahamkûnd dûsh-karp mûnash tar-mînashnih nehûft yêkavimûnêt min hamâk kûstê sahamkîn mûn robân azash bim va tarsashna yâmtûnêt. Ḍud bôstân-karp yâmtûnêt avî-maya i avî darakht[43] avî-khvârih mûn rôbân dûsh-mînashnîh yâmtûnêt.

7. If the soul is sinful, then there comes before him the figure of a cow, without milk, and weak, and frightful, (and) from whom there comes to the soul, dry dryness and weak fatness. Again, there comes the figure of a damsel fearful, ill-formed, who has evil thoughts concealed in her, who is frightful from all directions, and from whom come to the soul, terror and fear. Again, there comes the

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[42] DH has [illegible] which is a mistake for [illegible], which we find in TD *Cf* Virâf IV., 23, 24. [illegible] If we take simply 'kun,' the meaning would be "which you now performed;" but this evidently seems to be a mistake.

[43] [illegible] miswritten for [illegible]

Aît i bûm i dûshakhâîk denman pîsh hamûr dakhshê gûyed.[44]

figure of a garden, waterless, treeless, dreary, from whom there comes to the soul evil thoughts. This is a hellish place, whose (hellish) character is said to be immeasurable.

8. Aît mûn valmanshân ayûk ayûk pûrsêt aîgh "lak mûn hûmanî? min lak hanâktar pavan gêtîh lâ khadîtûnt." Pasakhun val valman yemalelund âîgh "Âî darvand li din i lak munat nafshman kûnashna humanam. Amat lak zak i saritar varzît latamman lak râê yehevûnt humanam. Âî[45] paêtâk âîgh kolâ aîsh kunashnih nafshman padîrê yehevûnêt.

8. There are those (souls) who ask one another: "Who art thou? A more harmful (person) than thee is not seen in the world." They say in reply to that:[46] O sinful! I am thy religion, who (*i. e.*, I) am thy own work. When you performed what was evil, I was formed here for thee;" that is to say, it is clear that one's own actions come before him.

9. Âkbar zak rôbân râînênd bûn i kôf i Albûrz aîgh tîgach i gûk[46] madam zak sâtûnêt vad bâlist i Chekât aîgh zak tîgi tiz yekavîmûnêt. Âtarô i Farbag i pirôjgar târikîh barâ zanêt va pavan âtash karp zak rôbân pavan zak tîg vaḍârêd. Avash zak mînôyân yazadân yôshdâsrênd mînôyihâ pavan gok[47] i dadîgar vaḍârêt vad val bâlist i Albûrz.

9. Then they carry that soul to the foot of the mountain Albûrz, where it walks over it up to the very edge of the hill, up to the top of the Chekât where the edge is very sharp. The auspicious fire Farbag smites the darkness and that soul passes over the edge in the form of fire. Those spiritual yazads purify it, and it goes spiritually to another

[44] [illegible] Zend Pah. Glossary, p. 33, l. 2. If read javîd, the meaning would be "Its characteristic is quite of a different kind beyond measure."

[45] DH gives [illegible] but TD correctly [illegible]

[46] [illegible] P. کوک a dome. In the sense of a hill. If we read "tig-i-chîgûk" it may mean the "edge of a knife" P. چیغو or چاقو. The Revâyets speak of "knives" in these matters. TD₂ has [illegible] Perhaps it is miswritten for [illegible] Chinvad.

[47] T D₂ has [illegible] Then it would mean, "It passes on with goodness."

Avash vâê shapîr yadman madam vakhdûnêt val jînâk i nafshman yedrûnêt chegûn zak amat rôbân makadlûnêt va tamman avaspârêt. Tanach amat pavan gêtîh yôshdâsrênd pavan zak angôshîdê minôyîk.

summit, up to the very summit of Albûrz. The Good Wind catches hold of his hand, carries it to its own place, as the soul would like, and there it entrusts it (to the heavenly beings). In the same way, as that, in which they purified the body in the world (they purify it) spiritually.

10. Át zak rôbân darvand amat pavan gôk madam val i Chekât yâtûnêt zak tîg i tîz pavan ham tîgi barâ yekavîmûnêt va vadarg lâ yehabûnêt va avash a-kâmagîhâ madam ham-tig sâtûntan âvâyêt pavan seh gâm i farâz khanakhtûnêt i aêt dûshmata dûshhûkhta dûshhvarshta zîash varzît yekavîmûnêt. Farut bardanêt min rôêshman i puhar sar-negûn val dûshakhû aûftêt va khadîtûnêt kolâ hanâkîh.

10. If that soul is sinful, when it comes from the hill up to the Chekât, that sharp edge continues to be of the same sharpness and does not give a passage; and it is forced against its will to walk over the same edge, with three steps, which it places forward and which are evil thoughts, evil words (and) evil actions which it had performed. It retires below from the top of the bridge, (and) falls headlong into the hell, and sees all kinds of harm.

11. Denmanach yemalelunêt aîgh mûn pavan râdîh âhlôban yehavûnt yekavîmûnêt, amatash zak vât val padîrê rasêt, den zak vât kanîk karp khadîtûnêt, zak pûrsashna vâdûnêt. Avash zak kanîk pavan râs-nûmâîh val saratî[48] yedrûnêt mûnash seh pâyak patash va pavan zak sarat val garûtmân vazlûnêt pavan seh gâm i aît[49] hûmata, hûkhta

11. It is likewise said, that he, who has become righteous by his generosity, when that wind comes before him, sees in that wind, the form of a damsel (and) puts him that question. That damsel takes him, under her guidance, to a pleasant locality which has three grades over it and by that pleasant locality takes him to the paradise, by

[48] Arabic صرّة surrat, the choicest part of a valley. Perhaps it is P. صرط sarat "travelling smoothly along the road" or صراط sirât the straight road. In Koran, a bridge is spoken of as Al sirât, which corresponds to the Chinvat bridge.

[49] DH has [illegible] but TD has correctly [illegible]. In the corresponding sentence in para. 10 also, we have [illegible]

hûvarshta. Nazdest gâm vad val setar-pâyak, daḍigar vad val mâhi-pâyak, sehḍigar vad val khûrshîd-payâk âigh garûtmân i rôshan.

12. Ât pavan pûjih[50] darvand yehavûnt yekavimûnêt amatash zak vât padirê yehavûnt den zak vât kanik karp rasêt va zak pûrsashna vâdûnêt. Aît kûnashna tig i tîz hûmânâk varḍêḍ mûn hamâk tîg i tîz. Val zak robân yemulelûnêt âigh "darvand amatat kâmê va amatat la kâmê. Madam denman pavan gâm sâtûntan avâyet." Adin rûbân yemalelûnêt âigh âtam pavan kardô i kabad tigi borîni shapir mayammûnêt aigh pavan gâm madam denman sâtûnam. Daḍigar hamâîninê yemalelûnêt. R ô b â n pasakhun yemalelunêt aigh âtam pavan tîr barâ makhitûnî shapir mayammûnî aigh madam denman pavan gâm sâtûnam. Seḍigar hamâtninê yemalelûnêt. Valman pasakhun yemalelûnêt aigh âtam khayâ min tan barâ makhitûni shapir mayammûnî aigh madam denman pavan gâm sâtûnam.

three steps, which are good thoughts, good words and good actions. The first step is up to the Setar-pâyak (*i.e.*, star-grade paradise), the second up to the Mâhpâyak (*i.e.*, the moon-grade), the third up to the Khûrshîd-pâyak (*i.e.*, the sun-grade), *i.e.*, the brilliant Garûtmân.

12. If, by his baseness, he has become sinful, when that wind appears before him, the form of a damsel comes in that wind and makes that inquiry. She is (a picture of his) actions, like a sharp sword which moves about like all sharp swords. She says to that soul: "O sinful! what is your desire? What is not your desire? You shall have to walk on this with your steps." Then the soul says: "If you will cut me, with a very sharp knife, it will appear better than that I should walk on this (sharp edge) with steps. For the second time (the damsel) speaks in the same way. The soul says in reply: "If you will kill me with an arrow, it will appear better than that I should walk with steps on this. For the third time (the damsel) speaks in the same way. It says in reply: "If you cut off (my) soul from (my) body, it will appear better than that I should walk with steps on this."

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[50] P. پژج vile, base, trifling. From the context it appears to be opposed to پژدیه radih, generosity.

13. Adîn[51] ât[52] zak kûnashna dad i sahamgûn i lâ dastmôk hûmânâk yehavûnet lavîn i rôbân barâ yekavîmûnêt. Zak rôbân avîn tarsêt aîgh madam zak pavan gâm sâtunêt va pavan sch gâm farût bardanêt val dûshakhû aûftêt. Munash vanûs va kerfê kolâ dô râst adînash val hamîstêgân yehabûnd. Hamîstêgân râê yemalelunêt aîgh jînâki chegûn gêti hûmânâk. Kolâ aîsh pavan zak pâyak xîshân kerphê va jînâk yehabûnd yetibûnand[53].

13. Then that (picture of one's) deed becomes like a frightful untamed wild beast (and) stands before the soul. The soul is so much frightened with it, that it walks over this (narrow path) with steps and retires down with three steps and falls into the hell. Those, whose sins and righteous acts are both equal, are then given into the Hamistêgân. It is said of the Hamistêgân that it is a place like the world. All persons sit in that grade, which is assigned according to his righteousness and position.

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[51] This word is not found in TD, but found in TD_2 and D H. Miswritten for adîn 'then.' Perhaps miswritten for 'at once,' which is sometimes interpreted by اکنون 'now' (Pahl. Pas. Glossary, p. 51).

[52] This word has been subsequently added in DH. It is not necessary. The meaning can be complete without it.

[53] TD has the whole sentence thus *i. e.* All persons are given a place according to their righteousness.

ART. VII.—*A Note on some Gold Coins found in the Bijapur District.* By SHRIDHAR R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.

(Communicated, September 1901.)

The six gold coins or pagodas on which the following note has been drawn up have been received from the Collector of Bijapur. They were found near the pathway of a village (Malghan), some sixteen miles south of Bijapur, having been unearthed by cattle constantly treading up the ground. They are circular pieces cut off from thin gold plates, the diameter being about an inch. Each weighs about 67 grains. The reverse is markedly convex and the obverse concave in the case of three of them, and less so, in the case of two. The sixth one is almost flat. Except for the raised lines due to the punches on the obverse, the reverse is blank.

The central design is that of a conical pagoda. Within the pagoda there is at the top the archaic form of श्री, and at the bottom the following letters on two of the coins:—

श्री जगदे

कमल

On the other four, the letters at the bottom are simply:—

जगदे

कमल

The form of the letters is old Canarese. The *ma* especially is sharply distinguished from the modern Canarese or Telugu *ma*, and resembles closely that of the middle stage of the Canarese and Telugu type of the Southern India alphabets. Round about the central figure on all four sides of it, श्री has been punched in four different places, and also similarly between every two "Sri"s, more or less of the letters जगदेकमल. These punch marks do not have exactly the same relative position with regard to each other on any two of the six coins. In the first two, the four letters in the first line are crowded together, and in the other four the three letters are wider apart. In the former again there is a greater distance between क and म than between म and ल. In the latter all the three are equally apart from each other.

The coins, therefore, seem to have been struck from the simplest form of a die in which, according to Elliot (Coins of South. Ind., p. 54, last para.) there "appears to have been a reversal of the superior action of the punch by striking the gold plate upon the single symbol placed below, and then adding the additional symbols by the old-fashioned process around the central device, having the other side or reverse plain, except where it shows the grain of the anvil or basis on which it rested. The force of the blow has in many instances given the upper side a concave surface."

Such "a particular application of the Indian method of punch-marking, by which each portion of a definite design is impressed on the coin by a separate punch," the Chalukya (*i. e.*, the earlier Châlukya) coins are remarkable for (Rapson: Indian Coins, p. 57). The present coins then resemble them in that respect. The usual Châlukya emblem of the boar is, however, absent. But no coin which can be assigned to any of the later Western Châlukyas has yet been known to possess that emblem. There are two coins mentioned by Dr. Hultzsch at pp. 321-2 of the Ind. Ant., Vol. XXV., which, on account of the legends on them, he would assign to the Châlukyas, one to a later Châlukya and the other either to a later or an earlier Châlukya. They do not, however, bear the emblem of a boar but of a lion.

As to which Jagadekamalla the present coins are to be assigned to, there are three of that name known so far. One is Jayasimha (A.D. 1018-1040) of the line of later Châlukyas called Jayasimha II. by those who would regard the earlier and the later Châlukyas as one. The second is one known among the records by that name only (A.D. 1138-1150). The third is Permaḍi Jagadekamalla, of the Sindas of Yelburga. He was not a Châlukya, but a great feudatory of the Châlukyas, who with his father helped Vikramâditya II. of the later Châlukyas in his wars, and who, during the reign of Jagadekamalla, ruled over provinces now forming part of the Bijapur and Dharwar districts. But as he was a feudatory only and, as according to Mr. Fleet (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Pt. II., p. 575) he was called Jagadekamalla-Permaḍi, because he was a feudatory of Jagadekamalla II., it is unlikely that the coins could have been stamped with his name, and that as Jagadekamalla.

To which of the remaining two Jagadekamallas the coins should be assigned, it is very difficult to decide. Perhaps the fact, that the

name Jagadekamalla, which originally at least is a *birada*, should have been so far identified with the second ruler of that name, that his original proper name, if he had any, does not occur even once amongst the "some fifty" records of his reign that are now known (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Pt. II., p. 457), would seem to indicate that they should be assigned to him.

The presence of a pagoda on these coins instead of a boar as also that of a lion on one of the coins mentioned above, that Dr. Hultzsch would, on account of the legend on it, assign to a Trailokyamalla might, perhaps, be considered an additional reason for regarding the earlier and the later Châlukyas as separate dynasties besides those given in Dr. Bhandarkar's Early History of the Dekkan, pp. 79-80 (Second edition). In that case, however, the second coin mentioned by Dr. Hultzsch as bearing five punch marks representing a lion, which on account of the additional punch marks "Jaya" and "Deva," he would refer to Jayasimha, would have to be referred to Jayasimha (or Jagadekamalla I.) of the later Châlukya Dynasty, and to admit that in the case of that dynasty either the same king or two different kings (if the present coins are referred to Jagadekamalla II.) made use of two different emblems.

The word "pagoda" originally meant a temple, and has since come to mean a golden coin on account of certain golden coins having the figure of a pagoda stamped on them. Such coins, it therefore seems, were once very common even up to a recent date. Hence it appears very curious that the present coins should be the first ones of that kind which should have come up for notice.

Art. VIII—*The Parsees at the Court of Akbar, and Dastur Meherji Rânâ.*

(Read 19th December 1901.)

Akbar, who is spoken of as the Edward I. and the Henry VIII. of his race,[1] as the Joseph II. of Hindustân,[2] and as the first Darwinian before Darwin,[3] had tried his best to unite his people in religion and government. To a certain extent, he tried to play the same part in India, as that which Ardeshir Babegân (Artaxerxes I. of the Greek historians) played in Persia and Soter or Ptolemy I. played in Egypt.

It is a little difficult to say what his new religion exactly was. It was a mixture of several elements. Prof. Blochmann calls it "monotheistic Parsi-Hinduism." (Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 212.) Comte de Noer chooses to call it a sort of Parsi-Soufi-Hinduism, of which the Irânian worship of the sun was the purest expression. He says :—

"On pourrait appeler la foi nouvelle une sorte de parsi-çoufi-hindouisme, dont le culte iranien du Soleil était l'expression la plus pure.[4]

Prof. Max-Müller says: "It is well known that the Emperor Akbar (1542—1605) had a passion for the study of religions, and that he invited to his Court, Jews, Christians, Mohammedans, Brahmans, and Zoroastrians, and had as many of their sacred books as he could get access to, translated for his own study."[5] As the latest edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica[6] says, "Scepticism as to the divine origin of the Koran led him to seek the true religion in an eclectic system. He accordingly set himself to obtain information about other religions, sent to Goa, requesting that the Portuguese missionaries there would visit him, and listened to them with intelligent attention when they came. As the result of these inquiries, he adopted the creed of pure deism and a ritual based upon the system of Zoroaster."

Captain Vans Kennedy[7] says on this subject, "Akbar, however, seems to have been aware that deism was too spiritual a system to admit of its becoming a national religion, and that it was necessary,

[1] A Handbook to Agra, by Keene, p. 130.

[2] L' Empereur Akbar, par le Comte F. A. De Noer. Traduit de l'Allemand, par G. Bonet Maury, Vol. I., p. 346. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid, p. 343.

[5] Introduction to the Science of Religion, p. 17. [6] Vol. I., p. 434.

[7] Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay (1820). Reprint of 1876, Vol. II., pp. 277-278.

in order to recommend it to the people, to introduce some ceremonies and some visible mode of worship. But, anxious to divert the minds of men as little as possible from the direct contemplation of the Supreme Being, he adopted as intermediate objects of respect the sun and planets and as their representative the sacred fire. . . . . The only ceremonies which were adopted were the principal annual festivals of the Zardushtian." Further on Captain Kennedy says, "It may be supposed that the worship of the sun and of the sacred fire was borrowed from the Hindus; but it seems more probable that it was adopted from the followers of Zardusht, as Akbar not only adopted their year but also their festivals." [1]

Blochmann says, "The principles of toleration, which no king before Akbar had dared openly to confess, had even laid hold of the philologic mind of the king's subjects, and for the first time did the words of the worshippers[2] of 'the fire which Muhammad extinguished,' find a place in a dictionary, the compiler of which was, moreover, a Sayyid of the purest blood. Merely to flatter Akbar, who, though a Sufi in his heart, was a Parsee by his rites, could not have been the compiler's sole object." (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. I., 1868, "Contributions to Persian Lexicography," p. 14.)

Prof. Rehatsek says: "He (Akbar) had no doubt considered that outward signs would be captivating to the minds of untutored natures, and therefore he began to worship the sun as one of the greatest manifestations of the omnipotence of the Creator; he revived the ancient Zoroastrian festivals, substituted their months for those of the Hegira, and also maintained sacred fires. As the number of Parsees was too small, these matters were not introduced from political motives."[3]

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[1] Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. II., p. 285, Reprint of 1876.

[2] As an instance of Zoroastrian words used at the Court of Akbar, we may quote the following from Abul Fazl's work . . "Royalty is a light emanating from God, and a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the universe. . . . . Modern language calls this light *farr-i-izidi* (the divine light) and the tongue of antiquity called it *kiyân khwarah*" (Ain-i-Akbari, Abul Fazl's Preface, p. III., Vol. I., Blochmann). The *kiyân khwarah* referred to here is the *kavaêm khvarenô* of the Avesta. The language of antiquity, referred to by him, is the ancient Pahlavi language.

[3] The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Islâm, consisting of passages from the Muntakhab-Al Tawârikh of Badâoni, translated by E. Rehatsek (1866). Translator's Preface, p. II.

The Parsees of the 16th Century had an influence not only upon king Akbar, but also upon many great men of the age. Comte de Noer says on this point: "Il y avait aussi la religion des Guèbres ou Parsis, dont le centre principal était sur la côte Ouest, notamment dans le Goudjarat: c'est la qu'ils avaient transporté le feu sacré, et une partie de leurs livres saints, où était contenue la doctrine vénérable de Zarathustra . . . . Et, malgré leur petit nombre et leur peu d'importance politique, les Parsis ont exercé une influence considérable sur les plus grand esprits de l'Inde vers la fin du XVIême siècle." [1]

All these scholars then say that in his new religion Akbar was, to a certain extent, influenced by Zoroastrianism.

It appears, that Akbar's co-religionists themselves, knew well his leaning towards Fire-worship. We find Abul Fazl defending his king in the 72nd Ain.[2] Speaking of Akbar's adoration of God at morning, noon, evening and midnight, when the Sun has different positions in the sky, and defending his ways of adoration, he says: "But why should I speak of the mysterious blessings of the sun, or of the transfer of his greater light to lamps? Should I not rather dwell on the perverseness of those weak-minded zealots, who, with much concern, talk of His Majesty's religion as of a deification of the Sun and the introduction of fire-worship? But I shall dismiss them with a smile."

Now, the question is: Who were the Zoroastrians that went to the Court of Akbar and influenced him, to a small or great extent, towards Zoroastrian forms of worship, ritual and festivals, as referred to above? Were they Indian Zoroastrians or Persian Zoroastrians? In a paper entitled "Akbar and the Parsees [3]" read before our Society on the 8th of August, 1896, by Mr. R. P. Karkaria, it has been attempted to shew, that it was the Persian Zoroastrians from Persia, under Ardeshir, who had an active hand in influencing king Akbar, that the Indian Zoroastrians under Dastur Meherji Rana had very little to do in the matter, and that Akbar must have called the latter to his Court only "out of curiosity." [4] This is not the

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[1] L'Empereur Akbar, par Comte de Noer, Traduit par G. B. Maury, Vol. I., p. 23. [2] Ain-i-Akbari, by Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 155.

[3] Journal of the B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII., pp. 289-305.

[4] Ibid, p. 296.

first time, that doubts have been raised against Dastur Meherji Rana's mission to the Court of Akbar. Unfortunately, latterly there has been a division of parties among the priesthood of Naôsâri. Some are opposed to the family of Meherji Rana and its associates. Some of them have, ere this, raised such doubts, several times, in some of the Gujarâti papers. But it was for the first time, that the question was transferred by the abovementioned paper, to the platform of this Society.

At the time when the paper was read before our Society, the question was discussed with some warmth in the Bombay papers.[1] I then took only a passive interest in the question. But at the instance of a friend, who lately came to Bombay from Europe, and who takes a great interest in the question, I have gone over the question and studied it. So, I beg to place before the Society, a few facts, which lead me to a conclusion, different from the one arrived at in the above-mentioned paper. I have fortunately been able to secure some original documents and old manuscripts bearing on the question, and these I beg to produce before the Society to-day.

I will treat the whole question under three heads. I.—Firstly, I will try to prove, that it was the Naôsâri Parsees, who influenced Akbar. II.—Secondly, I will try to prove that, it was Dastur Meherji Rana, the leader of the Naôsâri Parsees who influenced Akbar. III.—And thirdly, I will examine the objections that have been raised to these two facts. I will then give in the Appendix, copies of some of the documents referred to in this paper, with my translations and observations.

I.

Before going into the subject of our paper, in order to have a clear grasp of all the events of king Akbar's reign, referring to this matter, I will give here a chronological table of those events. The dates of the events, referring to his reign and to the religious discussions of his Court, are given on the authority of Badâoni. Most of them are taken from Blochmann's version of the extracts from Badâoni given in his translation of the Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., pp. I.—XXXVI. 167—213. (For the comparison of Hijri years with the Christian years, *vide* ibid., p. 168, note 2. Also Elliot's History of India, Vol. V., p. 246. The Hijri year 981 began on 3rd May, 1573.)

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Khurshedji Manockjee Shasri for kindly placing at my disposal his very interesting file of extracts from papers on this subject.

Chronological Events of the Reign of Akbar.

Events.	Dates. A. D.		Hijrî
Akbar born	14th October	1542	949
Mubârak, father of Abul Fazl, attached himself to the religious movement suggested by the approach of the first millenium of Islâm, when Imâm Mâhdi was to appear. (The movement had first begun in 900 Hijri.) ...		1549	956
Shaikh Alâi appeared as a Mâhdi			
Abul Fazl born[1]	14th January	1551	6th Moharram 958
Akbar ascended the throne ...	10th March	1556[2]	963
Akbar assumed the reins of government from the regent, Behrâm Khân	March	1560	
A document of the Naosari priests agreeing to perform religious ceremonies properly. Meherji Rana signs it at the top...		1566	
A document of the Naosâri priests agreeing that they should not drink toddy when engaged in the Atash Behrâm (Fire temple). Dastur Meherji Rana signs it at the top		1570	
A document of the Naosari Parsees entrusting a piece of land to Dastur Meherji Rana		1573	
Abul Fazl received favourably at court. (Long before this he had talked with the wisest men of different religions.) He says in the Akbar-nâmeh[3] : "My mind had no rest, and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia, or to the hermits on Lebanon ; I longed for interviews with the lamas of Thibet or with the pâdris of Portugal, and I would gladly sit			

[1] Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann's. Vol. I., Introd. p. 1.

[2] *Vide* Elliot, Vol. V., p. 246.

[3] Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., Introduction, p. XII.

	Dates.	
	A. D.	Hijri
with the priests of the Pársis and the learned of the Zend Avesta.") Abul Fazl speaks, under the events of 981 Hijri, of his interviews with Mobeds. (Bengal Asiatic Society's Akbar nâmah, by Maulawi' Abd-ur-Rahim, Vol. II., p. 84)	1573	981
Badâoni introduced at the court of Akbar	1574	981
Badâoni appointed Court Imâm ...	1575	982
Commencement of the religious discussions, of which Badâoni gives an account	1576	983
The appearance of a comet (Rôz Ard 25 (Arshisang) Mâh Abân).	1577	985
Badâoni mentions the event of the coming of Naûsâri priests under the events of the year 986 Hijri.[1] They must have come some time before, because Badâoni speaks of it as a past event, آمده بودند. The Dabistân also, in the events of the year preceding Rajeb 987, speaks of the event as a past event. (آمده بودند. Bombay Lithographed Edition of 1277 Hijri, p. 266, l. 4)	1578-79	986
Abul Fazl refers to the presence of Parsees at Akbar's Court under the events of this year (Akbar-nâmeh, Calc. ed. III., pp. 252-53, Elliot VI., p. 59) ...	1578-79	
Abul Fazl brought up, at the Thursday evening meetings at court, the question that the King was the temporal as well as the spiritual head and guide of the state	1579	986
The date of the document, wherein Meherji Rana is referred to as the leader of the Naûsâri priests[2] ...	12th March 1579	
The date of the document "unique in the Church History of Islâm," which Shaikh Mubârak, in con-		

[1] Lowe's translation, p. 260. Loos and Ahmad Ali's text, p. 251.

[2] Parsee Prakash, Vol. I., p. 8. *Vide* Appendix for the original document.

	Dates. A. D.	Hijri
junction with his sons Faizi and Abul Fazl had drafted, and by which Akbar was certified to be "a Mujtahid, *i.e.*, an infallible authority in all matters relating to Islâm"[1]	September 1579	Rajab 987
Mir Jamaluddin commences his new Persian dictionary, the Farhang-i-Jehangiri[2]...	1579	987
The principal religious disputations at the Court, in which the Parsees were concerned, came to an end, because the unique document محضر was signed, and on the 16th (15th according to Rehatsek's translation) of the Rajab of this year, the King left for Ajmere (p. 272, l. 17, Vol. II., Lees and Ahmad Ali's Edition of Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh. Rehatsek, p. 33), and from the new Jalali year the King openly adopted Sun and Fire-worship	1579	987
Date of the second document, wherein Meherji Rana is referred to, as the leader of the Naôsâri priests[3] (Samvat 1336)	1st September 1580	
King Akbar openly began to worship the Sun and Fire from the New Jalali year[4]	1580-81	988
King Akbar established 14 holidays and adopted calendar according to the manner of the Zoroastrians (Rehatsek, p. 53).	1582	990
Abul Fazl lost his mother. Akbar personally went to console him.		

[1] Badaoni's Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Edition, p. 272, l. 7, Vol. II., Rehatsek's translation, p. 32. It was of this time that Abul Fazl wrote,:—"The Court became a gathering place of sages and learned of all creeds; the good doctrines of all religious systems were recognized and their defects were not allowed to obscure their good features." Blochmann's translation of Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., Introduction p. 14.

[2] Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I., No. 1., 1868, p. 12.

[3] Parsee Prakash, Vol. I., p. 9, *Vide* Appendix for the document.

[4] Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 269. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Text, Vol. II., p. 261, l. 16. Blochmann's translation in Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 184. Rehatsek, p. 27.

	Dates.	
	A. D.	Hijri
("Religious matters had in the meantime rapidly advanced. . . . . The Islamitic prayers were abolished at court and the worship of the 'elect' was based on that of the Pârsîs and partly on the ceremonial of the Hindûs. The new era (Târîkh i-Ilâhî) which was introduced in all Government records, as also the feasts observed by the emperor, were entirely Pârsî ")[1]	1st September 1589	997
The date of a letter from Naôsâri to Div, in which Meherjee Rana is referred to as the head of the priests[2]	6th August 1590	998
Meherjee Rana died	1st November 1591	1000
Mir Jamaloddin received orders from King Akbar to complete the Dictionary (Farhang-i-Jehangiri).[3] Akbar granted sums for the purchase of manuscripts and called Ardeshir from Persia to assist Mir Jamâluddin	1592	1000
Shaikh Mubârak died	4th September 1593	1001
Date of the grant of 100 Bigâhs of land to Dastur Kaikobâd in addition to 200 granted, to his father Dastur Meherji Rana[4] ...	1595	1003
Badâôni's History ends[5]	1595-96	1004
Abul Fazl completed the Ain-i-Akbari	1596-97	1005
The date of the letter of Ardeshir of Kermân to Kamdin Padam of Broach[6] (Roz 24 Mâh 1. 967 Yazdzardi Kadmi)	20th November 1597	1005
Abul Fazl killed by Jehangir ...	12th August 1602	4th Rajab 1011

[1] Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann, Vol. I., Introduction, p. XVI.

[2] Khan Bahadoor B. B. Patel's Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 9. *Vide* Appendix for a true copy. [3] Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I., No. 1, 1868, p. 12. *Vide* below, pp. 19-20. The preface of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri.

[4] *roj* 10 *wah* 12 year 964 Yazdajardi 2nd November 1595.

[5] Elliot's History, Vol. V., p. 479. [6] Parsee Prakash, Vol. I., p. 10 gives roz 23. Mr. Manockjee R. Unwala's lithographed edition of the Revâyet, Vol. II., p. 458, l. 7. *Vide* below, p. 24. This date corresponds to 29-12-996 Shâhanshâhi.

	Dates.	
	A. D.	Hijri.
Akbar died... ... ...13th October	1605	1014
The Dictionary called Farhang-i-Jehangiri (so called because finished in the time of Jehangir), for which Ardeshir had come to India, finished	1608	1017
The author of the Dabistân born some time about	1615	1024
The last event mentioned in the Dabistân relates to the year 1653. So the Dabistân must have been written after 1653	1653	1063

Having this chronological list of the events of Akbar's reign before us, we will now proceed to the subject of the question, as to who it was that led Akbar toward Parseeism? Were they the Zoroastrians of Persia or those of India? There are two works of history which show directly and two works which show indirectly that they were the Zoroastrians of India.

I.—The first and the most important work, which refers to this question, and to which frequent references are made in this matter, is the Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Abdul-Qâdir ibn-i-Mulûk Shâh Badâôni. We find the following passage in this work referring to the Parsees that went to the Court of Akbar, to take a part in the religious discussions there :—

BADÂÔNI.

و آتش پرستان که از شهر نوساری از ولایت گجرات آمده بودند
دین زردشت را حق نمودند و تعظیم آتش را عبادت عظیم گفتند و
بجانب خود کشیده از اصطلاح و راه و روش کیانیان واقف ساختند
تا فرمودند که آتش را باهتمام شیخ ابوالفضل بروش ملوک عجم که
آتشکدهٔ ایشان همیشه بر پای بود دایم‌الاوقات چه در شب چه در روز
در محل نگاه میداشتند باشند که آیتی است از آیات خدا و نوریست
از انوار وی و هوم که عبادت است از آتش پرستی بموافقت دختران
راجه‌پای پند خود از عنفوان شباب درون حرم معمول بود و در ایام
نوروز سال بیست و پنجم از جلوس سجدهٔ آفتاب و هم سجدهٔ آتش علانیه
میکردند و مقربان نیز در وقت افروختن شمع و چراغ قیام لازم ساختند

(Page 261, l. 7. The Muntakhab-al-Tawârîkh of Badâôni, edited by Capt. Lees and Munshi Ahmad Ali, Vol. II., Calcutta 1865.)

Translation by Blochmann. (The Âin-i-Akbari, by Abul Fazl, translated by Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 184.)[1]

[1] Badâôni's passages about the religious views of Akbar have been translated by other scholars also. *Vide* (a) The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Eslâm, by Prof. Rehatsek. For this particular passage, *vide* p. 26. (b) Works of Prof. Wilson, Dr. Rost's Collection, 1862, Vol. II., pp. 379-400. Wilson gives

"Fire-worshippers also had come from Nausâri in Gujrât and proved to His Majesty the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines. They called fireworship' the great worship,' and impressed the emperor so favourably, that he learned from them the religious terms and rites of the old Parsis, and ordered Abul Fazl to make arrangements, that sacred fire should be kept burning at court by day and by night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings, in whose fire-temples it had been continually burning; for fire was one of the manifestations of God and 'a ray of his rays.'"

"His Majesty, from his youth, had also been accustomed to celebrate the Hom (a kind of fire-worship) from his affection towards the Hindu princesses of his Harem."

"From the New Year's day of the twenty-fifth year of his reign (988) His Majesty openly worshipped the sun and the fire by prostrations, and the courtiers were ordered to rise, when the candles and lamps were lighted in the palace."[1]

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rather a free rendering or purport than a literal translation. For the particular passage about the Parsees, *vide* p. 389. (*c*) Elliot's History of India, Vol. V., p. 530. (*d*) The work has been translated by Prof. Lowe, 1884; *vide* Vol. II., p. 268, for the passage. (*e*) Blochmann's versions have been quoted by Prof. Max Müller in his Introduction to the Science of Religion; *vide* Edition of 1882 (pp. 220-234), p. 231, for this passage.

[1] The Âin-i-Akbari also refers to the king's reverence for fire and light. It says:—

گیهان فروز روشن دل نور دوستی را ایزد پرستی شمارد و ستایش الٰهی اندیشد نادان تیره خاطر دادار فراموشی و آذر پرستی خیال کند خود پژوه ژرف بین نیکو داند هرگاه نیایش صورتی بر گزیدگان طراز شایستگی دارد و نکردن را نکوهیده بر شمارد بزرگ داشت این والا عنصر که سرمایهٔ هستی و پایندگی مردم زاد بود چگونه سزاوار نباشد وچرا بدان تباه خیال در شود و شیخ شرف‌الدین مُنیری چه خوش میگوید هرکرا آفتاب فرو شود اگر با چراغ نسازد چه کند شعله از آن سرچشمهٔ آلهی نورست و نشان آن گوهر قدسی اگر خور و آذر نبودی غذا و دوا از کجا صورت بستی و چشم بینا بچه کار آمدی آتش این شمع اقبال آسمانی است

Blochmann's Text of the Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 43, 18th Ain.

Translation.

"His Majesty maintains that it is a religious duty and divine praise to worship fire and light; surly, ignorant men consider it forgetfulness of the

Now what do we find from this passage of Badâôni's history? We find the following facts:—

(1) That the Parsees from Naosâri "proved to His Majesty the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines."

(2) That they "impressed the emperor so favourably that he learned from them the religious terms and rites of the old Parsîs."

(3) That Akbar thereupon "ordered Abul Fazl to make arrangements, that sacred fire should be kept burning at court by day and by night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings."

(4) In Hijri 988 (A. D. 1581), *i.e.*, about two years after the coming of the Naosâri Parsees to the court, "His Majesty openly worshipped the sun and the fire by prostrations; and the courtiers were ordered to rise when the candles and lamps were lighted in the palace." (This is a practice which is even now observed by many Parsees.)

Thus, we find from the above passage of Badâoni, that the Parsee mission from Naosari was successful in showing satisfactorily to Akbar, the fundamental principles of their religion. Badâôni says nothing about any mission of Persian Parsees. Had any Parsee mission come from Persia at this time, he would have alluded to it. He only speaks of the Naosari Parsees. It was on the authority of the above passage from Badâôni, that an eminent orientalist, like the late Prof. H. H. Wilson, in his paper entitled "Account of the Religious Innovations attempted by Akbar," printed in the *Quarterly*

Almighty, and fireworship. But the deep-sighted know better. As the external form of the worship of "the select," is based upon propriety, and as people think the neglect of some sort of worship abominable, there can be nothing improper in the veneration of that exalted element, which is the source of man's existence and of duration of his life; nor should base thoughts enter such a matter.

"How beautifully has Shaik Sharaf-ud-din Munyari said, 'What can be done with a man who is not satisfied with the lamp, when the sun is down?' Every flame is derived from that fountain of divine light (the sun), and bears the impression of its holy essence. If light and fire did not exist, we should be destitute of food and medicines; the power of sight would be of no avail to the eyes. The fire of the sun is the torch of God's sovereignty." (The Ain-i-Akbari, translated by Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 48). The tone of justification for sun-worship adopted here by Abul Fazl in the words, "If light and fire did not exist, we should be destitute, etc." reminds us of a similar tone of justification used in the Avestâ in the Khurshed Nyâish and Khurshed Yasht (The Invocation in honor of the Sun) and implied in the words "should not the sun rise up then the Daevas would destroy all things, etc."

[illegible] (yt. vi. 3. S. B. E., Vol. XXII., p. 86).

Oriental Magazine, Calcutta, in 1824, said that a number of fire-worshippers from Naosari had influenced King Akbar in favour of Zoroastrianism.

Extracting from the work of Badâôni, "the substance of those passages which relate to the new religion of Akbar,"[1] he says, "A number of fire-worshippers who arrived from Nausarî in Guzerat, gained many converts to the religion of Zerdusht. The emperor was, to a certain extent, amongst them; and he committed the charge of maintaining a sacred fire in the palace night and day to Abul Fazl. He also assisted at the Homa, a species of fire-worship, which was performed daily in the inner apartments by those ladies of the harem, who were of Hindu descent."[2]

We must bear in mind, that this evidence from the work of Badâoni is the evidence of one, who was a staunch Mahomedan, and who was quite hostile to the religious discussions at the court, and to the Emperor's spirit of toleration. Badâoni wrote, as Prof. Max Müller says, "with an undisguised horror of Akbar's religious views."[3] His "book was kept secret, and according to a statement in the *Mirât-ul' âlam*, it was made public during the reign of Jahângir."[4] So, had the Naosâri Parsees failed in their mission, he would not have hesitated to say so. It is on the authoritative testimony of such a contemporary writer, that Wilson bases his statement. He understands Badâoni clearly to say, that it was the fire-worshippers of Naosâri, who influenced King Akbar in the matter of Zoroastrianism.

No authority can be stronger than that of Badâoni, in the matter of describing the result of the visit of the Naosâri Parsis to the court of Akbar, and no authority can be stronger than that of Wilson, in the matter of properly understanding Badâoni's passage about the Naosâri Parsees.

There is another author, who has clearly understood Badâoni, as saying, that it was the Naosâri Parsees, who instructed King Akbar in Zoroastrianism. It is the Comte de Noer (1830 to 1881). I quote his words as translated from the German by M. G. Bonet Maury. "Il y avait à Naousari, dans le Goudjerat, des disciples de Zarathushtra, descendants de réfugiés persans, qui avaient été proscrits pour cause de

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1 Works of H. H. Wilson, collected by Dr. Rost, Vol. II., p. 281.

2 Ibid., p. 383.

3 Introduction to the Science of Religion, Edition of 1882, p. 209.

4 Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 104, note 2.

religion et avaient trouvé dans l' Inde une nouvelle patrie ; on les appelait Parsis, c-a-d. adorateurs du feu. Quelques uns de leurs prêtres furent mandés á Sikri, et initièrent l' empereur à leur religion."[1]

II.—The next important work which refers directly to this question, and to which frequent references are made in this matter, is the Dabistân, which was written, at least about 57 years after Badâoni's death.[2] The passage referring to this matter is as follows :—

و همچنین آتش پرستان که از قصبه نوساری که از ولایت گجرات است آمده بودند دین زردشت را حق و تعظیم آتش راعبادت عظیم می گفتند حضرت ایشانرا بجانب خود خوانده از راه و روش کیانیان وثوق حاصل نمودند و هم اردشیر نام زردشتي دانارا زر فرستاد از ایران آوردند و آتشرا باهتمام تمام بنواب علامي شیخ ابوالفضل سپردند و مقرر ساختند که بر آئین موبدان بطریقي که آتش کدهٔ ملوک عجم همیشه برپا بود دایم‌الاوقات چه در شب چه در روز در اندرون شبستان نگهدارند که آیتي است از آیات خداوند و نوریست از انوار ایزد بلند و همچنین از کرمان آتش پرستانرا بخواند و دقایق دین زردشت از ایشان پرسیدند و نامها بآذر کیوان که سر کردهٔ یزدانیان و آبادانیان بود نبشتند و اورا به هند طلبیدند

(p. 266 of the Bombay Edition of the Dabistân of 1277 A. H. تعلیم دوم در عقاید الهیه . نظر دوم از تعلیم دوم در بحث پای اهل ادیان)

Translation.

"In like manner, the fire-worshippers who had come from the town of Nôusarî, situated in the district of Gujerât, asserted the truth of the religion of Zoroaster, and the great reverence and worship due to fire.

[1] L'Empereur Akbar par le Comte de Noer, traduit par G. B. Maury, Vol. I., pp. 314-315.

[2] The Dabistân, translated by Shea and Troyer. Introduction.—The author of the Dabistân mentions dates from A. D. 1618 to 1653, so it must have been written at least after 1653. He lived from A. D. 1615 to 1670. Badâoni died about 1596.

The emperor called them to his presence, and was pleased to take information about the way and lustre [1] of their wise men. He also called from Persia a follower of Zardusht, named Ardeshir, to whom he sent money; he delivered the sacred fire with care to the wise Shaikh Abu'l-Fazil, and established that it should be preserved in the interior apartment by night and day, perpetual henceforth, according to the rule of the Mobeds, and to the manner which was always practised in the fire-temples of the Kings of Ajem, because the *Iti* set[2] was among the sentences of the Lord, and light from among the lights of the great Ized. He invited likewise the fire-worshippers from Kirman to his presence, and questioned them about the subtleties of Zardusht's religion; and he wrote letters to Azer-Kaivân, who was a chief of the Yezdânian and Abâdânian, and invited him to India. (Dabistân, Vol. III, pp. 95-96, translated by Shea and Troyer.)

We learn from this passage the following facts :—

(1) That "the fire-worshippers, who had come from the town of Nôusarî, situated in the district of Gujerat, asserted the truth of the religion of Zoroaster and the great reverence and worship due to fire."

(2) That "the emperor called them to his presence and was pleased to take information about the way and lustre[1] of their wise men" (*Kiâniân*).

(3) He ordered Abul Fazl to keep the sacred fire burning day and night.

Thus we see that the three facts found in the passage of Badâôni are repeated in the above passage from the Dabistân.

But in the passage of the Dabistân there is one more statement which is not found in Badâoni. It is —

That Akbar "*also* called (mark the word '*hau*,' in Persian, *i. e.*, also) from Persia a follower of Zardusht, named Ardeshir, to whom he sent money. He invited *likewise* (mark the word "*hamchunin*" in Persian, *i.e.*, likewise) the fire-worshippers from Kirman to his presence and questioned them about the subtleties of Zardusht's religion; and he wrote letters to Azer-Kaivân."

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[1] The word is روش not روشن; so it means customs.

[2] The English translator has not properly understood this passage. It is bodily taken from Badâoni, where it is translated by Blochmann as "Fire was one of the manifestations of God."

Now it is sought to infer from the additional fact mentioned in the Dabistân that "Akbar must have been dissatisfied with the priests from Naûsari whom Badâoni mentions, and seeing that they could not teach him much, determined to go further afield and invite Ardeshir and other Parsees from Kirman."[1] The Dabistân does not at all permit that inference.

Firstly, in connection with this matter, simply from the fact that the Dabistân gives the above additional fact, it is supposed to give "a fuller and more detailed account."[2] A careful examination of the above two passages from Badâoni and the Dabistân in their original Persian, shows that the account of the Dabistân, on this subject, is no way "fuller and more detailed." It is an almost verbatim reproduction of Badâoni's passage. Were it not for the fact, that it is the old oriental authors that are concerned, among whom such things were, to a certain extent, common, such a reproduction, in modern parlance, would be called plagiarism pure and simple. I give below, side by side, the passages, both from Badâoni and from the Dabistân in their original Persian, which will enable any one to see at a glance that the Dabistân passage is nothing but a reproduction of the Badâoni passage, with the exception of the statement about Ardeshir and the fire-worshippers from Kirman.

BADÂONI.	DABISTÂN.
Va âtash parastân kê az sheher *i Naûsârî az velâyat i Gujrât âmadê bûdand,*	*Va* hamchunîn *âtash-parastân kê az* kasbê *i Naûsârî kê az velâyat i Gujrâtast âmadê bûdand,*
dîn i Zardusht râ hak namûdand	*dîn i Zardusht râ hak*
va taazim i âtash râ êbâdat i azîm goftand, va *ba jâneb i khûd* kashîdê az estelâh va *râh va raresh i kiânyân vâkef* sâkhtand.	*va taazim i âtash râ êbâdat i azîm* mi-*goftand.* Hazrat ishân râ *ba jâneb i khûd* khoûnd az *râh va raresh i Kiânyân vakuf* hâsel namudand. va ham Ardashîr nâm Zardushtî dânâ râ zar firstâd va az Irân avurdand.

[1] Mr. Karkaria, "Akbar and the Parsees." Journal of the B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII, p. 296.

[2] Ibid., p. 295.

tâ farmûdand kê *âtash râ ba ihtamâm Sheikh Abu- al- Fazl* ba ravesh *mulûk i Ajam* kê *âtash-kadêh* i îshân *hamîshê bar pâê bûd dâyam al awkât chê dar shab chê dar rôz dar* mahl *negâh* midâshtê bâshand *ke âyatî ast az âyât i khûdâ va nûrîst az anwâr i vaê.*

va *âtashrâ ba ihtamâm* i tamâm ba navâb elâmî *Shaikh Abu- al-Fazl* sepurdand va mukarar sâkhtand kê bar âîn i môbadân ba tarîkî kê *âtash- kadêh i mulûki Ajam hamîshê bar pâ bûd dâyam-al-awkât chê dar shab va chê dar rôz dar* andarûn i shabastân *negah* idârand *kê âyati ast az âyât khûdâ va nur-ist az anwâr* i Izad buland.

The author of the Dabistân has taken bodily, not only the above passages from Badâoni's Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, but a large portion of this subject of religion. Take for example Raja Birbal's praise of the sun, (Compare Dabistân's Persian Text, Bombay Edition of 1277, p. 265, l. 12, and Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, by Lees and Ahmed Ali, Vol. II, p. 260, l. 14. Compare Shea and Troyer's translation of the Dabistân, Vol III, p. 93, and Rehatsek's translation of Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh in his "The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Eslâm," p.25) and Abul Fazl's argument with Badâoni on the subject of the previous authors not doing full justice to ancient prophets. (Compare Bombay Edition of the Dabistân, p. 266, l. 14, and Lees and Ahmed Ali's Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh of Badâoni, Vol. II., p. 262, l. 7. Compare the above-mentioned translations. Shea and Troyer III., p. 96 Rehatsek, p. 27).

Many other passages show that the author of the Dabistân has taken passages bodily from Badâônî, with slight changes of words here and there, and with this difference, that while Badâônî, strict Mahomedan that he was, has shown his bigotry in his expressions, the author of the Dabistân is free from it.

As to which is a better authority, the Muntakhab-al-Tawârîkh of Badâônî or the Dabistân of the supposed author, Mohsan Fanî, we have the following opinion of Prof. Wilson. He says :[1] "The Dabistân gives us an account of the religious disputations, which were held in Akbar's presence, and in the character of a philosopher may be supposed to personify the opinions of the king. This work does not, however, state the particular dogmas of the sect instituted by the monarch, and the sentiments of the sage are more of a negative than

[1] Works of Prof. Wilson by Dr. Rost (1862), Vol. II., pp. 379-380.

affirmative description, subversive of all existing systems rather than the foundations of a new code of belief. From this uncertainty, however, we have a satisfactory appeal, and find in a work written towards the close of Akbar's reign, a most minute recapitulation of progress of the Emperor's deflections from the faith of Mohammed, and the new institutes and observances which he laboured to introduce. The work is the Muntakhab-at-Tawârîkh compiled by Abd-ul-kâder Maluk Shah Bedâôni."

Professor Blochmann takes the same view. Giving extracts from Badâôni on the religious views of Akbar, he says: "The above extracts from Badâonî possess *a peculiar value*, because they show the rise and progress of Akbar's views, from the first doubt of the correctness of the Islam to its total rejection, and the gradual establishment of a new Faith, combining the principal features of Hinduism and the Fireworship of the Pârsis. *This value does not attach to the scattered remarks in the Âin, nor to the longer article in the Dabistân.* As the author of the latter work has used Badâôni it will only be necessary to collect the *few remarks* which are *new*" (Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 209). As to the discussions at the religious meetings, as described by the Dabistan, Elphinstone thinks them to be "probably *imaginary*" (Bk. IX, Chap. III., Cowell's ed., p. 535. The italics are mine).

Now, let us see, if we can account for the additional statement in the Dabistan, *viz.*, Ardeshir's visit to the court of Delhi. That a learned Persian Zoroastrian, named Ardeshir, came from Persia at the special invitation of Akbar is certain. That is proved from the independent source of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri. But the facts (1), that he came for quite another purpose, *not* for the purpose of taking any part in those religious discussions, which led Akbar to openly acknowledge Zoroastrian forms of worship, and (2) that he came a long time *after* the years 1581 and 1582 when Akbar adopted these forms of worship, are equally certain, and can be placed beyond any shadow of doubt.

As to the first fact, *viz.*, that Ardeshir was sent for, from Persia, by Akbar, for quite another purpose, we have the authority of Mir Jamal-ud-din, a writer contemporary with Akbar. He was the writer of the well-known Persian lexicon, Farhang-i-Jehangiri. This work was begun by him in the reign of Akbar, who had patronized it, and finished in the reign of his successor Jehangir, after whom it was called Farhang-i-Jehangiri. We will give here, in the words of the

author himself, an account of his dictionary, as far as Akbar was connected with it. He says in the preface [1] :

Translation.

" From the prime of youth, I had the inclination and desire of reading and perusing the poems of the ancients, and in the company of friends and companions, a good deal of my time was spent in (reading) the discourses and collected poems of teachers of old times; and when many of their poems contained Persian, Pahlavi and Dari words and idioms, &c., I had helplessly to refer to Persian vocabularies called *farhangs*. And I came across many words and idioms in the poems of the ancients, which were not found in any dictionary ; and in the case of those that were found, there was a good deal of contradiction and confusion. As the bankers of the thread of learning and wisdom, had written much in investigating and ascertaining the origin of words and idioms, but had made no difference between Persian and Arabic words, the object was not fulfilled, and necessary questions (of difficulties) remained neglected. Therefore, the desire of preparing a book in this noble branch of learning, became fixed in my poor mind. I collected in several parts, all the unknown words that came across my sight in books of poetry and prose. In short, I spent, well nigh one generation, which is the period of 30 years, a good deal of my time and a good deal of my life in making researches in Persian, Pahlavi and Dari words and idioms, &c.

" 'I worked hard for 30 years and revived Persia with this Persian.' [2] The hand of eloquence became strong through me. I finished the book of Pahlavi. After many researches and investigations, such a number of words and idioms were collected as had not come to the hand of any other lexicographer. But the arrangement of those, on account of difficulties, the description of the encounter of which is of no great advantage, had fallen into the sphere of delay; and from the excess of my inquiries,

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[1] Lucknow lithographed edition, of 1293 Hijri (هجری) Introduction, from page 3, l. 5. Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwala's old manuscript, p. 1, l. 16. As far as I know, this portion from the preface of the Farhang has not been translated. So I give my own literal translation of it.

[2] Quoted from Firdousi. Mohl, Vol. I., Preface, p. XC., l. 20. Macan's Calcutta edition, Vol. I., p. 65, l. 18.

my excellence in this art (of writing a lexicon) had reached such a stage, that very few words and phrases have remained uninvestigated by this slave (*i.e.*, myself) by means of his fiery inquiries of proofs; so that many just-minded friends, knowing me to be worthy of confidence in this kind of learning, brought before me every difficulty which they met with, in their study of prose and study of words . . . . . In short, the excellence of this servant, in this (branch of) learning, being sufficiently well known, in the month of Zi-'l-qu'da (*i.e.*, the 11th month) of 1000[1] Hijri, at the time, when the banner of Akbar Badshâh, the sun of the nobles . . . . . had the honour of appearing in the city of Srinagar, which is the capital of Cashmere, one of my friends spoke in the paradise-like assembly (of the king) about the researches of Persian words and phrases which I had been fortunate to make. The members of His Majesty's court, as soon as they heard this matter, called the humblest of sincere friends (*i.e.*, myself) in the noble and holy presence of his Majesty. His Majesty said very gracefully and elegantly (lit. with a tongue that drops pearls and scatters jewels) 'since the time the Arabs had the hand of authority in the country of Persia, the Persian language having been mixed with Arabic words, most of the Parsi and Dari and Pahlavi words have become obsolete, nay, have disappeared altogether. So the explanation of the books which have been written in old Persian languages, and the meaning of the poems, which poets of old times have adorned with ornaments of poetry, have remained concealed and hidden under the curtain of concealment and the veil of privacy.

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[1] The lithographed edition from which I translate gives the year ١٠٥٠ (*i.e.*, 1050), which is evidently a mistake for ١٠٠٠ (*i.e.*, 1000). A manuscript copy of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri, lent to me by Mr. Manockji R. Unwala, gives ١٠٠٥ (*i.e.*, 1005). That also is a mistake. Blochmann's manuscript (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1868, Part I., No. 1, p. 12) gives 1000. This is correct, because the writer connects the event with Akbar's visit to Srinagar, and we know that Akbar visited Cashmere in 1000 Hijri, "and reached his destination on the sixth of Muharrum (the first month) of the year one thousand and one" and spent nearly a month in "his private garden" باغ خاصه (Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh, translated by Lowe, Vol. II., p. 398, Lees and Ahmad Ali's Edition, Vol. II., p. 384, ll. 19, 20). Thus according to Badâôni, on the 6th of Muharrum (the first month) of 1001, he arrived in Cashmere (*i.e.*, the capital). So the interview with Jamal-ud-din may have taken place a few days before.

Therefore, before this time, I had ordered some of the members of this court, which protects learned men, to prepare a book containing all the old Persian words and phrases. No body could perform that work as it should be.[1] It is necessary that in this noble branch of learning, you should prepare a book of good fame, and sublime name, so that in consequence of its always being united with my good fortune, its effect may remain permanently on the pages of time for day and night (*i.e.*, the book may be connected with my name and prove useful for ever). . . . ."

The author then goes on to say, that he then began to collect about 44 previous *farhangs* or lexicons, Zend and Pazend books and other Persian works. But, before he completed his work, Akbar died in 1014 Hijri (1605 A.D.). Akbar's son Jehangir came to the throne, and the dictionary was finally completed in his reign, three years after Akbar's death. So the author named it after Jehangir and called it Farhang-i-Jehangiri.

He says—

مرتبت گشت این فرهنگ نامی
باسم شاه جمجاه جهانگیر
چو جستم سال تاریخش خرد گفت
زهی فرهنگ نورالدین جهانگیر

Translation.

i.e., this famous dictionary became honoured by the name of king Jehangir, who is like king Jamshed in dignity. When I looked for its date, wisdom said: "Zahi Farhang Nur-ud-din Jehangir," *i.e.*, Well done, the dictionary of Nuruddin Jehangier !

The numerical value of the letters of the above *misrâ* is 1017 Hijri (1608-09 A.D.). This is the date of its completion.

We learn from this long passage several facts. *Firstly*, we learn, why it was that king Akbar patronized it, and *secondly*, we learn the different dates of its commencement, its patronage by Akbar, and its completion. We will speak of the dates later on.

Firstly, as to the patronage extended to it by king Akbar, we learn that the speciality of this new lexicon, to which the author attaches great importance, and to which the king himself also attaches great importance, is that it contains many old Persian words, especially of Zend and Pazend origin. It is for this purpose, that the author collected several Zend and Pazend books.

[1] Arabic 'ka-mâ-yambaghi' meaning "as it should be."

Now, it was to assist Mir Jamal-ud-din, the author of the Farhang, in his work, that king Akbar had specially sent for Ardeshir, a learned Persian of Kerman, to whom the Dabistan refers. Blochmann says on this point: "From the preface of the dictionary it appears that the labours of the compiler extended over thirty years. A. H. 1000, or thirteen years after the commencement of the compilation, when Akbar was at Srinagar, Mir Jamál-ud-din received the order to complete his dictionary. Not only did Akbar grant sums for the purchase of manuscripts, but he even called learned men from Persia to assist Mir Jamal-ud-din in the compilation. The historian Badâôni indeed tells us that many a word was investigated in Akbar's *majlis-i-khâç*, the emperor himself evincing that taste for the study of words which Muhammadans so eminently possess . . . . The Zand and Pazand words form a peculiar feature." [1]

We learn from the Farhang-i-Jehangiri itself, that Ardeshir was sent for from Persia, for the purpose of this dictionary. Blochmann refers to this passage in his abovementioned paper on "Contributions to Persian Lexicography."

برسام . . . . شرح این لغت از مجوسی که در دین خود
بغایت فاضل بود و اردشیر نام داشت و اورا مجوسیان موبد می
دانستند و حضرت عرش آشیانی محض بجهت تحقیق لغات فرس
مبلغها از برایش فرستاده از کرمان طلبیده بودند تحقیق نموده نوشت

(Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. 1, 1868, p. 14, article by H. Blochmann.)

As Blochmann has not translated this passage, I give my own translation.

Translation.

"Barsam —The meaning of this word is written, after being ascertained from a Majûs (Magus), who was very proficient in the knowledge of his religion, and who had the name of Ardeshir, and whom the Magi held as their Mobed (priest), and whom His Glorious Majesty,

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[1] Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. 1, p. 12-14, 1868. Paper on "Contributions to Persian Lexicography."

[2] Ervad Manockji Rustomji Unwala's old manuscript of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri gives the word as آستاني. It would then mean "of the throne-like threshold." But the word as given in Blochmann's manuscript is correct, because عرش آشیانی meaning "nestling at the foot of the divine throne" was "a name given to the Emperor Akbar after his decease."—(Steingass.)

having sent money for him, had specially called from Kerman for the purpose of ascertaining (the meanings of) Persian words." The word 'barsam' is an old Zand Avesta word. Firdousi uses it.[1]

The long explanation, which the author gives, of the word *Barsam* is very technical, and so he refers to his authority.[2] In the case of another word also, we find, that the author of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri gives his authority. It is in the case of the word Azar آذر. He does not give the name of the person but simply refers to him as an old person of the Zoroastrian faith. Blochmann thinks, that perhaps this is a reference to the same person Ardeshir. We read the following under the word, آذر or آذر. I follow the text of Mr. Unwala's manuscript.

فقیر که راقم این حروفم پیری از پارسیان را که در دین زردشت بود دیدم که جزوی چند از کتاب [3]زند و وستا داشت چون مرا رغبت و [4]شغف تمام بجمع لغات فرس بود و در فرس از ژنه

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[1] The author of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri quotes the following lines in which Firdousi uses it :—

پرستندهٔ آذرِ زرد هشت
بمیرفت با باژ برسم بمُشت
چو از دور جای پرستش بدید
شد از آب دیده رخش ناپدید
فرود آمد از اسپ برسم بدست
بزم زم بیگفت و لبرا ببست

The first couplet is from the account of Behrámgour's reign (Mohl VI., p. 64, couplet 705, Macan's Calcutta Edition, Vol. III., p. 1579). The next couplet can be traced, with a little modification, to the account of the reign of Khusrô Parviz (Mohl VII., p. 186, couplet 2295, Calcutta Edition, Vol. IV., p. 1949), but the third couplet, which seems to be in continuation of the second couplet, I am not able to find in any of the copies of the Shâh-Nâmeh wish me.

[2] The word is so obsolete, from a non-Parsee point of view, and the explanation is so technical, that the later lithographed editions of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri have omitted the word 'barsam,' perhaps as being of no use to the modern students. Blochmann's manuscript of the work has given it. Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwala's MS. which I have used for this purpose gives the word, *vide* p. 155.

[3] Blochmann's copy has the word correctly written ژندا وستا (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. 1, 1868, p. 14).

[4] The lithographed edition of Lucknow of 1293 Hijri (1876 A.D.), p. 56, has شفقت

و وستا [1] کتابی معتبرتر نیست بجهت تحقیق لغات با او صحبت میداشتم
و اکثر لغاتی که در خاتمه این کتاب از زند و بازند و وستا نقل شده
از تقریر آن [2] زردوشتیست و او هرگاه قراءت زند مینمود باین لغت
که میرسید آدر بضم دال غیر منقوطه میخواند و میگفت که در کتاب
زند و [3] وستا این لغت بدال منقوطه نیامده

Translation.[4] (I give my own translation, as Blochmann's is rather a free one.)

"I (lit. my humble self) who am the writer of these lines, saw an old man of the Parsees, who was of the Zoroastrian religion, and who had a few parts of the Zend Avesta books. As I had a great longing and yearning for the collection of Persian (*fars*) words, and as there is no more authoritative work for the Persian than the Zend Avesta, I kept up a friendly intercourse with him for ascertaining (the meanings of) words. And most of the words, which are given in the supplement of this book, from the Zend and the Pazend and the Avesta are as explained by that Zoroastrian. While reading the Zend whenever he came to this word (Âzar) he read it Ádar with a *zamma* (or '*pesh*') over *dâl* without the *nûkta*, and said that in the book of Zend Avesta this word does not occur with a *dâl* with the *nûkta*."

Of these two passages, the first is very clear. It distinctly says, "that Ardeshir was (mark the ord مخصوص) *specially* sent for, from Kirman for the purpose of ascertaining Persian words."

Dastur Aspandyâr Kâmdin of Broach (who lived from 1751 to 1826) in his book entitled કદીમ તારીખ પારસીઓની કમર. (pp. 50-51) published in 1826, a short time before his death, refers to the fact of Ardeshir's being called to India for the Farhang-i-Jehangiri.

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[1] The Lucknow edition adds تقریر before this word.

[2] Blochmann's MS has زرتوشتی است

[3] The Lucknow edition adds پازند before this.

[4] Blochmann's translation runs as follows:—"I knew an old Persian, a Zoroastrian, who possessed some parts of the Zend Avesta. As I have a passion for collecting Persian words, and as no book enjoys a greater authority for Persian than the Zend Avesta, I often met him for the purpose of investigating some words; and indeed most of the Zand words which the Khatimah of my dictionary contains, have been extracted by this Zoroastrian from the Zend Avesta. Whenever he came across the word آذر in reading to me from his holy book, he pronounced it ádur, not *adzar*, etc." (Journal of the

But one may argue, that Ardeshir, even if specially sent for, for the purpose of the Dictionary, may have taken an active part in influencing Akbar to Parseeism. In order to meet that argument, we must try to fix the date of Ardeshir's visit to India.

We find in the Persian Revâyets, a letter from this Ardeshir to Dastur Kiamdin Padam of Broach, on the subject of fire-temples. The letter ends thus—

نبشته شد در روز دین ماه فروردین قدیم سنه ۹۶۷ یزدجرد شاه پنشاه

i.e. Written on the day Din month Farvardin 967 Yazdazardi.[1] After copying that letter, the compiler of the Revâyats makes the following note :—

وقتی که دستور اردشیر نوشیروان کرمانی از ایران زمین در ملک هندوستان پیش شاه اکبر آمده بود آنگاه این مکتوب بدستور قیام دین پدم نوشته بود (p. 458, l. 9)

i.e. At the time, when Dastur Ardeshir Noshirwân Kermâni had come from the country of Persia, to the country of Hindustan, before king Akbar, this letter was written to Dastur Kiamdin Padam.

From the body of the letter it appears that Ardeshir had received a message from Dastur Kâmdin of Broach at Mooltan, when he was

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Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. 1, 1868, p. 14.) Prof. Max Müller refers to this passage and says (Introduction to the Science of Religion, Edition of 1882, p. 18): "We have the Zend Avesta, the sacred writings of the so-called fire-worshippers, and we possess translations of it, far more complete and far more correct than any that Emperor Akbar obtained from Ardeshir, a wise Zoroastrian, whom he invited from Kirman to India." Prof. Max Müller does not say a single word more than this, and still he is quoted in the paper, above referred to, as supporting the inference that "Akbar must, out of curiosity, have called Parsees from his own recently-conquered province of Guzerat for information, but, seeing that he could not get much out of them, he had to call others from Persia." (pp. 296, 297.) One can easily see from the full quotations from Blochmann and Max Müller that there is nothing at all in Max Müller's words supporting the above inference. The author of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri says that Ardeshir had "some parts (juz or *jeuze*, *i.e.*, a little, a trifle) of the Zend Avesta," and what Prof. Max Müller wishes to say is merely this: that in our times we have "far more complete and correct" manuscripts and translations than those brought by Ardeshir. Yet he is represented as supporting the above inference!

[1] Lithographed edition of the Revâyet, which is being printed by Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwâlâ, Vol. II. (pp. 455-458), p. 458, l. 7.

on his way back to Persia. Ardeshir says, that had he received the message at Lahore, he would have thought of going to Dastur Kamdin at Broach.

چون در ملتان رسیدم بهدین کاوس ماهیار را دیدم..... اگر این فقیر بهدین کاوس را در لاهور میدید البته در خدمت میرسید

i.e. When I reached Multan, I saw Behedin Kâus Mâhiâr. . . . Had I seen Behedin Kâus at Lahore, of course, I would have come (p. 456, ll. 7-11).

This passage shows that Ardeshir left India in 967 Yazdajardi (1597 A.D.). This is the date of the departure of Ardeshir. Now let us see, if we can fix the date of his arrival. The above quoted long passage from the preface of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri helps us to do that.

We learn from that long passage of the preface, that Mir Jamâluddin had devoted 30 years to the work of his lexicon, and that it was during the time of Akbar's visit to Srinagar in 1000 Hijri (1592 A. D.) that the King extended to him his patronage. Now, as we saw, that Ardeshir was specially sent for, for the work of the lexicon by king Akbar, and as we further saw, that Akbar extended his hand of patronage to the author of the lexicon, only in A.D. 1592 (Hijri 1000), it is quite evident that Ardeshir must have come to India *after* A.D. 1592. This was then about 13 years *after* the date (1579 A.D.), when the religious discussions at the Ibâdat Khânêh, which influenced Akbar towards Parseeism were closed, about 11 years *after* the date (1581 A.D.) when Akbar openly accepted the outward forms of the Parsee worship, and one year *after* the death (1591 A.D.) of Dastur Meherji Rana.

Thus we see, that the Farhang-i-Jehangiri clearly proves the two facts (1) *firstly* that Ardeshir came from Persia, *for the purpose of the dictionary*, and (2) *secondly* that Ardeshir came to India *after* 1592, A.D., a long time before which, Abkar had openly adopted some of the visible forms of Parsi worship. This clearly shows then, that it was the Indian Parsees of Naosari, who had explained to Akbar the Parsee religion and not Ardeshir from Persia.

The discussions, which are called "the learned and philosophic discussions of the Ibâdatkhana,"[1] and to take part in which, none of

[1] The Ibâdat Khânêh is spoken of in the Tabakat-i- Akbari as—نشیمن قدس کاشانه آتش—*i, e.* the holy seat, the place of fire (Munshi Newul Kishore's Edition of 1875, p. 328, l. 4).

the Gujarat Parsees are supposed to "have possessed the requisite ability"[1] were practically closed in 1579 A.D. (987 Hijri). Blochmann says "*the disputations had now come to an end* (A.D. 1579), and Faizi and Abul Fazl had gained the lasting friendship of the emperor."[2]

It may be said that the religious disputations were not closed in 1579, because missionaries continued to come and go, long after that year.[3] But the later missions in after years, had nothing to do with the religious disputations of the Ibâdat-khaneh. Anyhow, as far as the Parsees and their influence on Akbar were concerned, the disputations were closed. This is proved by several facts on the authority of Badâôni.

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[1] Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII., p. 297.

[2] Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., Introduction, p. XV.

[3] The dates of these missions differ according to different writers. I give below the dates according to different authors :—

	Father Catron, on the authority of Manucchi.	Comte de Noer, on the authority of Du Jarric.	Murray.
First Mission.	Arrival.—(Does not give the exact date, but it can be calculated by references.)	Arrival 1580.	Arrival 1570.
	About 1576 or 1577.	"Departure probably 1582."	Departure 1583.
	Departure.—1579 or 1580. (Rudolph Aquaviva left in 1582 or 1583.)	(Rudolph Aquaviva probably left in 1585.)	
Second Mission.	Arrival.—1589 (date of departure from Goa).	Arrival 1591.	Arrival 1591.
	Departure.—Date not given, but their stay appears to have been short.	Departure.—Gives no date, but their stay appears to have been short.	Departure.—Gives no date, but their stay seems to have been short.
Third Mission.	Arrival.—No date given, but it must have been before 1597 as a great fire, which took place in 1597 is said to have taken place when the mission was there.	Arrival 1595.	Arrival 1595.
	Departure.—The mission remained till the death of Akbar.	Departure.—Gives no date.	Departure.—Gives no date, but says that the mission left, when Akbar went to conduct a war in the Deccan. That was in 1596 (Elliot, Vol. VI., p. 22).

(1) From the new Jalâli year (988) 1580-81, the king openly adopted sun and fire-worship (Badâôni: Lowe, Vol. II., p. 269; Blochmann's Âîn-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 184; Rehatsek, p. 27). (2) Two years after, *i.e.* in 1582 (990) he "established 14 holidays according to the manner of the Zoroastrians (Badâôni: Lowe, Vol. II., p. 316; Blochmann's Âîn-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 195; Rehatsek, p. 53). (3) The document "unique in the Church History of Islam," which was the result of these disputations, and which separated Akbar from orthodox Mahomedanism, was signed in 1579 (Rajab 987) (Badâôni: Lowe, Vol. II., pp. 278-279; Blochmann's Âîn-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 186; Rehatsek, p. 31). It was a document for preparing which Badâôni applies to Abul Fazl, the proverb, "He prefers hell to shame on earth." (4) After the signing of this document, the king left for Ajmir on the 16th Rajab of the same year 987 (1579 A. D.). (5) He adopted the Parsee Calendar and established his era after the manner of the ancient Persians in 1584 (992), (Âîn-i-Akbari, Vol. II. (Jarrett), pp. 30-31.). Badâôni describes this change under the events of 990 Hijri (1582), (Lowe II., p. 316; Blochmann's Âîn-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 195; Rehatsek, p. 53).

Though the later missions came as late as 1595, they had nothing to do with the original discussions of the Ibâdat-khana. It is only the first mission, that seems to have taken a part in the discussions at the Ibâdat-khana. All the three missions had to leave Akbar's Court disappointed, as far as the king was concerned.

Father Catrou says of the first mission that "Akbar seemed to have countenanced, for a season, the cause[1] of Christianity from a principle of curiosity only." Comte de Noer says something similar.

According to Abul Fazl, the first mission of Father Rudolf (Padri Radif) took part in the discussions at the Ibadat-khaneh in 986 Hijri (1578-79 A.D.) (Akbar-nâmeh, Vol. III., p. 254, l. 20, Asiatic Society's Calcutta Edition, Elliot VI., p. 60). Badaoni places under the events of the year 986 Hijri (1578-79 A.D.) the event of Akbar ordering "Prince Murâd to take a few lessons in Christianity." (Badaoni-Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 260, l. 6. Lowe's translation, Vol. II., p. 267. Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 182. Rehatsek, p. 35). Now it was Father Monserrat, a member of the first mission, who gave these lessons to this prince (Calcutta Review, January 1886, Vol. LXXXII, No. CLXIII, pp. 2 and 4). So according to Badaoni the date of the first mission was 986 Hijri (1578-79 A. D.).

1 History of the Mogul Dynasty, p. 113.

He says "Mais ayant manqué le but réel de l' entreprise, qui était a conversion d'Akbar, les Padres retournèrent à Goa (L' Empereur Akbar, Vol. I., p. 330)." Murray says the same thing. "One of the courtiers however, allowed it to transpire . . . . that his (Akbar's) sole aim was curiosity and entertainment." (Vol. II., p. 90.)

As to the second mission, the discussions at the Ibâdatkhana were long before over, and according to Father Catrou, we do not find them carrying on any "learned and philosophical discussion" whatever with the courtiers. They expected Akbar to be a Christian. "He often visited the fathers, proposing to them the most specious objections to our sacred mysteries, and appearing satisfied with the mysteries (explanation) he received." Nothing further happened. They had instructions to leave "whenever they should be satisfied that their mission had failed in its object." Their mission failed, and so they returned to Goa.[1]

According to Comte de Noer also, the second mission left without achieving any result. "Ils quittèrent L' Empire, sans avoir obtenu aucun résultat religieux."[2]

From Murray also we find, that they "went through nearly the same career as their predecessor. So long, indeed, as they were willing to swell the pomp of his court, and to amuse him by the display of relics and images, he appeared glad to have them about him . . . . They found that there was as little as ever of any serious intention of acceding to their wishes."[3]

Coming to the third mission, we find the same thing in their case. From Catrou, we do not find them taking any part in any discussions whatsoever. They converted some of the people. Akbar appeared at times well inclined toward them and their religion. But says Catrou "Nevertheless, some vestiges of his former superstition would escape him at intervals . . . . Heaven punished the pride and impiety of the prince in a remarkable manner."[4]

According to Comte de Noer, the third mission had a political object rather than a religous one. He says : "L'Ordre jugenit avanta-

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[1] History of the Mogul Dynasty, Catrou, pp. 126-127.
[2] L' Empereur Akbar, Vol I., p. 330.
[3] Discoveries and Travels in Asia, Vol II., pp. 92-93.
[4] History of the Mogul Dynasty, p. 128.

geux d' entretenir des agents politiques, à la cour du Grand Mogul, comme à d' autres cours."[1] From Murray also we learn the same thing. "There remained in the breast of the monarch a strong hold of idolatry, on which they could never make any impression." Thus, we see, that as Blochmann says, the discussions at the Ibâdat-khana were closed in 1579, and that the later Christian missions had no part in those discussions.

But even, if, for argument's sake, we take it for granted, that the discussions by the Christian missionaries continued after 1579 A. D., that *does not affect the main issue*, that by 1582 Akbar had openly adopted some of the Parsee forms of worship, the Parsee calendar and the Parsee festivals, whereas Ardeshir came long after that in 1592.

We said above, that the influence of Parseeism on king Akbar, was a *fait accompli*, sometime before the arrival of Ardeshir from Persia into India, because, he had adopted long before 1592, many of the Parsee forms of worship and observances. Among these was his adoption of the Parsee festivals. We find a reference to this fact in the Aín-i-Akbari also. We read the following (Aín 22, Book II.)[2] :— "His Majesty enquires into the excellent customs of past ages, and without looking to the men of the past in particular, he takes up that which is proper, though he have to pay a high price for it. He bestows his fostering care upon men of various classes, and seeks for occasions to make presents. Thus when His Majesty was informed of the feasts of the Jamsheds, and the festivals of the Pârsî priests, he adopted them and used them as opportunities of conferring benefits. The following are the most important feasts. The New Year's day feast[3] . . . . . Again, His Majesty followed the custom of the ancient Pârsîs, who held banquets on those days the names of which coincided with the name of a month . . . . ."

III. The third important work which refers—though indirectly—to the question whether it was the Indian Parsees or the Persian Parsees, who took a prominent part in the discussions of the Ibâdatkhanah in 1578-79 is Abul Fazl's Akbar-nâmeh. Abul Fazl refers to the presence of Zoroastrians in the assembly for religious discussions under the events of the commencement of the 23rd year of King Akbar's reign (986 Hijri, 1578 A.D.), a long time before Ardeshir's arrival. He thus speaks of a meeting for religious discussions on the 20th of the month Meher.

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[1] L'Empereur Akbar, Vol. I., p. 331. [2] Aín-i-Akbari. Blochmann, Vol. I. p. 276. [3] "Badâûnî generally calls this day Naûrûz-i-Jalâlî."

بیستم مهر ماه الٰهي در آن عبادت خانه خلوت تجرّد را در بزم
تعلّق چراغ افروختند ونقد دانش اندوزان مدرسه وخانقاه بعیارگاه
بردند صاف از درد و سره از مغشوش جدا کردن آغاز شد و فراخيِ
حوصله و بسطت ظلّ الٰهي چهره آرای گشت صوفي حکیم متکلم فقیه سني
شیعه برهمن جتي سیورا چار باک نصاري یهود صابی زردوشتي و سایر
گوناگون مردم از دید آرامش محفل همایون.....نشاط فارغبالی نمودند

(Akbar-nameh, Vol. III., pp., 252-53, I. 22, Calcutta Edition of Abd-ur Rahim) Translation.

"On the 20th Mir[1], in that place of meeting, the lamp was kindled to brighten the solitude of seclusion in the banquet of society, and merits of the philosophers of the colleges and monasteries were put to the test of the touchstone. [Health from disease, and good money from false money, began to be separated. Abundance of spirit and excellence of divine power enlightened faces.][2] *Sûfis*, doctors, preachers, lawyers, *Sunnis*, *Shîas*, Brahmans, Jains, Buddhists, *Chârbâks*,[3] Christians, Jews, [Sabeans][2] Zoroastrians and learned men of every belief were gathered together in the royal assembly, and were filled with delight"[4]. (Elliot's History of India, (Dowson,) Vol. VI., p. 59.)

As Ardeshir came after 1592, as already shown, the Zoroastrians present at the above discussions in 986 Hirji (1578 A.D.), were those of India.

As the author of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri says, Ardeshir was, no doubt, a learned priest. So one must naturally expect an inquisitive king like Akbar, to take advantage of his presence at his court, and make inquiries from him about Zoroastrianism as observed in Persia.[5] It is this fact, that the Dabistân takes note of, in adding one statement more, to those, that it had copied verbatim from the work of Badâoni.

[1] Meher. [2] As Elliot has omitted to translate this portion, I have given my own translation in brackets. [3] "Hindu materialists." The preceding words ought to be *Jatis* and *Seeras*, which are names of races. [4] Lit. showed exultation of joy at the sight of the pleasure of the royal assembly. [5] Things like that may happen even now. Several Zoroastrian rites and ceremonies performed by the Parsees of India, even now, differ from those performed by their co-religionists in Persia. Though I have personally officiated at Parsee marriages on several occasions in Bombay, it was only this month, that I had an occasion to witness a marriage of a Persian Zoroastrian, when I found a good deal of difference in the ritual.

It is this fact, which Comte de Noer alludes to when he says: "Akbar avait fait venir de Perse, à grand frais, un prêtre parsi Ardjer, qui initia l'empereur aux rites antiques de sacroyance." (Maury's Translation, Vol. 1., p 340). But there is not a particle of evidence to show, that Ardeshir took any part in leading Akbar to the adoption of some of the Zoroastrian forms of worship and of Zoroastrian festivals, &c. The fact, as shown above, by authentic dates, proves that Ardeshir came long *after* the event.

Again, apart from the question of dates above referred to,—and that is a question of very great importance in the consideration of the main question,—there is nothing whatever in the Dabistan, to any way belittle the work of the Naôsâri Parsees. It nowhere says that Naôsâri Parsees had no influence upon Akbar, and that it was because the Naosari Parsees had failed to explain their religion to Akbar, that Ardesir was sent for, from Persia. It says nothing of that kind. On the contrary, it says in the very commencement that (*a*) the Naosari Parsees "asserted the truth of the religion of Zoroaster" and (*b*) that the Emperor "was pleased to take information" from them.

If from the mere fact, that king Akbar called Ardeshir from Persia, long after the visit of the Naôsâri Parsees to Akbar's court, we were to infer, that the Naôsâri Parsees did not satisfy the king, then there remain, several facts to be explained.

1. The Dabistân further says that the king "invited likewise the fire-worshippers from Kirman to his presence, and questioned them about the subtleties of Zardusht's religion."[1] If it was Ardeshir, who, as alleged "took a prominent part in leading Akbar to Parseeism," and not the Naôsâri Parsees, why was there the further necessity of inviting more Zoroastrians from Persia?

2. Again, we learn further on from the Dabistân, that Akbar "wrote letters to Azer Kâivân, who was a chief of the Yezdâniân and Abâdâniân and invited him to India."[2] Now, if it was Ardeshir, who had "been able to take part in discussions showing skill and dialectical ability," why was there the necessity of inviting Azer Kâivân also.

3. Then take the case of another community, the Christian. We know that Akbar called from Goa, some of the learned

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[1] Shea and Troyer, Vol. III., pp. 95-96.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

Portuguese missionaries. They were Rodolfo Aquaviva, Antonio de Monserrat and Francisco Enriques.[1] We learn from the same authorities, which give these names, that later on Akbar sent for some other Christian missionaries. They were "Edouard Leioton, Cristophe de Vega and a layman."[2] Again later on, a third party of missionaries, consisting of Jérôme Xavier, Emmanuel Pignero and Benoît de Goïs[3], came to the Court of Akbar. Are we then to understand, that Akbar sent for these two other bands of missionaries, because he was *not satisfied* with the learning and the teaching of the first missionaries? No, these later parties of missionaries had little to do with the discussions at the Ibâdat-khanch. They were latterly sent for, for other reasons, but not because Akbar was dissatisfied with the first party.

Again, one must mark the words هم and همچنین meaning '*likewise*' used in the Dabistân, in connection with both (*a*) Ardeshir, (*b*) and the other Zoroastrians from Kerman. Even, suppose, for argument's sake, that Akbar sent for Ardeshir from Persia, both for the purpose of the dictionary, and for seeking knowledge on Zoroastrianism. But that does not show, that he was *not satisfied* with the Naôsâri priests. If an inquirer after truth, goes on sending for experts from different parts of the world, that does not necessarily show, that he is dissatisfied with the first batch of experts. His inquisitive mind may crave for knowledge from different quarters.

We find from these facts, that according to Badâôni and according to the Dâbistan also, it was the Naôsâri Parsees, who explained to king Akbar, the tenets of Zoroastrian religion, and influenced him, and not Ardeshir and the Parsees from Persia. Ardeshir did not come to India earlier than 1592. Long before that year, the religious discussions at the Ibâdat-khânch, in which the Parsees were concerned, had been closed, and according to Badâôni, the contemporary historian

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[1] L'Empereur Akbar, par Le Comte de Noer, translated by Maury, Vol. I., p. 326. The names are given on the authority of du Jarric. History of the Mogul Dynasty by Father Catrou, translated into English (1826), p. 105. Murray's Historical Account of the Discoveries and Travels in Asia, Vol. II., p. 83.

[2] *Ibid.* Comte de Noer, p. 330; Catrou, p. 126; Murray, (p. 92,) alludes to this mission but does not give names.

[3] *Ibid.* Comte de Noer, p. 331; Catrou, p. 127; Murray, (p. 93,) alludes to the third mission, but does not give names.

of Akbar, in 1581, *i. e.*, at least about eleven or twelve years before the arrival of Ardeshir from Persia, the king had openly accepted Parsee forms of worship. Badâôni is very clear on this point. "From the New Year's day of the 25th year of his reign (988 Hijri, *i. e.*, 1581 A. D.), His Majesty openly worshipped the sun and the fire by prostrations; and the courtiers were ordered to rise when the candles and lamps were lighted in the palace. (Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 184. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 269.)

IV. There is another work of history, which distinctly says that in the 24th year of his reign (*i. e.*, in 1579 A. D.), Akbar was led away from Mohamedanism by several learned men, among whom it includes "several infidel and impious Parsees, who are devoted to the religion of the Magi." The writer here gives the exact date of the influence of the Parsees, *viz.*, the 24th year of his reign, *i. e.* 1579 A. D., the very date when the Nasâsari Parsees were at Akbar's Court according to Badâôni. Ardeshir came at least 13 years after this date. This work then leads us to conclude, that it was the Nasâsari Parsees, and *not* the Persian Parsees, who led Akbar towards Zoroastrianism. Though the work is later, its statement is supported, both by Badâôni and the author of the Dabistân. It is known as Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind (تاریخ ممالک ہند) *i. e.*, The History of the countries of India.[1]

[1] It was written by one (غلام باسط) Gulam Basit, in 1196 Hijri (1782 A.D.) at the desire of an English officer named (جنرل جایلس استبت) General Giles Istibat. I read the name, as it is given in the manuscript copy of the Mulla Firoz Library (Rehatsek's Catalogue 17. (History), No. 15, p. 76). Elliot (History of India, Dowson, Vol. VIII., p. 200-201) reads the name of the officer, from the manuscript he saw, as General Charles Burt. Rehatsek reads the name from the Mulla Firoz MS. as General Jayles Estbet (?). The author says in his preface, that he had made two copies of his work, one for the General and one for himself. Prof. Rehatsek seems to have committed two mistakes in his catalogue—(1) about the name of the author, and (2) the date of the works. He says, "The compiler of this work, Kuhmân Singah, states that he began it A. H. 1196 at Calcutta, by order of the English General Jayles Estbet (?), in whose service he was, and at the end of the MS. he states that he completed it A. H. 1240 (*i.e.*, 44 years afterwards)." Prof. Rehatsek has evidently committed a mistake here. Kuhman Singah is not the name of the compiler or author, but of the copyist, and the date is not the date of the completion of the work, but of that of the copy. This is clear from the following passage which we read at the end of the book :—

تاریخ ممالک ہند بروز پنجشنبہ ماہ ربیع الاول سنہ ۱۲۴۰ ہجری
بدسخط بندہ کمترین کہمانسنگہ صورت اتمام یافت

In describing the events of king Akbar's reign, the author says, "Birbal and chiefly the infidel (Káfar) Parsees brought about a change in the mind of Akbar." The words in the original are :—

در سنه ۲۴ جلوسی خود بسبب موافقت اکثر علمای دین فروش و ابن‌الغرض مثل ابوالفضل و فیضی و برهمنان خلاف عقاید مثل بیربر و اکثر کفار و ملاحده پارسی که بدین مجوسی مقید اند و بعضی جوکیان انحراف در مزاج بادشاه افتاد ازین معنی نعوذ بالله چندان در مقدمه شریعت اعتقاد نداشت

(Mulla Firoz Library's MS. folio 287a, ll. 6-13, Rehatsek's Catalogue of 1873, IV, History, No. 15.)

As this work is not translated I give my own translation of the above passage.

"In his 24th Jalûsi year, through association with several learned men, who were irreligious and interested—in short, men like Abul Fazl and Faizi, and Brahmins of opposite faiths, like Birbar and chiefly infidel and impious Parsees, who are devoted to the religion of the Magi, and many Jogis—a change came upon the mind of the king. On that account, may God save us from such an evil (*na-uzu-billah*) he had not much faith in the principles of the faith (of Islâm)."

Now, though these are the words of a later historian, they are supported by Badâôni and the author of the Dabistân.

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i. e., The Tárikh-i-Mamalik-i-Hind was completed by the hand of humble servant Kuhman Singah on Thursday Máh Rabi-ul-Aval 1240.

It is a small work which cannot have taken 44 years to be completed. It is the date of the completion of the copy, not of the original work. Again, Prof. Rehatsek is also wrong in concluding that "The only copies existing are that which he made for himself, and the one for his master—probably this MS., because it is very neatly written on glazed paper, &c." Prof. Rehatsek was, perhaps, misled by what is said in the preface by the author, that he made two copies, one for his master and one for himself, and perhaps by what Elliot* wrote, "I know of only two copies of this history. One belonged to the late Mullá Firoz of Bombay, and another I saw at Kannuj with the title Zubdatu-t-Tawarikh." (Elliot VIII., p. 202.)

* Elliot's History, Vol. VIII., was published in 1877, *i. e.*, 4 years before Rehatsek prepared his catalogue (in 1873) of the MSS. of the Mulla Firoz Library.

Birbal or Birbar was a favourite courtier of king Akbar. By Badâôni, he is spoken of as *malaûn* ملعون *i.e.* accursed,[1] because he was believed to be one of those, who led the king away from Mahomedanism to sun-worship and fire-worship. Badaoni says, "The accursed Byrber proposed that as the sun is a perfect manifestation and promotes the ripening of the harvests of corn, of fruits and of all green things, and that as the illumination of the universe and the lives of the inhabitants of the world are depending on it, it ought to be worshipped and magnified, and that people ought to turn towards the east and not to the west . . . . The conquered philosophers and scholars of the court strengthened these arguments by asserting that the sun is the greatest luminary and benefactor of the whole world . . . These declarations became the occasion of the enhancement of the solemnity of the Jallâly new year's day, which His Majesty annually celebrated as a festival from the beginning of his reign [2]."

The word in the text which Rehatsek translates by "conquered" is مقهور. It has several meanings, though all well nigh similar. They are: "conquered, subdued, vanquished; deserving or destined to be vanquished (as the armies of the infidels); oppressed, vexed."[3] Blochmann translates it as "in disgrace."[4] Lowe does not translate the word. Wilson simply translates, "The learned men of the Court acknowledged that the sun, &c."

We thus see, that the learned persons at the Court, of whom Badaoni speaks as *Maghûr*, *i. e.* "deserving to be vanquished as the armies of the infidels", are the Parsees, referred to by the writer of the later work Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind as "infidel Parsees."

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[1] Badâoni applies several such abusive epithets to Birbal. He calls him "hellish dog" (سگ جهنمي Lees' and Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 274, l. 6.; Lowe II., p. 282) and bastard (حرامزاده p. 211, l. 11; Lowe p. 214) wretch (بدبخت Text II., p. 317, l. 2; Lowe II., p. 326). Of his death he says, he "was killed and entered the pack of the hellhounds and received a portion of his base, deeds بقتل رسيد در سلک سگان جهنم داخل شد و پارهٔ از جزاي اعمال شنيعهٔ خود يافت (Text II., p. 350, ll. 16, 17; Lowe's translation II., p. 361.)

[2] The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Eslâm, translated from Badaoni by Rehatsek, p. 2. Muntakhab-ul Tawarikh, edited by Lees and Ahmed Ali, Vol. II., p. 260. Lowe's Translation II., p. 268. Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I. p. 183. Works of Prof. H. H. Wilson, Vol. II., p. 387.

[3] Steingass's Persian Dictionary.

[4] Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 183.

Anyhow, whatever meaning we attribute to the word (مغهور) *maghûr*, the passage shows, that when Birbal spoke of sun-worship before Akbar, he was supported by some learned men at the Court, of whom Badâôni speaks contemptuously. Some learned men at the court were Birbal's associates. These learned men whom Badâôni condemns, were the Parsees, whom the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind associates with Birbal.

The Dabistân which follows Badaoni's work also gives a similar version. It says:—

"The Rajah Birber conceived in his mind that the sun is an object all comprehensive; that he causes the ripening of the grain, of the sown fields, of the fruits, and of all vegetables, and gives splendour and life . . . .A sect of the fire-worshippers stated also that the learned entertain conflicting opinions about the existence of spirits, of unity, and the self-existing being; and other sects denied this; but no denial is possible about the existence, the splendour and the beneficence of the sun."[1]

We find from this passage of the Dabistân, that its author has clearly understood the allusion in Badâôni, as referring to the fire-worshippers or the Parsees. The later editions of the Dabistân, *e. g.* the Bombay edition of Hijri 1277 (p. 265, l. 16) which I have used, give the words as "a sect of sun-worshippers" (طایفهٔ از آفتاب پرستان) Some editions give the word "Atash parast," as it appears from the translation of Shea and Troyer. Thus we see from the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind and from the passages of Badaoni's history and of the Dabistan, that Birbal's arguments at the court of Akbar in favour of sun-worship, were supported by the fire-worshippers or the Parsees. Thus the statement of the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind is supported both by Badaoni and the author of the Dabistân.

Now the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind places this event in the 24th year of Akbar's reign, *i. e.*, in 1579, which was the very time of the religious discussions, at the Ibadat-khânah, and the time of the visit of the Naôsari priests at Akbar's Court. Even if we had no date of the above event in the Târikh-i-Mamâlik, we could have determined it in another way. We learn from Badâôni,[2] Abul

[1] The Dabistân by Shea and Troyer, Vol. III., pp. 93-94.

[2] Lees and Ahmed Ali, Vol. II., p. 350. Lowe II., p. 351. Blochmann, Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., pp. 204, 344, 404.

Fazl[1] and other writers[2] that Birbal was killed in 994 Hijri (1586 A. D.), in a battle with the Yusufzâi Afghans.[3] This was at least about six years before the arrival of Ardeshir from Persia (about 1592).

This additional evidence of the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind, based on Badaoni's work and on the Dabistân, shows that it was the Indian Parsees, who had associated themselves with Birbal in influencing Akbar, and not Ardeshir from Persia. But we need not take the date of the death of Birbal to prove indirectly, that the event took place before Ardeshir's arrival in India. We have, as said above, the direct statement of the author, who places the event in the 24th year of Akbar's reign, *i.e.*, in 986-987 Hijri (1579 A.D.), when the religious discussions at the Ibâdat-khâne were coming to an end. The Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind then very clearly shows that it was the Parsees of India, who brought about "a change in the mind of the king."

We have so far seen then, that the Muntakhab-al Tawârikh of Badâoni and the Dabistan, directly, and the Akbarnameh of Abul Fazl, and the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind of Gulam Bâsit, indirectly show, that it was the Indian Parsees, the Nâosari Parsees, who had led Akbar towards Parseeism. According to the Farhang-i-Jehangiri, Ardeshir came in or *after* 1592 A.D. So he had no share in bringing

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[1] Akbar nameh, Elliot VI., p. 84. [2] Zubdatu-t-Tawârikh, Elliot VI., p. 191.

[3] The idea, with which Akbar, on hearing of Birbal's death in a distant country, was consoled, is significant. Badâoni says: "He never experienced such grief at the death of any Amir, as he did at that of Birbar. He used to say 'Alas, that they could not bring his body out of that defile, that it might have been committed to the flames!' But, afterwards they comforted him with these words, 'Since he is freed and delivered from all the bonds of mortality, the light of the sun (نیر اعظم) is sufficient purifier for him, although indeed he did not require any purification." The words of respect here used for the Sun are the same as those used by Birbal in his advocacy of Sun-worship. (Badaoni's Text II. p. 260). (Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 362, Lees and Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 351, ll. 4-8.) As Birbal was a staunch advocate of Sun and fire-worship, in which advocacy, according to the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind, he was supported by the Parsees, the above words of consolation about his corpse being exposed to the Sun, are significant. Elliot attributes these words of consolation to Akbar himself. He translates "Afterwards he derived consolation from reflecting that as Birbal was pure," etc. (Elliot Vol. V. p. 529, n. 2), but I think that the words in the text (باز تسلي باين ميدادند) do not allow of that rendering, and Lowe's translation is more correct.

about the above result. A long time before his arrival the king had openly adopted Sun and Fire worship from the new Jalâli year 988 H. (1580-81 A. D.), had established 14 Zoroastrian holidays in 1582 and had adopted Parsi calendar.

II.

We now come to the second part of our subject.

The question is, who was the leader of the Naô-sâri Parsees? There is a very old tradition, supported by written documents among the Parsees, that it was Dastur Meherji Rana, who headed the party from Naôsâri and explained to Akbar, the principles of Zoroastrianism. If it was not Dastur Meherji Rana, who was it? It is for those, who have doubts about his mission, to say who it was. The tradition about Dastur Meherji Rana is confirmed by facts which we will now examine.

I. The *first* important fact showing that Dastur Meherji Rana had gone to the court of Akbar and influenced him, is, that he was granted a piece of land of about 200 *bigahs* at his own native town of Naôsâri. We have not got the original *farmân* to Dastur Meherji Rana, but we have got the one granted to his son, Dastur Kaikobad for continuing in his possession the above land granted to his father, together with 100 *bigahs* more, granted to him personally. In this *farmân*, the grant of land to Dastur Meherji Rana is clearly referred to. In describing the land, the document says about the 200 *bighahs* صواد قصبه نوصاری که زمین مذکور قبل از این در وجه مدد معاش ماهیار بود

i.e. In the district of Naôsâri, where the above-mentioned land was (allotted) before this time, for the purpose of the help of livelihood (madad-i-maâsl.) of Mâhyâr.[1]

I produce several original documents on the subject of this grant of land to Dastur Meherji Rana.

(1) I lay before the Society, the very original *farmân*, kindly lent to me for the occasion, by Dastur Dârâbji Mâhyârji, the present Dastur of Naôsâri. I append at the end of my paper a copy of the document.[2] It is dated 40th year of Akbar's reign, *i.e.*, 1595 A.D.

Mr. Karkaria doubts the fact of Meherji Rana's going to Akbar's court, on the ground, that his name "is not found even in this family grant." He is quite wrong. As quoted above, we do find Meherji

[1] Mâhyâr is the original Persian form of the name, from which Mahyârji and then Meherji are irregularly formed. [2] *Vide* the photo-litho facsimile at the end and pp. 93-94 for the copy.

Rana's name in the above document, as that of the person to whom 200 *bigahs* of the land were originally given. The document bears king Akbar's seal, and is given in the 40th year of his reign.

The form of the seal is one of the forms, referred to by Abul Fazl, in his 20th Âin on "the Royal Seals."[1] Abul Fazl says, "the seal-engraver cut in a circular form upon a surface of steel, in the *riqâ* ع character, the name of his Majesty and those of his illustrious ancestors up to Timûrlang." The seal on the *farmân*, which I produce, is of this kind. The name 'Jalaluddin Mahamad Akbar Badshah,' we find in the centre. On the right of that name, we find the name of his ancestor Babêr. A little above that of Humâyûn. That of Taimur stands at the top.

This document clearly shows, that some land at Naôsâri was granted by Akbar to Meherji Rana. Why was it granted? It was for services as tradition asserts, rendered by Meherji Rana at the court, in explaining to the king the religion of Zoroaster. These services are referred to by a writer in 1765, as we will see later on.

We must note here, that the grant was as *madad-i-maâsh* (assistance for livelihood), which was a special form of gift. *Madad-i-maâsh* was a grant of land given to those who had rendered some services to the court, but not directly in the court.[2] Badâôuî had a similar *madad-i-maâsh* of 1000 bighas of land. It differs from jâgîr. Jâgîr is a grant for services at court, but *madad-i-maâsh*, for services to the court, but not directly at the court continuously.[3]

On the subject of these grants, Abul Fazl says: "His Majesty, in his care for the nation, confers benefits on people of various classes; and in the higher wisdom which God has conferred upon him, he considered doing so an act of divine worship. . . . . .

"Subsistence allowances, paid in cash, are called *Wazîfah*; lands conferred are called *Milk* or *Madad-i-maâsh*."[4]

Blochmann thus explains this word[5]: "The latter term (*madad-i-maâsh*) signifies 'asistance of livelihood' and, like its equivalent *milk* or

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[1] Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 52. Blochmann's Calcutta Edition, Vol. I., p. 47, ll. 18-19. For further particulars *vide* appendix, p. 107.

[2] Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., p. 126, Article on Badâôuî and his Works by Blochmann.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

[4] Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 268, Bk. II., Âin 19. Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 198, ll. 1-2 and 6.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 270.

property, it denotes 'lands given for benevolent purposes,' as specified by Abul Fazl. Such lands were hereditary, and differ for this reason from *jâgîr* or *tuyûl* lands, which were conferred, for a specified time, on Mançabdârs in lieu of salaries." This shows, that the grant of land given to Dastur Meherji Rana, was of a kind, superior to that of the ordinary jâgîrs. This must be then in appreciation of some valuable services of Meherji Rana.

This grant to Dastur Meherji Rana was, according to tradition made in about 1578 A. D. This was the very time when king Akbar, according to Badâôni,[1] deprived the former Mahomedan *Ulamas* of their *madad-i-maâsh*. A grant of land to a Parsee priest, in the very year, when there was a general resumption of the grants, shows, that there were special reasons for rewarding him. Abul Fazl says of this department of the grant of lands that "His Majesty, with the view of teaching wisdom and providing true piety, pays much attention to this department."[2] According to Badâôni also, the king "wished personally to enquire into their grants".[3] There must have been, then, special reasons for the king to reward Dastur Meherji Rana with a grant of land, and that grant, not a jâgîr or a temporary grant, but a madad-i-maâsh, *i.e.* an hereditary grant.

(2) We have also a second *farmân* for the above grant of land. It is a *farmân* subsequently repeated in the 48th year of Akbar's reign (1603 A.D.). It also makes the same statement, as that in the first *farmân*, *viz.*, that the grant of 200 bigahs of the land was at first made for the madad-i-maâsh of Mâhiyâr. I beg to produce this second original *farmân*.[4] It bears Akbar's seal as in the first case. The name of the *parganah* in which the additional land to Kaikobad was situated is different here from that in the first *farmân*. In the first *farmân* the land is said to be in Erûl in the *parganah* of Pârchôl (از بروی در پرگنه پارچول).[5] In the second *farmân* it is said to be in Tavri in the *parganah* of Talâri.[6] (توری در پرگنه تلاری).

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[1] Text II, p. 278, Blochmann's Âin i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 189; pp. 268-69, Bk. II, Âin 19 Journal Asiatic Society of Bombay, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., p. 128.

[2] Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbar-i. Vol. I., p. 270, Bk. II., Âin 19, end. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 189. [4] *Vide* appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and pp. 119-120 for the copy. [5] Erûl is in the taluka now known as the Jalalpur Taluka near Nadsâri.

[6] The parganahs of Télâri and Pârchôl are referred to in the Âin-i-Akbari as being situated in the *sarkâr* of Surat (Aîn-i-Akbari, Vol. II., Jarrett, pp. 256-257. Calcutta text of Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 497. Column II., ll. 1 and 14). Pârchôl

The change in the name may be due to the fact, that the plot of ground to Dastur Kaikobad may have been subsequently changed. The following passage in the Ain-i-Akbari suggests the reason why this change may have been made:—

و پس از چندي آگهي شد که این گروه زمین یکجا ندارند—کم نیرو از انیازئي خالصه و جاگیردار آزرده میگردد و بدگوهران را دستمایهٔ بي دیانتي میسازد فرمان شد که یکجاي دلخواه تن دهند و چارهٔ این دو گروه برسازند

(Blochmann's text of Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 198, ll. 16-18, Bk. II., Âin 19.)

Blochmann thus translates the passage: "After some time it was reported that those who held grants, had not the lands in one and the same place, whereby the weak whose grounds lay near *khâliçah* lands or near the jâgîrs of Mançabdârs, were exposed to vexations, and were encroached upon by unprincipled men. His Majesty then ordered that they should get lands on one spot, which they might choose. This order proved beneficial for both parties." (Blochmann's translation of Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. II., pp. 268-69.) Akbar changed the *madad-i-maâsh* for other reasons also. Badaoni's land was so changed. He says in his Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh (Lowe's Translation, Vol II., p. 379): "Mentioning my name, he (the Emperor) said, 'there is a certain man of Bâdâôn; we have of our own will changed his *madad-i-maâsh* without abatement from Basâwar to Bâdâôn." From the translation of the document, which I append at the end, it seems that about eight years after the first *farmân*, Kaikobad was subjected to vexations. The second *farmân* refers to this fact and asks the authorities concerned, to return to Kaikobad, whatever he may have been deprived of from the income of his land.

(3) We have a third document dated the 48th year of king Akbar's reign (1012 H., 1603 A.D.), from Khân Khânân, the *sepâhsâlâr* giving orders, that though a general *farmân* directs that all the land given for

had 55,920 *bigahs* of land and Tâlari 35,091. Pârchâl had the revenue of 1,50,8000 *dams* and Tâlari of 917,890 *dams*. (According to the 10th *dîn* of the first book of the Âin-i-Akbari, the *daw* weighs 5 *tanks* (تانک) *i.e.*, 1 *tolah* 8 *mâshahs* and 7 *surks*; it is the fortieth part of the rupee (چهلم بخش روپیه)" (Blochmann's translation I., p. 31, text I., p. 26, l. 25.)

madad-i-maâsh may be halved, Kaikobad's grant of 300 *bigâhs* may not be halved. I produce that original document.[1]

(4) Then we have a fourth document—and that a very important document—dated 1005, H. (1597 A.D.) from Nawâb Çâdik Muhammad Khan, specially referring, to the 200 bigahs of land, given to Meherji Rana[2] for his *madad-i-maâsh*.

II. The *second* important fact is, that we have some very old songs or poems, that chronicle the events of Meherji Rana's visit to the court of Akbar and of his influence upon the king. Of these songs Mr. Karkaria says: "These poems, which are more doggerel, were composed, I find on inquiry, by hireling rhymesters a generation or two ago, as may be seen from the language in which they are written." I beg to show that these songs were not composed a generation or two ago and by hirelings. One of these songs was composed by Tansen, a contemporary of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana.

I produce before the Society, an old manuscript of a book of songs, which contains a song, connecting the name of Dastur Meherji Rana with Akbar. The manuscript, which I produce, belongs to my friend Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwala. The book contains a number of songs, and at the end, the story of Changragâch, who was supposed to be an Indian sage visiting ancient Persia.

It appears from the colophon[3] of the manuscript that the manuscript was written on *roz* Abân, *mah* Bahman 1161 Yazdazardi, 1848 *Samvat* (*i.e.* 1792 A. D.). So the manuscript is 110 years old. The writer of the book is a priest of Surat, Mobed Behrâm, son of Jiji. It was written for Behdin Jamshedji Kukâji. The date of the colophon, as given above, shows, that it is an old manuscript. Also the name of the person, for whom it was written, shows, that it is an old manuscript. We find from the Parsee Prakash[4], that this Jamshedji Kukâji was a well-known merchant of Bombay and lived from 1745 to 1810 A. D. He was the father-in-law of Mr. Nusservânji Cowasjee Petit, the great-great-grandfather of the present Sir Dinshaw Manockjee Petit, Bart. This fact also then proves, that the manuscript is more than 100 years old. So the song in this manuscript must be older. I give the song in the appendix. The song points clearly to Dastur Meherji Rana's relations with king Akbar.

[1] *Vide* Appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and p. 133 for a copy.
[2] *Vide* Appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and p. 139 for a copy.
[3] *Vide* appendix for the song and for the colophon pp. 162-64.
[4] The Parsee Prakâsh, by Khan Bahadur Bomanjee Byramjee Patel, Vol. I. p. 116.

We find from the song itself, that its author was Tansen, the celebrated minstrel of the court of Akbar. His name occurs at the end of the song, as in the case of the songs of many oriental songsters and poem-writers. Tansen is spoken of by Abul Fazl, in his 30th Âin[1] of the second book, as "Miyân Tansen of Gwâliâr." He places him at the head of all the principal musicians of Akbar's court. He says that "a singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years." According to Blochmann,[2] "Râm Chand [3] is said to have once given him one kror of tânkahs as a present." This Râm Chand was Rajah of Bhat'h or Bhattah. Blochmann says of him: "The emperor sent Jalâluddin Qûrchî to Bhat'h to induce Tânsin to come to Âgrah. Râm Chand feeling himself powerless to refuse Akbar's request, sent his favorite with his musical instruments and many presents to Âgrah, and the first time that Tânsin performed at court, the Emperor made him a present of two lakhs of Rupees. Tânsin remained with Akbar. Most of his compositions are written in Akbar's name, and his melodies are even now-a-days everywhere repeated by the people of Hindûstân.[4]"

My attention to this song was drawn, when it was first published in the *Rast Goftar* of 29th October 1899 by Mr. Rustomji H. Kharshedji. I know, that at that time some doubted, and even now some doubt, whether this song was really composed by Tansen, the contemporary of Akbar. They say, it may have been written by some later songster, in the name of Tansen. Opinions, even of experts, may differ. But then, anyhow, the fact, that it occurs in a manuscript written about 110 years ago, very clearly shows, that it is a very old song, and that it was not composed, as alleged, "by hireling rhymesters a generation or two ago."

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[1] Blochmann, Âin-i-Âkbari, Vol. I., p. 612. Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 263, l. 7. column 1. میان تانسین — درین هزار سال همچو او نشان ندهند

[2] *Ibid*, note 1.

[3] Badâônî says of him: "This Râm Chand has left no equal behind him for princely generosity. Among his other gifts he gave a *kror* of gold (kror-zar) to the minstrel Miân Tansen in one day. The Miân did not wish to leave the Râjâ, but a guardsman was sent to bring him back." (Elliot, V p. 539.) از جمله بخششهای او اینکه یک کرور زر بمیان تانسین کلاونت در یک روز بخشیده

Lees and Ahmad Ali's Text, Vol. II., 335, ll. 11-12. Lowe's Translation Vol. II., p. 345.

[4] Blochmann, Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 400, note.

I had sent a copy of this song to Maharaja Sir Surendro Mohun Tagore Bahadur of Calcutta, who is well known as a great authority on music in India, and asked his opinion as to "whether there is any reason to doubt the authenticity of its being a song by Tansen." In reply to my telegram this morning, requesting his opinion on the point, he says: "The style and music of this song appear to me as having been composed by Tansen."[1] Sir Surendro Mohun Tagore's opinion then shows that the song is Tansen's. Thus we have the evidence of a contemporary authority to show that Dastur Meherji Rana had gone to the court of king Akbar and influenced the king.

(2) There are other Hindustani and Marâthi khiâls or ballads, which also allude to Dastur Meherji Rana's presence at the court of Akbar. The Hindustani khiâl begins thus:

મેહરજીરાણાં ખરા નેક થા. પુરાબંદા શાહિબકા,
પાદશાહ અકબર સુધરા પેહના. દેખ તમારા મજહબકા.

i.e. Meherji Rana was a very virtuous man. He was a perfect servant of God. King Akbar put on the Sudrâh (*i.e.* sacred shirt). Look to the display of the (Zoroastrian) religion.

This ballad is printed in a book[2] called આબેનેદિલરમન *i.e.* "Pleasant Songs," printed in 1867, and so it must have been composed before that date. There is a Marathi song also, but it is not printed in any book.

Thus we see, that the event of Meherji Rana's visit to Akbar's court, is referred to in old songs and ballads, and so it is not hireling rhymsters, as alleged, who have composed them.

The writer of the history of a nation or community, has not to despise old songs and ballads sung in that community. They at times supply him good materials. As M. Mohl says: "L'histoire de tous les people commence par là, car on conte et l'on chante avant d'écrire, et les premiers historiens n'ont pu fonder leur récits que sur des matériaux pareils."[3]

III. Thirdly, it is not old songs and ballads alone, that chronicle the fact of Meherji Rana's visit to the court of Akbar. We have the authority of a learned writer, who wrote about 136 years ago, to say that Meherji Rana went to the court of Akbar to explain to him the tenets of the Zoroastrian religion.

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[1] I have latterly received a letter from the Maharâjâ, giving the same opinion at some length. *Vide* Appendix p. 165. [2] આબેને દિલરમન ગ્રન્થે ત્યારે આબેનેના સંગ્રહની છાપણી. સંગ્રહ તથા મુલ્યાદી જાન પરીનદીજ ઝાપાખાનું સને ૧૮૬૭ પા. ૫૬૪. This song is also printed in શ્રેષ્ઠિ મરાઠીમાં. Vol. II., p. 31. A copy of this book is in the Naosari Meherji Rana Library. (*Vide* Catalogue of 1894, Gujrati list P. 3 No. 74. [3] Le Livre des Rois, Preface, Vol. I., pp. 4-5.

Dastur Shapurji Manockji Sanjana, who lived from 1735 to 1805[1], in his Persian treatise known as Kisseh-i-Âtash Beherâm-i-Naûsâri[2] (قصه آتش بهرام نوساري) *i. e.*, the description of the fire

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1 Parsee Prakâsh I., p. 101.

2 The name of the treatise as given by the author himself is

قصه آتش وبهرام که در شهر نوساري نو ساخته

i.e. "An account of the Fire temple which was newly founded in the city of Naosari" (p. 1, l. 3 of Mr. Sorabjee Muncherjee Desai's MS.) There are two MSS. extant of the treatise in the author's own hand. One belongs to Mr. Sorabjee Muncherjee Desai of Naosari and the other to the Dastur Meherji Rana Library of Naosari, to which it was recently presented by the late Dastur Erachji Sorabji Meherji Rana (*vide* the catalogue of the books of Dastur Erachji Sorabji Meherji Rana, presented to the Dastur Meherji Rana library published in 1898 p. 18, No. 7. There it is said of this MS. that મણેકજી નવજીના સંજાણા પોતાને હાથે લખેલી *i.e.* it was written by Shapoorji Manockji Sanjana, by his own hand). The MS. belonging to Mr. Sorabji Muncherji Desai seems to be the original rough draft of the poem, from which the Dastur seems to have latterly made the fair copy which now belongs to the Meherji Rana Library. Mr. Desai in writing to a friend Mr. Rustomji Bejanji Ranji, through whom he has kindly lent me the manuscript, says "એ મણેકજી સંજાણાની હાથે લખેલી અને પહેલી રફ કોપી છે." *i.e.* "It is written by Dastur Shapurji Sanjana's own hand, and it is the very first draft." On comparing the above two copies kindly lent to me, I find that they are written by the same hand. One may see a slight difference in the style of some of the letters, but such a difference one must expect on comparing a rough and a fair copy. In the fair copy belonging to the Meherji Rana library, there are no corrections, but in Mr. Desai's MS. we find on almost all pages a number of corrections both over the lines and on the margin. This leads us to conclude that it is the original rough draft MS. of the poem. In this rough MS. between the first portion of the verses which gives an account of the first great fire temple of India, and the second portion, which speaks specially of the great fire temple of Naosari, the author has written, on two pages (pp. 36 and 37) some notes in Gujrati, describing how at the request of Chângâshâ, the sacred fire of the first fire temple was brought into Naosari. In the MS. of the fair copy, the account of the Atashbehram (fire temple) is preceded by the Saddar-Nazam صد در نظم In both the MSS. the account is divided into two parts, which as described on the first page of the fair MS. of the Dastur Meherji Rana Library are as follow :—

(1) قصهٔ زرتشتیان هندوستان *i.e.* An account of the Zoroastrians of India.

(2) بیان آتشبهرام نوساری *i.e.* An account of the fire-temple of Naosari.

The fair MS. would at first sight appear to one to be incomplete, as some lines (*e.g.* ll. 58 and 69 of the second part relating to the fire temple of Naosari, pp. 39 and 40) are incomplete. But it is not so. The author, having written the first part of a couplet, seems to have thought it better to

temple of Naûsâri, thus refers to the visit of Dastur Meherji Rana to the Court of Akbar.[1]

دراین ایام دستوران دستور ∴ که نام او بود سهراب پُرنور
که نسل اوست از دستور ماهیار ∴ بدانی باب آن رانا نکوکار
همیشه دین به را جلوه داده ∴ گنهگاران نگونسر شده زیاده
بنزدیک شه اکبر رفته بود او ∴ بسی برهان دین ظاهر کرده او
که نام او همه جاهست ظاهر ∴ مرآن دستور بود او پاک و طاهر

i.e., "At this time there was a chief Dastur. His name was glorious Sohrab. His descent is from Dastur Mâhyâr. Know this, that his (*i.e.*, Mahyar's) father was virtuous Râna. He had always given splendour to the good (Zoroastrian) religion. Many sinners were put down by him. He had gone to King Akbar. He had shown many proofs of the religion. His name is known everywhere. He was a holy and pious Dastur."

This book was written in 1135 Yazdajardi, 1765 A.D.) because the fire temple of Naûsari, of which it gives a description, was consecrated on *roz* Sarosh *mâh* Ardibehesht 1135 Yazdajardi[2].

بروز آن سروش پاک رهبر ∴ بماه اردیبهشت نیک خوشفر
سنه گر یزدجردی رایدانی ∴ هزار و یکصد و سی پنج خوانی

IV. Fourthly we have two old original documents, which lead to show, that Meherji Rana was specially and formally recognised as the head of the Parsee priesthood of Naûsâri, just after the event of his visit to Akbar's court. I beg to produce those documents. They are dated *roz* Guûd *mâh* Tir Samvat 1635 (12th March, 1579) and *roz* Meher *mâh* Deh Samvat 1636 (1st September, 1580). By these documents, the Parsee priests of Naûsâri, agreed that Meherji Rana should be entrusted with the work of the proper distribution of the income of

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transfer the couplet to some other place in the poem. He has done so, but has forgotten to draw his pen over the incomplete couplet to show that he had written it by mistake and had then cancelled it. For example, the incomplete couplets 58 and 69 are transferred to places which make them couplets 70 and 71 respectively.

[1] *Vide* the fair MS. of the Meherji Rana library, ll. 20-24 of the *Kissah*, referring to the fire temple of Naosari, p. 36. Mr. S. M. Desai's rough MS., p. 40. The recent MS. of Mr. Framjee Nowrojee Kutar, p. 8.

[2] Naosari Meherji Rana Library MS., l. 211, p. 49, ll. 9-10. Mr. Kutar's MS., p. 19, ll. 10-11. S. M. Desai's MS., p. 54, ll. 2 and 3.

the Agiâry (fire-temple), and that all ceremonies should be performed with his permission, &c. They thus formally acknowledged Meherji Rana as their head. I give in the appendix the literal translation of the documents [1].

Of course, these documents do not say that Meherji Rana was appointed head for such and such services. But we must bear in mind, that even nowadays, when people appoint somebody at the head of their society or institution, on account of his status, social position, and past services, they do not always say in the resolution of the appointment, that he is appointed for such and such past public services. These two agreements show, that the priests of Naosâri acknowledged, in the years 1579 and 1580, Meherji Rana as their head. Let us note here, that the years of the principal religious discussions at the Ibâdât-Khâneh in which the Naôsâri Parsees took part, and after which Akbar openly accepted the Parsee forms of worship, &c, were 1576 to 1579. So the date of the first document acknowledging Meherji Rana as their head, corresponds with the date when the principal religious discussions had closed. Badâoni mentions the event of the coming of the Naôsâri priests as a past event under the events of the year 986 Hijri, *i. e.*, 1578-79. The Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind also, places the event of the Parsees bringing about a change in the mind of Akbar, in about 986 Hijri.

This fact then supports the tradition, that Meherji Rana was acknowledged by the Parsee priests of Naôsâri, as their head, on account of some of his services in the cause of Parsee religion at the court of Akbar. It seems, therefore, that immediately on Meherji Rana's return from the court, the priesthood of Naôsâri formally appointed him their head, to settle all questions about sacerdotal affairs and sacerdotal fees. He was already their leader, but they now formally appointed him and acknowledged him as such. The date also tallies with the date given by Abul Fazl in his Akbarnameh,[2] as that, at which Zoroastrians were present in the court of Akbar.

Professor Darmesteter says on this point :—

"Les Mobeds originaires de Nausâri, c'est-à-dire l'immense majorité de la famille sacerdotale, reconnaissent un *Dastûr des Dastûrs*,

[1] *Vide* Appendix for the photo-litho facsimiles of these two documents. *Vide* pp. 147-48.

[2] Calcutta edition of Abdur Rahim, Vol. III., pp. 252-53; Elliot, Vol. VI., p. 59.

frêle image du Maubadân Maubad des anciens temps. La dignité est héréditaire depuis 1579 dans la famille de Mihirjirana, Mobed célèbre du temps d'Akbar, qui avait gagné une grande influence auprès de l'empereur et l'avait initié aux doctrines du Parsisme."[1]

Mr. Dosabhhoy Framjee, in his history of the Parsees, refers to this matter, and says :—

"By his piety, learning, and irreproachable character, he not only gained the esteem of his fellow-countrymen, but his fame spread far and wide, even to the ears of the Emperor Akbar the Great, and he was summoned by that wise ruler to Delhi, that he might explain to him the tenets of the Parsee religion. It is said that the emperor was favourably impressed with the religion of Zoroaster, and bestowed upon the "dastur" a free grant of two hundred acres of land at Naôsâri, as a mark of his royal favour."[2]

Mr. B. M. Malabari, in his "Gujarat and the Gujaratis," says: "The Dustoor in India was a beneficent power even in Akbar's time. Those who have read of the Meherji Rana need not take the account for a mere rhapsody." (2nd edition, p. 177.)

There is a third writing, that leads to show, that Meherji Rana continued to be acknowledged as their head. It is the copy of a letter, addressed by a prominent Parsee priest, Asdin Kâkâ of Naôsâri, to the laymen of Div in Kathiawâr, which was then a Parsee colony. It is dated *Samvat* 1646, *i.e.*, 1590 A.D. Therein also, Meherji Rana is referred to, as the head of the community. I produce a very old copy of the letter.[3]

V.—Fifthly, among the Parsees, there is a particular mode of commemorating the names of their departed worthies, who have rendered eminent services to the community. I quote from my paper, "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, their Origin and Explanation." (pp. 30-31.) (*Vide* Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. II., No. 7, pp. 434-435.)

"The Parsees have another custom of commemorating the name of a deceased person, if he be a great public benefactor. At the conclusion of the above Oothumna ceremony on the third day, the head

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[1] Le Zend Avesta, par Darmesteter, Vol. I., Introduction III., p. LVI.

[2] History of the Parsis, by Dosabhoy Framji Karaka, C.S.I., Vol. II., p. 3.

[3] *Vide* Appendix for the photo-litho facsimile—*Vide* Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 9, and below, pp. 162-63.

priest generally, or, in his absence, an *akábar* (اکابر), *i.e.*, a leader of the community, proposes before the assembled Anjuman, *i.e.*, the public assembly, that the name of the deceased public benefactor, whose benefactions or good deeds he enumerates, be commemorated by the community consenting to remember the name of the deceased in all the public Oothumna religious ceremonies. This proposal is sometimes seconded by somebody, or very often it is just placed before the assembly without any formal seconding. When nobody opposes that proposal, silence is taken as consent, and thenceforth the name of the deceased is recited in all public religious ceremonies."

Now the name of Dastur Meherji Rana is thus commemorated in Naôsâri as that of a great departed worthy. It is not oral tradition alone, that has brought down his name as one of the departed great men, worthy to be commemorated in the religious prayers, but his name is put down as such, in old manuscript books of prayers, where, after the names of the ancient worthies of old Irân, we find his name commemorated. I beg to produce before the Society an old manuscript prayer-book where Dastur Meherji Rana's name is thus commemorated.

The manuscript prayer-book, which I produce, is one written on day Din, month Asfandârmad of the Yazdajirdi year 1078 (*i.e.*, 1709 A.D.). It is therefore 192 years old. It is written by Herbad Jámshed, son of Kaikobad, son of Jamshed.[1]

In this manuscript prayer-book, in the commemoration prayer, known as Nirang-i-bui-dâdan (نیرنگ بوی دادن) we first find the name of some eminent men of ancient Irân, and then the names of some of the departed worthies of India. In the latter list we find the name of Dastur Meherji Rana thus commemorated.[2]

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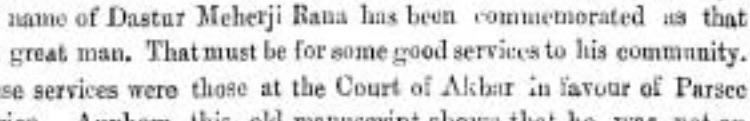
[1] It is a large work of 438 folios or 876 pages. The colophon, which gives the name of the writer and the date in Persian, occurs on f. 368*a*, l. 12. It is lent to me by Mr. Manookjee Rustomjee Unwala. The colophon runs thus:—

فرجیه پدرود شادي و رامشني بروز مبارک دین و بماه مبارک
سفندار مد و بگاه باون فرزانه و سال اوریک هزار هفتاد و هشت از
شهنشاه یزدجرد شهریار ساسان نخمه خجسته بشهر ایران کانبلعروف
من خادم دین بنده پیر به جمشید بن کیقباد ابن جمشید

[2] Folio 60 *b*, l. 4.



i.e., May Dastur Meherji (son of) Hervad Vachhâ, of pious soul, be remembered here.

We thus find, that in a prayer-book, written 192 years ago, the name of Dastur Meherji Rana has been commemorated as that of a great man. That must be for some good services to his community. These services were those at the Court of Akbar in favour of Parsee religion. Anyhow this old manuscript shows that he was not an obscure priest.[1]

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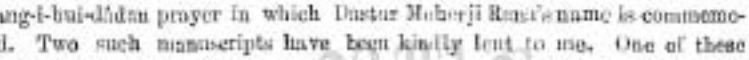
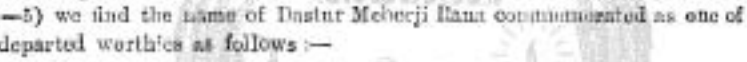
[1] There are also other old manuscript prayer-books which contain the Nirang-i-bui-dîdan prayer in which Dastur Meherji Rana's name is commemorated. Two such manuscripts have been kindly lent to me. One of these belongs to Mr. Framroz Nowrozjee Kootar, and is kindly lent to me by Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwala. It is an old manuscript in Zend characters, but its colophon is lost with some of its last folios. In this MS. (f. 121*b*, ll. 3—5) we find the name of Dastur Meherji Rana commemorated as one of the departed worthies as follows :—



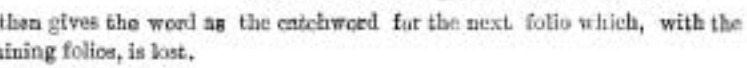
It is a manuscript of 151 folios, out of which folios 68, 69 and folios 73 to 86 are missing. It begins with Zend characters and Yatha and Ashem, and contains the five *nâyâhes* and some of the *Yashts*, *Afrîngâns* and *Afrins*. The last folio gives at the bottom the following heading for an *Afrin* :—



and then gives the word as the catchword for the next folio which, with the remaining folios, is lost.

Now though the colophon is unfortunately lost, the manuscript from its characters and paper appears, in the opinion of Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria, a fortunate possessor of many old manuscripts, to be at least 75 years old.

The second MS. which I wish to refer to is written in Gujrati characters. It belonged to the late Mr. Nanabhoy Dhunjeebhoy Banajee, of Bombay, and has been kindly lent to me by Ervad Nusserwanji Burjorji Desai. It is about 77 years old, being written in 1824 A.D. by Mobed Sorabjee Pestonjee Koyabhoy Sorabjee, a priest of the town of Savali, near Surat, at the desire of Behedin Kerbadjee Sohrabjee Kadvajee, a layman of the town of Broach. It is a large manuscript of 407 folios; some folios by another writer have been subsequently added in front and back of this MS., while binding it in its present condition.



We have so far examined, at some length, the direct evidences in (1) Badaoni's Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh and (2) the Dabistân, and the indirect references, (3) in Abul Fazl's Akbar-nâmeh, (4) in the Farhang-i-Jehangiri, and (5) in the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind, which clearly prove that it was the Naôsâri priests, who influenced Akbar, and explained to him the Zoroastrian forms of worship, and that Ardeshir came to India after the event.

અખતોમર શને ૧૮૨૪ અંગરેજી ચારેજ કરીઆઈ પરી મો મે દીને જુરરહે અવલાલ દસ્તર તમામ રાજપુરસ્ત ડીપુવિ- એનું લખાર ખાડસારે કમતરીન મોનેદ શીરાલજી ગુ૦ બી૦ એ. પેરાતજી ગુ૦ બી૦ એ. કુકમ ભાઈ બી૦ એ૦ ગુરાલજી લખને રેવાણી શ્રી સુબાલી બંદસાબે લખી તમામ કીધી છે તે કસતાં અસલ માફક નકલ કીધી છે અગર ભૂલ ચુક હુએ તો મેરબાનગીથી દરકાર કરેવી ઘટારેવી શાહી * * કરમાઈસા કરેલ લખાવનાર નેકનામ નેક શરજંમ નેક ખાસલત જુબાંદુલત બાહાલી હીમત ગુમંદ લખાવ મેહેરીનન બેહેરીન, શ્રી ૫ બેહેરી કેરબાલજી ગુ૦ બી૦ ગુલેરાલજી બી૦ કવાજી બાટે નાગેરે લખને રેવાણી શ્રીકાને બરરબ બંદરનાબે લખાણી છે. ખાસ પિતાની ઉમેરે પઢવા તા૦ પઢવાને સારૂ ખાસ પોતાનો જર આપીને લખાણી છે. બે ઉતાબ જો કોઈ મોરે તા૦ ચોરવે તા૦ લઈજાને મોરવે તે શ્રી સવાર અહુરમજદનુ ચોર ગાબે અને તે ઉપર હમેશા લેખાલત રોજો ને લેખાલત બાહાં ગેરફતાર કોજો. એહુનાદ એહુનતરજ બાદ. તમામશુદ નાર્બમ તમામશુદ.

The writer says in the above colophon તે કસતાં અસલ માફક નકલ કીધી છે *i.e.*, "it has been exactly copied from another original." So the name of Dastur Meherji Rana must have been recorded in the original, of which this was a copy, and which original must, therefore, have been written long before 1824 A.D.

The prayer of Nirang-i-bui-dâdan is written on folios 40 to 43 of this manuscript, and the name of Dastur Meherji Rana is commemorated on folio 43*a*, l. 2, as દસ્તુર મેહરજી એરવદ રાણા એટલીઆર બાદ અનુગેત રવાં રવાની.

Now the fact of Dastur Meherji Rana's name being commemorated in the prayer of Nirang-i-bui-dâdan, in a manuscript prayer-book written by a priest of Surat, for a layman of Broach, is very significant in itself. It shows that Dastur Meherji Rana's name and fame were not confined to Naôsâri itself, but were known much beyond that town. This manuscript which is about 77 years old, and which, as its writer says, is an exact copy of an older manuscript, clearly proves that. Again, the fact, that the name of Dastur Meherji Rana is still commemorated in prayers in Broach confirms this view. Khan Bahadur Adarjee Muncherjee Dalal, B.A., one of the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet of Broach, in a letter, dated 17th November 1901, in reply to my inquiry, says, "the name of Meherji Rana is taken in our બાજીત અને પુપ નીરંગ prayers as under. "દસ્તુર મેહરજી એરવદ રાણા" before the name of દસ્તુર અસપંદીઆર દસ્તુર કામદીનજી" (Dastur Aspandyâr Kamdin was a learned high-priest of Broach. He was the author of the book કદીમ તારીખ પારસીઓની કસર referred to above (p. 28).)

As to why Dastur Meherji Rana's name is commemorated in prayers in Broach, Khân Bâhâdur Adarjee says, that it is not authoritatively known, but the Mobeds say, "that it was in consideration of his high scholarship and his fame in the court of Emperor Akbar." He adds: "It will be noted that his name is recited just after the name of અરદેશર બાબેગાન (Ardeshir Babegân, Artaxerxes I of the Greeks) and just above that of દસ્તુર અસપંદીઆરજી દસ્તુર કામદીનજી" (Aspandyârji Kâmdinji).

We have also examined, at some length, the evidences and facts based upon (1) the original documents about the grant of land by king Akbar, (2) an old song of Tansen, a contemporary of Akbar, (3) Dastur Shapurjee Sanjana's book written in A. D. 1765, (4) three old documents, (5) and the book of prayer written in A. D. 1710, which lead to show, that it was Dastur Meherji Rana, who, as the leader of the Naôsâri Parsees, explained to Akbar, the religion of Zoroaster.

III.

We will now examine the objections that have been raised (I) to the mission of the Naôsâri priests in general, and (II) to that of Dastur Meherji Rana in particular.

(I) Two objections have been raised against the capability of the Naôsâri mission; (1) *firstly*, that the Parsees of Gujerat were ignorant at the time, and so were not capable of taking any part in the discussions at the court of Akbar; (2) *secondly*, that Naôsâri itself, was a town in a corner of Gujerat, and was not in a position to produce capable men to explain to king Akbar the religion of Zoroaster.

1. It is said: "The state of the Parsees of Guzerat at those times abundantly confirms this inference, that none of them could have possessed the requisite ability to take any part in the learned and philosophic discussions of the Ibadat-khana." [1]

(*a*) Drs. West[2] and Geldner[2] and Professor Hodiwâlâ[3] have shown, elsewhere, that there was no such general ignorance, as that which is attributed.

(*b*) But it appears that the state of the Zoroastrians of Persia, was not after all much better than that of the Zoroastrians of India. It is said, of the Zoroastrians of India, "We have some historical records which prove clearly that their standard of knowledge was very low, and that there was no man among them of even ordinary learning. They were a down-trodden people among unsympathetic aliens, entirely absorbed in obtaining a decent livelihood." [4] If that was true of the Zoroastrians of India, it was not less true of the Zoroastrians of Persia. The Zoroastrians of Persia lived among

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[1] Mr. Karkaria, Journal of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII., p. 247.

[2] *Vide Jam-i-Jamshed* of 24th September 1898. *Vide* Appendix pp. 165-66 for extracts.

[3] *Vide* Letters to the *Bombay Gazette* in October and November 1896.

[4] Mr. Karkaria. Journal of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII. p. 297.

aliens more unsympathetic than those among whom their co-religionists in India lived. Owing to this want of sympathy, their number in Persia went on diminishing, while that in India went on increasing.

In the very letter sent to India from Persia in 1478 through Nariman Hoshang, on whose authority the above statement is made, we have a passage in which the Zoroastrians of Persia deplore their fall in religious matters as much as they do that of their co-religionists in India. The passage runs thus:

بدانند که در روزگاری که گذشته است از کیومرث تا امروز هیچ روزگار سخت‌تر و دشوارتر ازین هزار سر هیشم نبوده است و نه از دور ضحاک [1] تازی و نه افرسیاک و نه تور جادو و نه اسکندر یونانی که دادار اورمزد میگوید که این کسان گران گناه‌تر اند و ازین هزاره سرکه اورمزد گفته است که هشتصد و چهل و هفت سال که گذشته است پشترین روزگار بتر نبوده است اما بهدین درین زمانه کار کرفه کردن وراه اورمزد دستور اندک است و نیرنگ و برسم و یوزداثرگوی و پاکی و پلیدی هم اندکی بجای مانده است و باقی از دست افتاده است چه از ایران و هندوستان همه بسیار پاکی و پلیدی ره و رسم است

(Bombay University MS. of Darâb Hormazdyâr's Revayet, vol. I., f. 11*b*, ll. 1—7. Letter brought by Nariman Hoshang. The MS. of Barjo Kamdin's Revayetin the Mulla Firoz library, p. 336, ll. 7—16, MS. No. 2, VII., in Rehatsek's catalogue p. 178.)

Translation.—They may know, that during the time that has passed, since (the time of) Kayômars up to this day, no time—neither in the time of Zohâk the Arab, nor in that of Afrâsiâk (Afrâsiâb), nor in that of Tûr, the magician, nor in that of Alexander the Greek, of whom Oharmazd the Creator has said that those persons were great sinners—has been more hard and troublesome than this end of the millennium of Aêsham (the demon). And previous[2] times have not been worse than this millennium, of which Oharmazd has spoken, and of which 847[3] years have passed away. But during these times, the Behedins resort very little to works of righteousness and to the path of God; and very little of *nîrang* and *barsam* and Yaôzdâçragiri

[1] Corrected according to the copy of Mulla Firoz library. B. U. (Bombay University MS.) has تازی

[2] Reading peshtarin. If read pashtarin "the most ignoble."

[3] This number of years (847) also gives the Yazdajardi date, when this letter was written.

(*i.e.* performance of religious services) and of purity and impurity, has remained. The rest has fallen away from our hands both in Irân and in Hindustân. Many rules both of purity and impurity are in vogue.

Herein the writers from Persia complain, that the Behedins of the time are less after works of righteousness, and that there is very little of the religious observances of the *sirang*, *barsom*, and *Yazdâçragiri*. They clearly say that the same is the case *both in India and Persia*. (چه از ایران و هندوستان). We thus see from the very Revâyet from Persia referred to as pointing to a poor state of religious knowledge in India, that the state of the Zoroastrians of Persia was in no way better than that of the Zoroastrians of India.

Again, in the second letter brought by the same Nariman Hoshang in 850 Yazdajardi (1481 A.D.), they similarly deplore their own condition.

این ضعفان چهار کس پنج کس هستند که اندر خط پهلوي راه میدانند
فاما آنچه اصل است یافت نمیشود از سبب آنکه بداد و ستد روزگار
وتن و جامه آلوده شده اند

(Bombay University MS. of Dârâb Hormazdyar's Revayet, vol. I., f. 136, ll. 6-7.)

Translation.—Among us poor persons, there are four or five persons who know their way in Pahlavi writing. But what is original is not known, for this reason that owing to oppression[1] and tyranny,[2] our fortunes, bodies and clothes have all been contaminated.

Thus we see that the position of the Zoroastrians of Persia at that time was not very enviable. Of course, being in their ancestral land, they had the advantages of having some of the old Zoroastrian books in their possession and of carrying on some of the old traditions of their community; but then, on the other hand, they were still under the iron grip of their Mahomedan rulers, under whom their number gradually diminished by conversion. It is true, that the Zoroastrians of India received from Persia explanations of some of their questions, but the mere fact that they asked for information from Persia, does not prove that they were, as alleged,[3] altogether ignorant of the principles of their religion, and were not capable to explain those principles to their ruling monarch. Why, even now, several Parsees,

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[1] داد lamentation under oppression. [2] Lit. ستد taking.

[3] Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX., No. LIII., p. 297.

in case of difference of opinion or in case of controversial questions, or even in ordinary matters, address questions to scholars—to Christian scholars—in Europe and America. But that fact should not lead one, centuries after to-day, to conclude that the Parsees of India in the 19th and 20th centuries were altogether ignorant of their religion, and were not capable to understand or explain to others, their own religion. Sir James Campbell takes a similar view of the questions sent to Persia in the 16th and 17th centuries. He says the questions sent to Persia were on "doubtful points of religious practice" (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII., Thana, Part I., p. 254). Dr. West takes a somewhat similar view (*vide* Appendix, p. 166).

(*c*) But we have other contemporary authority, to show, that during that time one had not always to go to Persia, to seek knowledge on Zoroastrianism. There were Mobeds in India, who could impart knowledge to seekers after truth. The other authority I refer to, is Abul Fazl, the minister of Akbar.

We find from the table of dates given above, that Abul Fazl appeared at the court in 1574. His father, Shaikh Mubârak, was of the Mâhdawi sect. He had attached himself to the religious movement, which had first begun in 900 Hijri, and which was suggested by the approach of the first millennium of Islam, when Imâm Mâhdi was to appear. Abul Fazl also belonged to the sect, to which his father belonged. Mubârak was persecuted for his Mâhdawi views and for his liberal tendency. As Blochmann says: "The persecutions which Shaikh Mubârak had to suffer for his Mahdawi leanings at the hands of the learned at Court, did not fail to make a lasting impression on his (Abul Fazl's) young mind. . . . . The same pressure of circumstances stimulated him to unusual exertions in studying, which subsequently enabled him during the religious discussions at Court to lead the opposition and overthrow by superior learning and broader sentiments, the clique of the Ulamâs whom Akbar hated so much." [1] About this study referred to above, Abul Faz himself says in his Akbar-nâmeh.

"My mind had no rest, and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia[2] or to the hermits on Lebanon; I longed for interviews with the lamas of Tibet or with the pâdrîs of Portugal, and

[1] Blochmann, Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., Introduction, pp. x.-xi.

[2] Lit. boundary of Khata, a province in Northern China.

I would gladly sit with the priests of the Pârsis and the learned of the Zend avesta."[1]

Abul Fazl here describes his state of mind and his course of study at the time of his introduction to the Court of Akbar, which was in 1574 A.D.

Now then, if there was such a general ignorance, as alleged, among Indian Parsees, that none could explain their religion to king Akbar, who were the priests (*mobeds*) of the Parsees and the learned of the Zend Avesta, whose interviews Abul Fazl sought, in and before 1574 for gaining knowledge in religious subjects? They cannot be Ardeshir and his suite, because they came after 1592 A.D.

(*d*) But, for the sake of argument, take for granted, that the state of the Parsees of Guzerat at those times generally was not good. But that does not show, that there were not individual members here and there, head and shoulders above the common class of men. The mass may be ignorant, but there may be individual members, at least capable to explain to the ruling monarch the tenets of the Zoroastrian religion.

2. In this controversy, Naôsâri is spoken of as a town in "a corner of Guzerat," and as such, it is supposed not to be capable to produce men, who could explain their religion to Akbar.

(*A*) But it appears both from the Tabakât i-Akbari of Nizamuddin Ahmad and the Akbar-nâmeh of Abul Fazl, that it was a town of some

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[1] Blochmann. Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., Introduction, p. xii. This passage is quoted in the notes to Akbar's Dream by Tennyson. (*Vide* The Complete Works of Tennyson, published by MacMillan and Co., 1894 (p. 845). The following is the original Persian text of the above passage :—

شورستان خاطر مرا علاج مفید نمی آمد گاه دل بصحبت دانایان خطّهٔ خطا کشیدی—و گاه بمرتاضان کوه لبنان خاطر را میل پدید آمدی گاه شوق بمزبانیٔ جوگیان ثبت آرام گسل گشتی و گاه بمنفسلی پادریان پرتکال دامن عزیمتم گرفتی و گاه بمنشینیٔ موبدان فارس و رموز دانئی ژند واستا شکیب ربای خاطر شدی

Akbar-nâmah, edited for the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Abd-ur-Rahîm, Vol. III., p. 84, ll. 10-13.)

"Et j'aurais aussi volontiers abordé les prêtres des Parsis et les théologien du Zend Avesta." L'Empereur Akbar, par le Comte F. A. De Noer, traduit de l'Allemand, par G. B. Maury, Vol. I., p. 305.

importance. In the time of Akbar's father, Humâyûn, one of the nobles of Sultan Bâhâdûr of Guzerât, who was fighting against Humâyûn had "prepared a fortified position in the neighbourhood of Nausârî . . . . He took possession of Nausârî and . . . marched against Broach."[1] According to Abul Fazl also, "Khân Jahân Shirâzî and Rûmî Khân, whose name was Safar, and who was the builder of the fort of Surat, operated in concert. They took possession of Nausârî, which was held by Abdu-lla Khân, an officer of Husain Khân, and he retired to Broach."[2] Being so close to Surat, an important city of Guzerat, Naôsâri could not long remain unknown. Akbar was at Surat, and so the town of Naôsâri close to it, may have drawn his attention also.

From the Ain-i-Akbari[3], we learn, that out of the 31 Mahâls of the Sarkâr of Surat, it was 19th in point of area, as well as 19th in point of the revenue it brought to the State. Its area was 17,353 bighas and its revenue was 297,720 dâms. It was known for a "manufactory of perfumed oil found nowhere else."

(B) Even taking it for granted, that Naôsâri was in a mere corner of Guzerat and not well-known, the very fact, that Badâôni, the contemporary historian of Akbar, while speaking of the Zoroastrians, who came to the court of Akbar to take part in the religious discussions, mentions the town by name, and says that the Parsees were from Naôsâri, shows that he attached importance to Naôsâri, at least as a town which could send capable Parsees to the meetings of the Ibâdat Khâneh of Akbar. Surat, Rânder, Broach Ankleshwar and Khambayet (Cambay) were well-known as Parsee towns. Out of these, he names Naôsâri, as *the* town sending Parsees to the court of Akbar. If any Parsees from Persia had come to the Court, Badâôni would have mentioned that fact.

Out of the different Parsee towns, named above, Raner or Rander in the immediate vicinity of Surat, is specially mentioned by Abul Fazl, in his Ain-i-Akbari, as a town of the Parsees. He says (Calc. Text, Vol. I., p. 488, ll. 2 and 3). و زردشتي کیش از فارس

[1] Tabakât-i-Akbari. Munshi Newul-Kishore's lithographed edition of 1875 A. D., p. 198. ll. 21-23, Elliot's History of India, Vol. V., p. 197.

[2] Akbar-nâmah, Bengal Asiatic Society's ed. by Abd-ur-Rahim, Vol. I., p. 142, ll. 20-21, Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI., p. 15.

[3] Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann's edition, Vol. I., p. 498, l. 13, Column I., Col. Jarrett's translation, Vol. II., p. 257.

(روغن خوشبو آنجا سازند که در هیچ جا نشود)

آمده بنگاه ساختم اله ژند و پاژند بر خوانند و دخمها بر سازند *i.e.*, "The followers of Zoroaster coming from Persia, settled here. They follow[1] the teaching of the Zend and the Pâzend and erect funeral structures." (Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II., p. 243.) Thus, though according to Abul Fazl, Rander was specially known as a colony of the Parsees, according to Badâôni, and the author of the Dabistan, it was the Naôsâri Parsees, who were invited at the religious discussions of the Ibâdat Khaneh. This fact in itself is very significant. It shows that Naôsâri was looked at, as an important town, as far as learning and religious knowledge of Parseeism was concerned.

(C) But there is another very important fact, which shows, that Naôsâri was then well-known as the principal centre of Parsee priests. It is, that when the Zoroastrian priests of Persia addressed their replies to the questions from India, they put down the name of Naôsâri and the names of its leading priests first, and then the names of other towns and their priests. We find this from several Revayets.

(*a*) In the Revayet from Irân, dated roz Khorshed mah Abân 847 Yazdajardi (25th June 1478)[2], addressed to Changâh Shâh and brought by Nariman Hoshang,[3] the name of Naôsâri is mentioned first, and then the names of Surat, Aankleshwar, Broach and Cambay.

The address runs as follows :—

نام ستایش و یاری دادار اورمزد.....بکام و نام و سایهٔ شادمانی و زندگانی و فیروزی و بهروزی کدخدایان و بهدینان پندوستان و سالار شهر نوساری جنگر شاه و باقی انورنان و ردان و هیربدان ساری و دیگو سورت وانکلیسر و بروچ و کمجایت (Bomb. Univ. MS.,) Vol. I., f. 11*a*, ll. 13-19)

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[1] The word is khânand, which means "They read."

[2] Vol. I. (folio) 13a, l. 2, Bombay University Library MS., which is written by Dârâb Hormazdyâr himself from 20th April to 21st November 1679. *Vide* Dr. West's remarks in the beginning of the MS. p. 1, ll. 15 to 18. This particular portion was written by Dârâb Hormazdyâr on Mâhê (Mohor) roz mah Deh 1048 Yazdajardi, (*i.e.*, 15th August 1679 A.D.) (f. 13a, l. 10). (Mulla Firoz library MS. of Barjo Khandin's Revayet, p. 335.)

[3] *Ibid.* f. 13a, l. 7, Parsee Prakash, Vol. I., p. 6.

این کتاب از ایران فریمان هوشنگ بهروچی اورده بود کاتب الحروف من دین بنده داراب بن هرمزیار بن فیامدین بن کیقباد لقب سنجانان هرکه خواناد بر نویسنده آفرین برساناد روز مه ماه مبارک دی سال یک هزار چهل و هشت از یزدجردی

i.e., (By) the name, praise and help of God.....May they (live) in (the enjoyment of) their desire and name and protection and happiness and life and success and good livelihood,—they, the masters of house and the Behedins of Hindustân, and Jangê Shah[1], the chief of the city of Naôsâri and the rest of the Âthôrnâns (*i.e.* priests) and leaders and Herbads of Naôsâri and also of Surat and Anklesar and Broach and Cambay.

(*b*) There is another Revâyet from Sharfâbâd (شرفاباد) in Persia, known as Nariman Hoshang's second Revâyet.[2] It is dated *rôz* Daêpadin *mâh* Daê, eight hundred and fifty[3] (A.D. 1481). It is also addressed to the Parsees of Hindustân, among whom those of Naôsâri are specially mentioned.[4]

(*c*) There is a third Revâyet, dated *rôz* Ormazd, *mâh* Khordâd 880 (A. D. 1511), from Persia,[5] where the Parsees of Naôsâri are addressed before those of Cambay, Broach, Surat and Ankleswar.[6] We do not find the name of the messenger of this Revâyet.

(*d*) There is a fourth Revâyet, known as Shâhôr (Shapûr) Âshâ's Revâyet.[7] It was written in Yezd and dated *rôz* Depâdar *mâh*

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[1] Commonly known as Changâshâh. In the collection of the Revâyets by Barzo Kamdin, we find the name properly written چنگ شاه. *Vide* Mulla Firoz Library MS. (Rehatsek's Catalogue VII, 2), p. 355, l. 18.

[2] Bombay University Library MS., Dr. West's contents, p. 6, l. 5; Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 6. [3] *Vide* Bombay University MS., Vol. I., folio 13b, ll. 17-18. Mulla Firoz Library MS., Vol. II., p. 504, l. 8. Dr. West and Mr. Patel give 855. I think Dr. West is guided by the reading of Mr. Patel, because the Bombay University MS., which he follows, gives 850. The passage of the date runs as follows in the Bombay University MS., (f. 13b, ll. 17-18)

فرجبد بدرود شادی و راحشنی اندر روز دیپدین و ماه دی سال
هشتصد و پنجاه پس از تاریخ یزدگرد شهریار نبشتم شد بجانب دستوران
و ردان و هیربدان و حکیمان و فرزانکان انجمن هندوستان

† پس for پس *i.e.* after the date of Yazdajardi (*Vide* Dr. West's remark p. 6, l. 4.)

[4] *Ibid*, folio 13a, l. 16-17. بجانب هیربدان و بهدینان و پیشوایان
و کد خدایان هندوستان و ساکن قصبهٔ نوساری Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 6.

[5] *Ibid*, f. 16a, ll. 1 and 2 on the margin. Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 6.

[6] *Ibid*, folio 15a, ll. 9 and 10. Mulla Firoz Library MS., Vol. II., p. 508, ll. 6-7.

[7] This Revâyet is spoken of in the Parsee Prakâsh (Vol. I., p. 7) as Câmâ Ashâ's Revâyet. (*a*) We have a very old copy of the Revâyet belonging to the Dastur Meherji Rana Library at Naôsâri. (*Vide* the printed catalogue of

Bahman 896, Yazdajardi (1527 A.D.). Therein also the priests of Naôsâri are addressed first[1] and then those of Cambay.[2]

(*e*) In the fifth Revâyet, brought from Persia, by Aspandyâr Yazdyâr and Rustam, dated *rôz* Khordâd *mâh* Ardibehesht 904 Yazdajardi (1535 A.D.), the priests of Naôsâri are addressed first and then those of Surat and Cambay.[3]

(*f*) The sixth Revâyet is that known as that of Kâûs Kâmdin written in 922 Yazdajardi (1553 A.D.) Therein the priests of Naosari are addressed first and then those of Surat, Ankleshwar, Broach and Cambay. (*Vide* below, p. 64, for particulars.)

(*g*) The seventh Revâyet, which I want to refer to, is that[4] from Turkâbâd in Persia, dated *rôz* Shehrivar *mâh* Farvardin 996[5] (1626 A.D.), brought by Bahman[6] Aspandyâr. It, also, is first addressed

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the first Dastur Meherji Rana Library printed in 1894. Gujarati catalogue of Zend, Pahlavi, Pazend books, p. 64, No. 28. It is a MS. of 226 folios). *Vide* folio 101*b*, l. 10, for the name of the messenger. (*b*) We have another old, but a little later copy of this Revâyet belonging to Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwala. It is a MS. of 241 folios. *Vide* folio 119*b*, l. 11, for the name of the messenger. (*c*) We have another old manuscript of this Revâyet belonging to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria. Its colophon is lost. It is a MS. of 79 folios.

[1] *Ibid.* Meherji Rana Library MS., folio 1*a*, l. 12. Mr. M. R. Unwala's MS., folio 2*a*, l. 1. Mr. Tehmuras's MS., folio 1*b*, l. 14.

[2] *Ibid.* Meherji Rana Library MS., folio 1*b*, l. 3. Mr. M. R. Unwala's MS., folio 2*a*, l. 9. Mr. Tehmuras's MS., folio 1*b*, l. 21. The passages of the address and dates are quoted and more particulars are given below, pp. 66-67.

[3] Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 8.

[4] Bombay University Library Manuscript of Dârâb Hormazdyâr Revâyet, Vol. I., f. 69*a*, l. 1. Mulla Firoz Library MS., Vol. II., p. 453. For reference first to the priests of Naôsâri and then to those of Surat and Broach, *vide* p. 453, ll. 2 and 4 and 6, respectively. For date, *vide* l. 13. For the name of the messenger, *vide* l. 16. Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 11. [5] *Ibid*, f. 69*b*, l. 21.

این نامه در روز شهریور ماه فروردین سنه ۹۹۶ یزدجردي نوشته شد

[6] *Ibid*, f. 69*a*, l. 19, and f. 70*a*, ll. 2 and 4. The following passage gives some paticulars about the messenger :—

و معلوم دستوران و هیربدان و موبدان و بهدینان کشور هندوستان
بوده باشد که بهدین بهمن بن اسفندیار در ایران شهر در ولایت
ترکابان تشریف آورده و چند روزی بخدمت بود و چون براه کشتي
و توان دریا آمده بود اورا توجش لازم بود و آنچه قاعدهٔ دین
زرتشتي بود اورا توجش فرمودیم قبول کرد و تمام بجای رساند و

to the priests and the laymen of Naôsâri[1] and then to those of Surat[2] and Broach.[3]

(*h*) The eighth Revâyet is that known as the Revâyet of Bahaman Poonjiêh of Surat, brought from Kirman (این کنایت از کرمان زمین بهدین بهمن پونجیه سورتیه آورده است). It is addressed first to the Dasturs of Naôsâri,[5] and then to those of Surat[6] and Broach.[7] It is dated *rôz* Âdar *mâh* Bahman 996 Yazdajardi[8] (A.D. 1627). نوشته شد این رقعه تامه بروز آدر نهم و ماه قدیم بهمن یازدهم ماه الهی سنه ۹۹۶ یزدجرد

Thus we have the authority of eight Revâyets from Persia, all written in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to show, that in those times, at least as far as the Parsees were concerned, Naôsâri was not an unknown town in a corner of Gujerat, but

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اورا برشتوم کردیم و نه شوه داشت و خدمت آب و آتش پا و آتش ور هرام آنچه قواعد دین بود کرده تا واضح بوده باشد دیگر معلوم بوده باشد که خدمت خاتون بانو پارس که زیارت گاه است هم کرد (*Ibid* f. 69a, l. 18 to f. 69b. l. 1.) The custom referred to here, that Zoroastrian priests travelling by sea should perform a purificatory ceremony, is an old one. *Cf.* "Neither would his (Vologeses I.) brother Tiridates refuse coming to Rome to receive the Armenian diadem, but that the obligation of his priesthood withheld him (Works of Tacitus, Vol. I., The Annals, Bk. XV. 24. The Oxford translation.) The Ziârat-gâh (a place of pilgrimage) of Khâtûn Bânû, the daughter of the last king Yazdajard, referred to here, sounds strange in the ears of a Zoroastrian, but the statement shows under what kind of Mahomedan influences the Zoroastrians of Persia had fallen. For the story of this lady Khâtun Bânu, *vide* Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 12.

[1] *Ibid*, f. 69a, l. 5. [2] *Ibid*, l. 9.

[3] *Ibid*, l. 11.

[4] Bombay University Manuscript of Dârâb Hormazdyâr's Revâyet, f. 65a, l. 3. Parsee Prakâsh, vol. I., p. 12. This messenger Bahaman Poonjieh is the same person as Bahman Aspandyâr of the preceding Revâyet. In this Revâyet also at one place he is spoken of as Bahman Aspandyâr.

و التماس فقیران این جانب آنست که گوشهٔ خاطر از بهمن بن اسفندیار دریغ نفرمایند و همه روز اورا حرمت داشته که پسند ایزد است (*ibid*, f. 65b, l. 6).

Vide Mulla Firoz Library MS., Vol. II., 449. For references first to the priests of Naôsâri and then to those of Surat and Broach, *vide* ibid, ll. 7, 10 and 11 and 13 respectively. For the name of the messenger and for his good services f. 449b., l. 2.

[5] *Ibid*, l. 9. [6] *Ibid*, ll. 12 and 14. [7] *Ibid*, l. 16. [8] *Ibid*, f. 68b, l. 20.

was well known, not only here, but also in Persia, as the centre of Parsee priesthood, and that the Parsees of that town took a good deal of interest in all religious subjects.

II. Against Dastur Meherji Rana personally, the following objections have been raised:—

(1) That he was an obscure priest.

(2) That his name is not mentioned in the histories of Akbar's time.

(3) That tradition attributes to him miracles, which are not referred to at all in the histories of Akbar's time.

(4) That he is reported in traditional songs to have invested Akbar with Sudreh and Kusti, the symbols of Zoroastrianism, which is not possible.

We will now examine these objections.

(1) We will first examine shortly the allegation, that Dastur Meherji Rana was an obscure priest in a corner of Gujerat, and was therefore not capable of taking an active part in the religious discussions and of explaining to Akbar the principles of his religion. I beg to produce (A) several old documents, and (B) several old manuscripts which lead to show, that Dastur Meherji Rana was not an obscure priest, but that he was one of the leading men of Naôsâri.

(A) Firstly, I will produce some old documents.

(*a*) I beg to produce an old copy[1]—not the original itself—of a document dated *rôz* Âdar *mâh* Aspandârmad Samvat 1622 (A. D. 1565-66), wherein Dastur Meherji Rana's name stands first among the signatories.[2] It is a kind of agreement amongst the priests themselves, to perform the religious ceremonies properly and conscientiously, to charge only legitimate fees and not more, and to give all proper account of the professional fees received, etc. Dastur Meherji Rana would not have signed at the top, had he been an ignorant obscure priest, as alleged.

(*b*) I produce an original document,[3] four years later in date. It is a document about 331 years old. It is dated *rôz* Ardibehesht *mâh* Aspandârmad 1626 Samvat, *i.e.* 1570 A. D. It is an agreement

[1] *Vide* appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and pp. 151-153.

[2] Dastur Meherji Rana signs his name as "Mâhiâr Vâchhâ." Mahiâr was his proper name, of which Meherji is the popular rendering. Râna was his own father's name. But as he was adopted by Vâchhâ, he adopted his adoptive father's name. [3] *Vide* appendix for the photo-litho and below pp. 154-55.

among the Parsee priesthood themselves, to abstain from the drink of toddy, at the time when they were engaged for some days in particular rituals. The toddy of Naôsâri was then, and is even now, as much known in Gujerat, as the beer of Munich is known in Europe. So it was, and is even now, a favourite beverage of the Naôsâri people. But being a little intoxicating, they agreed among themselves not to drink it during those days when they were engaged in certain ceremonies, *e. g.* Bôi-devi (*i. e.* the ceremony of officiating at the Fire-temple). Among the signatories of this document, Dastur Meherji Rana is the first. This would not have been the case, had he been an ignorant obscure priest, as alleged.

(*c*) I produce an original document[1] of three years' later date, *i.e.*, it is about 328 years old. It is dated *rôz* Hormazd, *mâh* Shehrivar Samvat 1629, *i.e.* 1572 A.D. It is an agreement signed by some of the leading laymen of Naôsâri, on behalf of the community in favour of Mahiâr Vaccha[1] (Meherji Rana), assigning him, in a place called (પીપલીઆ વાડી) Pipaliâ-wâdi, a piece of ground 10 bighas in area, with 50 palm trees and 100 date trees. This seems to be given to Meherji Rana, as the head of the priests, for religious purposes. They undertake that the land shall be maintained free of taxes.

These three documents, then, show that Dastur Meherji Rana was not an obscure priest, as alleged, but that he was a leading priest, even before his departure to the court of Akbar.

B.—Now we come to old manuscripts.

(*a*) In the Revâyet of Dârâb Hormazdyâr, we have a letter brought from Persia, by Faridun Murzbân. We find it addressed to two Dasturs, the first of whom is Dastur Mâhyâr[2] (Meherji Rana). Judging from the names mentioned, Dr. West thinks it to have been written about 1570 A. D.[3]

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[1] *Vide* appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and below pp. 155-58

[2] University Library Manuscript, Vol. I., f. 16b, l. 10. *Vide* l. 17 for the name as Faridun Marzbân; l. 19 for Fredun's name singly. There the name is written فریدون و مرزبان *i.e.*, Faridun and Murzbân, as if the letter was brought by two persons, but the letter vâv for 'and' seems to be a mistake of the copyist, because later on the messenger is spoken of in the singular number. They say التماس است که از همه طور اورا از کوشهٔ خاطر دریغ نفرمایند (l. 19). Again, later on, the messenger is spoken of singly as Faridun (l. 20). In the references to this letter, the full name seems to have been taken as that of two brothers by mistake. (*Vide* Dr. West's remarks in Vol. I. of the Bombay University Library, p. 3, l. 6.) [3] *Ibid.* Dr. West's remarks attached at the beginning, p. 3, l. 8; p. 6, ll. 14-15.

I quote the passage from our Bombay University manuscript Revâyet. دستوران دینداران دین اموزگاران دین چاشیداران دین سراینیداران پتت گفتاران نیایش ورزیداران درست اوستاء راست داوران از نیاکان آدرباد بن مارسفندان استوان دین زرا تشتي چو دستور ماهیار و دستور هوشنگ را یک صد هزاران درود

It must be noted, that Dr. West[1] says, that this manuscript Revâyet of our University library "is probably the original compilation of Dârâb Hormazyâr Frâmroz Kiyâmu-d-din (or Kawâmu-d-din) Kai-kubâd Hamajiyâr Padam Sanjânah, and contains eleven colophons written in his name and varying in date from 20 April to 21 November 1679, at which latter date the compilation was completed." So it is about 222 years old.

(*b*) In a Revâyet[2] of 922 Yazdajardi (A.D. 1553), addressed to the Dasturs, Herbads and Behdins of Naûsâri,[3] Surat,[4] Anklesar,[5] Broach[6] and Kambâyat[7] (Cambay), by the priests of Persia, we find the name of Dastur Meherji Rana, put at the head of all. It is the Revâyet, known as "Revâyet-i-Kâûs Kâmdîn[8] (1553)."

The commencement of the Revâyet which contains the address runs as follows[9]:—

بدستوران و هیربدان پیشوایان و کدخدایان و بهدینان و مجنو نگریداران مالترنیداران اشای ورزیداران چون دستوران و کدخدایان بهدینان قصبه نوساری چون دستور ماهیار بن واچها دستور بهمن بن چاندا دستور خورشید بهرام .....

The date of the receipt of this Revâyet from Yezd in Persia is given at the end, and runs thus ([10]):—

از آن تاریخ از یزد آمد ماه بهمن روز بهمن نهصد و بیست و دو ۹۲۲

i.e. month Bahman, day Bahman, 922.

I produce an old copy of this Revâyet belonging to the Dastur Meherji Rana Library of Naûsâri. Some of its folios are missing, and

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[1] *Ibid.* *Vide* his remarks attached at the beginning of the MS, Vol. I., p. 1, ll. 15-19.

[2] Manuscript belonging to Mr. Manockjee Rastomjee Unwala, pp. 177 to 190. [3] *Ibid*, p. 177, l. 15; p. 178, l. 11. [4] *Ibid*, p. 179, ll. 2 and 5. [5] *Ibid*, p. 179, l. 8. [6] *Ibid*, p. 179, l. 10. [7] *Ibid*, p. 179, l. 13.

[8] *Vide* Bombay University Library Manuscript, Vol. I. Dr. West's contents in the beginning, p. 3, l. 14. *Vide* Mr. Manockji R. Unwala's MS, p. 201, l. 12.

[9] Mr. Manockji R. Unwala's manuscript of this Revâyet, p. 177, ll. 13-15.

[10] *Ibid*, p. 190, l. 9.

among them, the one that contains the above date of its receipt. Again, some of the folios are not bound in proper order (*vide* pp. 15 to 22 of this MS. for the Revâyet in question; *vide* p. 15, ll. 7-9, for the address.) In the catalogue of the first Dastur Meherji Rana Library published in 1894 in the Gujrati list, p. 65, of Zend, Pahlavi, and Pazend manuscripts this MS. bears No. 30. It is a MS. of 76 pages.

Thus in the above letter, given in the Revâyet, and in the above Revâyet of Kâûs Kâmdin, we find the name of Dastur Meherji Rana mentioned first among the leading men to whom they are addressed. It is clear, therefore, that he was not an obscure priest, as alleged, but a leading priest.

(*c*) Dastur Dârâb Pâhlan, a learned Dastur of Naôsâri, who lived from 1668 to 1735, and who was the writer of two works[1] on Zoroastrian subjects, refers to Meherji Rana in his Kholaseh-i-Dîn, written about 211 years ago (1690 A.D.) as a Dastur-i-*mihin*, *i.e.*, a great Dastur. While speaking of Dastur Maneck Mebernôsh, he traces his descent from Dastur Meherji Rana, and says[2] :—

زنسل پاکش مهر یار را ∴ که دستور مهین بود او بدنیا

i.e., "He was descended from pious Mâhiâr Rana, who was a great Dastur in the world." Here, then, we have the authority of a writer, more than two centuries old, to show, that Dastur Meherji Rana was not an obscure priest, as alleged, but was a well-known great Dastur.

We have thus seen that, *firstly*, the above three documents, *secondly*, the above two references in the Revâyets, and, *thirdly*, the reference in the Kholaseh-i-Din, written about 211 years ago, show that Dastur Meherji Rana was not an obscure priest, as alleged.

Not only was Dastur Meherji Rana the leading priest of his time, but his father Rana Jeshang also was the leading priest. I produce several documentary proofs to show this.

1. The first original old document[3], that I produce, is 382 years old. It is dated *rôz* Bahman *mâh* Bahman *Samvat* 1576 (1520 A.D).

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[1] Kholaseh-i-Din and Farziât namah.—*Vide* Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel's Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 31.

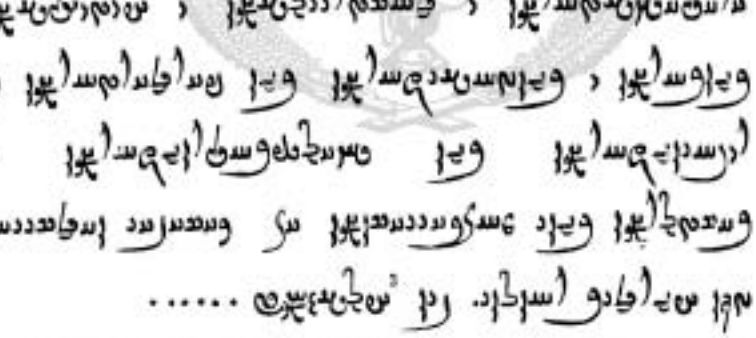
[2] Ervad Manockji Rustomji Umwala's MS. folio 18b, l. 11. It is a MS. 65 years old, being written by Jamshed, son of Manock, son of Rustam on *rôz* Bashnê *mâh* Amardâd 1206 Yazdajardi—(1837 A.D.).—*vide* colophon at the end of the MS. The work was written on roz 6-6-1059 Yazd, *vide* couplet 732.

[3] *Vide* appendix for the photo-litho and below, pp. 158-161.

It is a document, similar to that, which is above referred to, as subsequently given to Dastur Meherji Rana. By this document, the Parsee laymen of Naôsâri gave to Rana Jeshang, the father of Dastur Meherji Rana, a piece of 10 bigahs of ground with 100 palm trees over it for religious purposes. This document shows, that Rana Jesang, the father of Dastur Meherji Rana, must be the leader of the Naôsâri Parsees, as the community gave to him the land of the community, for religious purposes.

2. Again in a Revâyet from Persia, that came to India in his time, we find Rana Jeshang's name standing first in the list of persons addressed in the very beginning. This Revâyet was brought from Persia by one Shâpur Asâ[1] in 1527 A.D. I produce three old copies of this Revâyet.

(*a*) The first copy, that I produce, belongs to the Meherji Rana Library of Naôsâri. The passage of the address runs thus[2] :—

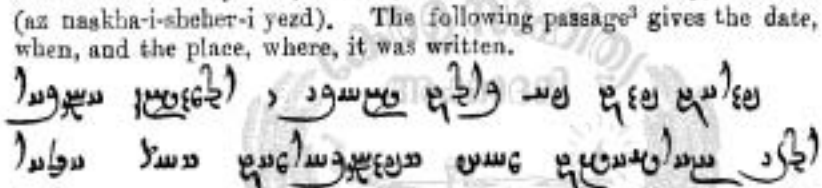


[1] f. 101b, ll. 9-10, of Meherji Rana Library Manuscript. *Vide* above pp. 59-60. f. 119b, l. 11, of Mr. Manockji E. Unwala's MS.

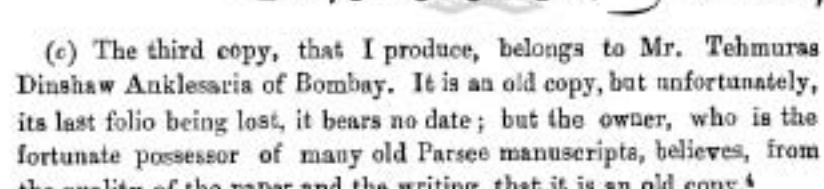
[2] *Ibid* Meherji Rana Library MS. f. 1*a*, ll. 6 to 14.

[3] In the copy, the name Jeshang has been written Hoshang. The mistake can be easily explained. The name Jeshang is written in Persian جشنگ The omission of a dot—either omitted to be put or omitted to be read — will make it حشنگ Hoshang. In another old copy belonging to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria, the name is properly written

The Revâyet was written in the city of Yezd on *rôj* Depâdar *mâh* Bahman 896 Yazdajardi (1527 A.D.). The following passage[1] gives the date, when, and the name of the city, where, it was first written.



(*b*) The second copy, which I produce, belongs to Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwala.[2] It is a copy made on *roz* Khorshed *mah* Spendârmad in 927 Yazdajardi (1558-59) at Naṡâri from the copy of Yezd (az naskha-i-sheher-i yezd). The following passage[3] gives the date, when, and the place, where, it was written.



(*c*) The third copy, that I produce, belongs to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria of Bombay. It is an old copy, but unfortunately, its last folio being lost, it bears no date; but the owner, who is the fortunate possessor of many old Parsee manuscripts, believes, from the quality of the paper and the writing, that it is an old copy.[4]

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[1] Meherji Rana Library manuscript of Shâpur Asa's Revâyet f. 99a, ll. 5 to 11.

[2] It is a manuscript of 241 folios containing various subjects. For the address, *vide* folios 1, l. 7, to f. 2, l. 2.

[3] *Ibid* folio 116b, ll. 4 to 11.

[4] It is a manuscript of 80 folios. It contains nothing but this Revâyet. On comparing this manuscript with the above-mentioned manuscripts, I find, that the last three or four pages are missing. The passage of the address in this manuscript (folio 1, ll. 7 to 15) is the same as the above two manuscripts, except in this, that the name of Dastur Meherji Rana's grandfather Jeshang is properly written.

We have so far seen then, that not only was Dastur Meherji Rana not an obscure priest, as alleged, but that it appears, from an original old document, and from a Revâyet written in Yezd in 1527 A.D., that even his father Rana Jeshang was well known as a leader of the Naôsâri priests.

Rana Jeshang was well versed in Pazend and Persian. That is proved by the fact that we have two manuscripts of copies by his own hand of two well-known Pazend and Persian books.[1]

2. The second objection against Dastur Meherji Rana is, that his name is not mentioned in the history of Akbar's time. The fact of a person's name not being mentioned by a contemporary historian, should not always throw a doubt upon that person's existence, acts or influence. For example, Baber does not mention even once the name of his wife Gul-rukh, while he mentions the names of his other wives. As Mrs. Beveridge says, "this may be an omission of the contemporarily obvious." (Humayun-nâmah by Mrs. Beveridge). The fact of the Naôsâri priests' influence over Akbar, is clearly mentioned by Badâôni, the contemporary of Akbar, and even by the writer of the Dabistan, who wrote about 57 years after Badâôni. Still "the fact of his (Dastur Meherji Rana's) having gone to Akbar's court" is doubted "because his name is not mentioned in any historical book[2]" We must bear in mind, that as far as contemporary historians go, even Ardeshir's name is not mentioned by Badâôni, Abul Fazl or Nizamuddin, as having gone to Akbar's court for taking a part in religious discussions. But, if one is justified in doubting the fact of Dastur Meherji Rana's presence at Akbar's court on that ground, he must be prepared to doubt the presence of the representatives of other communities also. For example, as we said above (p. 32), according to Father Catrou, three parties of Christian priests went, one after another, to the court of Delhi. Two of these went later. The first party[3] consisted of Fathers Rodolph Aquaviva, Antony Monserrat, and Francis Henric. The second party consisted of Edward Leiton and Cristophe Vega.[4] The third party consisted of Father Jerome Xavier and Father Emanuel Pinnero.[5]

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[1] *Vide* below pp. 169-71.

[2] Journal, Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII. p. 296.

[3] History of the Mogul Dynasty, translated from the French of Father Catrou, 1826, p. 105. [4] Ibid, p. 126. [5] *Ibid*, p. 127. *Vide* L'Empereur Akbar, par Le Comte de Noer, translated by Maury, Vol. I., pp. 326, 330, 331.

Of these seven Christian priests of the three missions, only one, Father Rodolph, is mentioned by one Mahomedan historian.[1]

He is spoken of, only once in the Akbar-namah, as Padri Radif (پادري رديف).[2] If that is the case, can one be justified in saying, that the above missionaries did not go to the court of Akbar, because their names are not mentioned in the Mahomedan histories? Just as we have the authority of Father Catrou, who wrote in 1708, for the above-mentioned Christian missionaries, so we have the authority of Dastur Shapoorjee Sanjana, who wrote, in 1765, for the mission of Dastur Meherji Rana. If you accept the authority of a writer, other than the Mahomedan historians of Akbar's reign, in the one case, *viz.*, that of the Christian missionaries, you must accept the authority of a writer, other than the Mahomedan historians, in the other case, *viz.*, that of the Parsee Dastur.

3. The third objection raised against Dastur Maherji Rana's mission, is this, that tradition attributes a miracle to him. Folklore has attached to the visit of Meherji Rana a certain miracle, said to have been performed by him at the court of Akbar. A certain Brahmin

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[1] The Akbar-namah (Calcutta edition of Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. III, p. 577, l. 4 and notes. Elliot (Dawson), Vol. VI., p. 85) speaks of one other priest, Pâdri Farmalîûn (پادری فرمالیون) which one manuscript writes پادري فرمالیون Bâdhari Farmalîûn, and another writes پادري فرملون Pâdri Farmalûn). But he does not seem to have been a member of any religious mission. Abul Fazl says of him: "At this time (the 35th year of Akbar's reign, about 1591 A.D.) Padre Farmalîûn arrived at the Imperial Court from Goa, and was received with much distinction. He was a man of much learning and eloquence. A few intelligent young men were placed under him for instruction, so that provision might be made for securing translations of Greek books and of extending knowledge."—Elliot, VI., p. 85. This passage shows, that he was called for a literary purpose, just as Ardeshir of Kermân was called a year later.

[2] Maulavi Abd-ur-Rahim's Calcutta edition for the Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. III., p. 254, l. 20. The Editior adds a footnote, saying that the name is found رويق Ravik in some MSS. Elliot's MS. gives it Radalf (Elliot's History of India, VI., p. 60). There is one remark of Elliot in connection with this passage, to which I will draw special attention. He says: "Here and in other parts of this chapter, there are in the MSS. long passages which are not printed in the Lucknow edition. Among the rest, that about the Padre" (Elliot, Vol. VI., p. 60, n. 1). Later Mahomedan copyists of books, at times, left off passages, that spoke well of the doings of the personages of other communities.

is said to have raised in the sky, by the force of his magic, a metallic tray, which resembled a second sun, and which Meherji Rana, by his prayers and incantations, is said to have brought down to the earth. But intelligent men should not allow such stories, attached by later generations to the names of historical persons and events, to throw doubts on those historical persons and events. Many a well-known name in the history of different countries, would not be safe in the hands of later generations, if we allowed such stories to throw doubts upon the historical events of their times. Why! Take the case of Virgil. There is no person, in the past history of the world, round the halo of whose name and fame, so many stories of miracles and magic have been put as those round that of Virgil's name and fame. The tourist in Naples even now, centuries after his time, hears dozens of stories about his miracles and about the magical power of his name. I heard several such stories while travelling there in 1889. But, for all that, we are not prepared to doubt the fact of his influence and his work. But why go further! Take the case of another personage of this very time, and of the very court of king Akbar. According to the Akbar-nameh, the Christian priest at the court, Father Rodolf, in order to convince the disbelievers in the truth of the Holy Gospel, offered to perform the miracle of passing through a furnace of fire with the Gospel in his hand. Here is the passage from the Akbar-nameh on the subject: "Twenty-third year of the Reign, (A.D. 1579).—When the capital was illumined by the return of the Imperial presence, the old regulations came again into operation, and the house of wisdom shone resplendent on Friday nights with the light of holy minds. . . . . *Súfís*, doctors, preachers, lawyers, *Sunnis*, *Shiás*, Brahmans, Jains, Buddhists, *Chárbáks*,[1] Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, and learned men of every belief were gathered together in the royal assembly . . . . . one night the *'Ibadat-khana* was brightened by the presence of Padre Radalf, who for intelligence and wisdom was unrivalled among Christian doctors. Several carping and bigotted men attacked him, and this afforded an opportunity for a display of the calm judgment and justice of the assembly! These men brought forward the old received assertions, and did not attempt to arrive at truth by reasoning. Their statements were torn to pieces, and they

[1] *i.e.*, Hindu materialists, *vide* p. 30, n. 3.

were nearly put to shame; and then they began to attack the contradictions in the Gospel, but they could not prove their assertions. With perfect calmness and earnest conviction of the truth, the Padre replied to their arguments, and then he went on to say, 'If these men have such an opinion of our Book, and if they believe the Kûran to be the true word of God, then let a furnace be lighted, and let me with the Gospel in my hand, and the *ûlamâ* with their holy book in their hands, walk into that testing place of truth, and the right will be manifest.' The blackhearted, mean-spirited disputants shrank from this proposal, and answered only with angry words."[1]

Here is the evidence of a contemporary writer, who attributes to the Christian priest a desire to perform a miracle. Well, from the fact of this statement, can we be justified in doubting the historical event of the visit of the Christian priest to the court of Akbar, and of his services to explain his religion to the king? Of course not. How, then, can we be justified in doubting the historical event of Meherji Rana's visit, and of his influence on Akbar? In his case, we do not read at all, in any contemporary writer, any statement about his desire to perform a miracle. It is some later tradition, that connects with his name, the performance of a miracle. If we are not justified in doubting the historical event of Father Rodolf's visit and services, on account of his offered miracle, referred to by a historical writer, we are much less justified in doubting the historical event of Meherji Rana's visit and services, on account of the story of a miracle, which is not even alluded to by any book of history.

We must note that there are several versions of the miracle attributed to Father Rudolf. Murray gives the following version: "At length, he (Akbar) sent to inform them, that an opportunity had now offered of fully establishing the superior claims of the Catholic faith; that a great Mahometan doctor was ready to leap into a furnace with the Alcoran in his hand; and that, considering the firm confidence they felt in their own system, they would of course have no objection

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[1] Akbar-nameh. Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI., pp. 59, 60. Calcutta edition of Asiatic Society, Vol. III., p. 254, l. 20—p. 255. l 5. Badâôni gives another version. He says, that it was a Mahomedan Sheikh, who challenged the Christian priest to perform the ordeal by fire. (The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Esllâm, by Rehatsek, p. 46. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 308. Lees and Ahmed Ali's Text, Vol. II., p. 299, ll. 10-15. Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 191.)

to accompany him with the Bible; when the comparative merit of the two religions would be established in a manner admitting of no dispute. The missionaries paused at this proposition. They represented, that this could by no means be considered a regular mode of deciding a religious controversy; that they had already held long arguments with the Mollahs, and were ready to maintain one still more formally, holding out some expectation, if that should fail, of having recourse to the fiery trial propounded. (Murray's Discoveries and Travels II., p. 91.) This is a version of the Christians. The two well-known contemporary historians of the very time of Akbar, *viz.*, Abul Fazl and Badâôni, differ in their versions. One says that it was the Christian priest who offered to perform the miracle and challenged the Mahomedan priest to do the same, and the other says *vice versâ*. Thus, when in the writings of two well-known historians of king Akbar's own time, some true or probable facts, with which Father Rodolf was connected, have been misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated, there is no wonder, if some similarly true or probable facts, with which Dastur Meherji Rana was connected, have been misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated by tradition in later times. But, as from the fact of some probable events connected with Father Rodolf being so misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated, we are not justified in doubting his mission and influence at the court of king Akbar, so, from the fact of some probable event connected with Dastur Meherji Rana being misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated, we are not justified in doubting his mission and influence at the court of king Akbar.

It is said: "It need hardly be said that, if such a highly improbable, if not impossible, event happened at all, it must have been mentioned and detailed by the writers who are generally very fond of relating the marvellous. Badâôni, who mentions many other so-called miraculous or thaumaturgic feats of *Jogis* and Mahomedan saints, as, for instance, that of the *Anuptalao*, the lake filled with copper coins, does not say a word about this. There is nothing about it in the Dabistan, the other great authority for Akbar's religious history."[1] Well, the fact, that the authentic histories of Akbar's reign, do not mention the so-called miracle, connected with Dastur Meherji Rana's name in later times, should rather go in Dastur Meherji Rana's favour, and *not*

[1] Journal, Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. LIV., No. XIX., p. 293, Mr. Karkaria's paper.

against him. The fact, that no "highly improbable, if not impossible, event," is connected with Dastur Meherji Rana's name by authentic historians, shows that his services were real and not flimsy.

Dr. West, the well-known Pahlavi scholar, says on this point[1] :—

"That Meherji Rana went to Delhi about 1578, seems well attested by the grant of a Jaghir to him at that time ; but the traditional miracle attributed to him is undoubtedly a myth, which no educated Parsee of the present day can really believe (that is, it may be a misunderstanding, or misinterpretation, of some more probable facts). It would be easy to understand that the Parsee's veneration for the sun, would be ridiculed by the other religious disputants; more probably by the Mahomedans and Romish priests than by the Hindus. And what more annoying form of ridicule could be devised than to suggest the ease with which a clever Hindu juggler could produce any number of imitation suns? Such a suggestion, without any attempt to carry it out, would be quite sufficient to produce a myth shortly after Meherji's return to Nausari".

As Dr. West says, it appears, that there may be "some probable facts" at the bottom, and that a myth has subsequently grown round them. Let us examine the myth a little closely, and see if any fact can be traced at the bottom.

(a) The story, as given in the song,[2] says, that a Hindu priest, by a sleight of hand, suspended a dish high in the air. This was taken by the king's subjects to be a second sun. Now, as far as the description in the story goes, the thing was a sleight of hand or a trick. The writer of the story says, that the king's subjects took it to be a second sun, and that the dish appeared like a sun. Dastur Meherji Rana possibly saw what the sleight of hand or what the trick was, and he may have exposed it.

Such sleights of hands and tricks and such jugglers were not uncommon in the court of Akbar. We read, that once Akbar

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[1] His letter, dated Maple Lodge, Watford, June 10th, 1898, to Mr. Mancherji Palanji Kutar.—*Vide* the *Jam-i-Jamshed* of 24th September 1898.

[2] Cf. the first stanza of the song "મેહેરજી રાણા નામ મારા મેક ઘ પુરા ધંધ શાહેનશ"
The lines describing the trick or so-called miracle say

(*vide* ગાથોને રેહપમન (1867) p. 574).

જગત પુરૂને ઘણી ઊરાઈ ખીરે જોરથી ગગનમે
ઊગ્યા માણીક સુરજ દુજા રે સુરજ રેને ખાલમે
રે સુરજ રેને રઈજેલ ગારી આપરત દુને આપને રેઘને

himself exposed the trick of a juggler, who said, that he had "the power of disappearing in the midst of a conversation, in the twinkling of an eye, and to re-appear on the other side of the river."[1] Dastur Meherji Rana may have exposed a trick of this kind, and later oral tradition may have exaggerated it into a miracle, though, from the written account of the story, we find, that it seems to be spoken of as a sleight of hand and trick; but from that exaggeration one cannot be justified in doubting the event of his going to Akbar's court and of his influencing the king.

We must bear in mind, that in those times, unusual extraordinary handiwork or skill in some kind of workmanship also, was taken to be a kind of magic. For example, a grandee of the court Mir Fathulla Shirazi once made a windmill which automatically grounded flour. This was taken by people to be magic. The Tabakât-i-Akbari says on this point, "He was also an adept in the secret arts of magic and enchantment. For instance, he made a windmill which produced flour by a self-generated movement." (Elliot V., p. 469.)

(*b*) Again, in connection with this subject of the appearance of a second sun, we must bear in mind, that, apart from the question of a sleight of hand or trick, such a meteorological phenomenon is not rare. All books on Meteorology speak of mock-suns and mock-moons.[2] I quote here, from Buchan's Meteorology, the description of such phenomenon.

"Parhelia and Paraselenæ. At the points of intersection of the circles of the halo, images of the sun or moon generally appear from the light concentrated at these points, the images of the sun being called parhelia (Gr. para, about or near, and hélios the sun) or mock-suns, and those of the moon paraselenæ (Gr. para about or near, and seléné the moon) or mock-moons, which also exhibit the prismatic colours of the halo." (Introductory Text-book of Meteorology, by Alexander Buchan, 1871, p. 193.)

So, perhaps, it is quite possible, that during the time of Dastur Meherji Rana's visit to the court of Akbar, a phenomenon of a mock-sun may have happened. It is quite possible, that Meherji Rana might have said a prayer at the time, not with the view of performing a

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[1] Badâoni. Rehatsek. The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Eslâm, p. 82. Ahmed Ali's Calcutta Edition of Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. II, p. 366, l. 22, to p. 367, l. 12. Lowe's translation of Bulâoni, Vol. II, pp. 378-79.

[2] I have referred to them in my book on Meteorology, pp. 303, 304.

miracle, but in the ordinary way, because it is not unusual, even now, among some of the Parsis, to say prayers on the more frequent phenomena of eclipses.[1] A Hindu priest may have attributed that meteorological phenomenon to his power of magic, and Dastur Meherji Rana may have exposed it.

(*c*) Again, we find from the histories of Akbar's time, that a natural phenomenon of an unusual kind did occur at the time of Dastur Meherji Rana's visit. It was the phenomenon of the appearance of a comet, just at prayer time in the evening. Perhaps the appearance of this brilliant phenomenon, though properly understood by the learned and the intelligent, was misunderstood by the ignorant and the illiterate, and so latterly it was misinterpreted. This phenomenon created a great stir at the court of Akbar. The Tabakât-i-Akbari thus alludes to it :—

"Twenty-third year of the Reign. (A.D. 1578-79.)

The beginning of this year corresponded with Tuesday, the 2nd Muharram, 986 H. (11th March 1578). . . . . .

"At this period, at the time of evening prayer, a comet appeared in the sky towards the east, inclining to the north, and continued very awful for two hours. The opinions of the astrologers was, that the effects would not be felt in Hindûstân, but probably in Khurâsân and Irâk. Shortly afterwards, Shâh Ismail, son of Shâh Tahmâsp Safawî, departed this life, and great troubles arose in Persia."[2]

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[1] *Vide* my paper on "A Few Ancient Beliefs about Eclipses," read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on 25th April 1894. (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay. Vol. III., No. 6, p. 360.)

[2] Elliot's History of India, Vol. V, p. 407. Tabakât-i-Akbari, Munshi Newul Kishore's lithographed edition of 1875 A.D. (1292 Hijri), p. 339,ll, 3-4. Elliot seems to be wrong in translating "a comet appeared in the sky towards the *east*." The words of the text are

ذکر ظاہر شدن دور دانہ درین ایام در وقت نماز شام در طرف عرب
مائل بشمال دور دانہ روی آسمان ظاہر شد

Elliot has translated the word عرب *Arab* by "the east." *Arab* does not mean east. It simply means 'Arabia.' So the translation should be: "At this period at the time of evening prayer a comet appeared in the sky towards Arabia, inclining to the north." Now as Arabia is in the west, the words may be translated "towards the west." This translation will then tally with the statements of Badâôni and Abul Fazl, who also say that the comet appeared in the west مغرب

As Elliot points out, Badâôni and Abul Fazl also allude to this event. Badâôni places the event in the 22nd year of the reign. (A.D. 1577-78).

و از اتفاقات آنکه در همان سال ستاره ذوذنابه از جانب مغرب پیدا شد ..... و در همان سال خبر رسید که شاه اسمعیل ولد شاه طهماسپ پادشاه عراق را همشیره اش پری جان خانم باتفاق امرا بقتل رسانید ..... و تاثیر ذوذنابه در آن ولایت ظاهر شد و در عراق هرج و مرج عظیم افتاد[1]

Translation. "[2]And among the events of that year was the appearance of a comet in the west. . . . .In this same year news arrived that Shâh Ismâil, son of Shâh Tashmâsp, Emperor of Persia, had been murdered, with the consent of the Amirs, by his own sister Pari Jân Khânam. . . . . And the effect of the comet in that country became manifest, and in Irâq the greatest perturbation resulted."[2]

The Tabakât-i-Akbari of Nizam-ud-din Ahmad places the appearance of the comet in the 23rd year of Akbar's reign, and in the west, but the Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badâôni places it in the 22nd year, and in the west. Abul Fazl in his Akbar-nameh[3] places it in the 22nd year of Akbar's reign, and in the west.

Before coming to the subject of the appearance of the comet of this particular year, Abul Fazl gives a short introduction, presenting

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[1] The Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh, by Lees and Ahmad Ali, Vol. II., p. 240, l. 16; p. 241, l. 5.

[2] Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badâôni, translated by Lowe, Vol. II., p. 248.

[3] The Calcutta edition of Abd-ur Rahim, Vol. III., p. 221, l. 24.

از سوانح پدید آمدن ذوذنب است بعد از نشستن نیر اعظم عطابخش عالم بکرسی مغرب زمین

i.e. Of the event of the appearance of a comet in the evening [lit. after the time, when the great luminary (i.e., the sun) which bestows favours on the world, sits on the seat of the western land]. As to the discrepancy in the year of the appearance of the comet, whether it was in the 22nd or 23rd year of Akbar's reign, Elliot thus explains it. "The twenty-second year began on the 20th Zi-l-hijra, 984, and being a solar year, it extended over the whole of Hijra 985 and ended on the 1st day of 986. The oversight of this fact has given rise to some confusion in the dates about this period, and the events here recorded as having occurred in the twenty-third year of the reign are placed by Abul-l-Fazl in the twenty-second (Elliot's History of India, Vol. V., p. 403, n. 1).

his views of the occurrence of the phenomenon and describing the events of the appearance of comets in former years. He then describes this phenomenon in the time of Akbar's reign[1] (985 Hijri, 1577-78 A.D.) in the following words:—

As the above passage[2] has not been translated by any author, I give my own translation of it :—

"On the day Ârâd (Arshisang), the 25th of the Ilâhi month Âbân, at the time, when the sun made his conspicuous appearance in the sign Scorpio, this heavenly sign (*i.e.*, the comet ذو ذنب) kindled its brilliant face in the sign Saggitarius, faced towards the west (*ôdkhtar-rôi*) inclined toward the north. It had a long tail. It had reached such a limit, that in many towns they saw it for five months. The well-informed astrologers, and those skilled in the mysteries, belonging to the higher (*i.e.*, celestial) assembly, explained it thus: "that among some of the inhabited[3] parts of Hindustan, there will be

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[1] Comte de Noer gives the date of this phenomenon as the end of October 1577 (Chaban 985). L'Empereur Akbar, Vol. I., p. 262.

[2] روز آراد بیست وپنجم آبان ماه الٰهي هنگامیکه نیّر اعظم در برج عقرب سعادت مي افزود در برج قوس این نشان آسماني باختر رویه مایل بشمال چهرهٔ تابش افروخت دنبالهٔ دراز داشت چنانچه بحدّی رسید که در بعضی بلاد تا پنج ماه دیدند اختر شناسان آگاه دل و رموزفهمان انجمن بالا چنین گذارش نمودند که در لختي از مساکن هندوستان غلّه گواني پذیره و از جایهای خاص نشان دادند و فرمان روای ایرانرا روزگار سپری گرده و در عراق و خراسان گرد آشوب بر خیزد چنانکه گفته بودند بي کم و کاست بظهور آمد درهمان نزدیکي قافلهٔ از ایران رسید برخي از کاردانان راستي منش بدرگاه همایون شرح گذشتن شاه طهماسپ و کشته شدن سلطان حیدر و بسلطنت رسیدن شاه اسمٰعیل بعرض اقدس رسانیدند

(The Akbar-nameh by Abul Fazl, edited by Maulavi Abd-ur-Rahim, Vol. III., p. 224, ll. 3-10.)

[3] Or "the poor" or the "inhabitants." "مساکن *masâkin* (pl. of *maskan* or *maskin* Habitations; (for *masâkin*) the poor; *masâkin* an inhabitant." (Steingass.)

scarcity of grain, and they specified some particular places. The time of the ruler of Irân, will come to an end, and in Irâk and Khorâssân there will arise disturbances.' All, that was said, came to pass without anything being less or diminished. A short time after, a caravan came from Irân. Some of its well-informed men of truthful mind, informed his Majesty, of the death of Shah Tahmâsp, and of the murder of Sultân Haidar, and of the accession to the throne of Shâh Ismail."

As pointed out by Elliot, Fergusson's list[1] of comets, included a comet, which appeared in 1577. It passed its perihelion on the 26th October 1577.

There is one thing in Abul Fazl's description of the phenomena of comets, which requires to be noticed. He says, that the phenomena were supposed to forbode evils to a certain extent, in the countries, where they appeared, and that there were *nirangs* (*i.e.* incantations) among the ancients for averting the evils. He says و باندازهٔ درنگ نتائج آن بظهور آید و نیرنگیّ آثار این در نگاشتها پیشینیان بیشتر از آن است که گفته آید[2] *i.e.*, "Their consequences appear in proportion to its duration, and the incantations for (counteracting) the influence of these occur in the writings of the ancients more than can be described."

The *nirang* (*i.e.*, prayer or incantations) of the ancients, referred to by Abul Fazl, seems to be the *nirang* of the ancient Irânians. We find from the Shikand Gumânik Vijâr (S. B. E. Vol. XXIV., Chap. IV., 47-48) that the appearance of comets was believed by the ancient Persians, to bring with it, damage and harm to the countries where they appeared. They believed that the resulting harm can be averted by prayers. Among the Parsees, there is still one *nirang* of that kind known as the *Nirang Vanant Yasht*. It begins thus کل بلا دفع شود و دیو و دروج و پری و گفتار و سحران *i.e.* "May there be averted all the calamities, and (the evils of) the Devil and the Druj and the Peri (fairy) and the Kaftâr (lit. despoiler of the dead) and the magicians."

We must note, that firstly, this is a *nirang* or prayer to avert the evils or wrongs from the *sahrân*[3] (*i.e.*, magicians or trick-players).

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[1] Fergusson's Astronomy by Dr. Brewster, Vol. II. (1811), p. 300.

[2] Akbar-namah, Vol. III., p. 223, ll. 4—5.

[3] *Vide* the last word of the quotation from the *Nirang*.

Again, secondly, we must note that as the *nirang* referred to by Abul Fazl, is in connection with a star (and the comet is spoken of by Badâôni as a star ستارۂ ذو ذنابہ) so the Parsee Nirang-i-Vanant Yasht above referred to, also bears its name from Vanant, which is the name of a star.

Now, Prof. Darmesteter says in his Zend Avesta[1], that the tradition, as he had heard it from a member of the Meherji Rana family, said, that it was the Vanant Yasht, which Dastur Meherji Rana had recited at the time of the so-called miracle. Perhaps he recited that *nirang*, or some other *nirang*, to pray to God, to avert the evils of the natural phenomenon that had occurred at the time.

I have examined this question of the so-called miracle, rather at some length, to show that, as Dr. West said, there may be "some probable fact" at the bottom, round which the story is interwoven. It may be a conjurer's trick, or it may be a meteorological phenomenon, or it may be the astronomical phenomenon of a comet, which is actually noted by three historians of Akbar's time, *viz.*, Badâôni, Abul Fazl and Nizam-ud-din, and the occurrence of which has been confirmed by European astronomers. I am disposed to believe, that it was possibly the third fact, *viz.*, the phenomenon of the comet, that led to the tradition of the so-called miracle. It was believed, as Abul Fazl says, that evils resulted from the appearance of the phenomenon. They further believed, that the writings of the ancients (*pishinigân*) had some *nirangs* (prayers) which averted those evils. So, they may have turned to Dastur Meherji Rana for some of these *nirangs*. Let it be specially noted that in Tansen's song, it is his prayers that are referred to as accepted (*vide* pp. 163-64.)

Thus, one or another of these actual facts may have been misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated in subsequent times. But for the sake of that misinterpretation, misunderstanding or exaggeration, the historical fact of Dastur Meherji Rana's presence at the court, and of his influence on Akbar need not be doubted. Why! more exaggerated things than these, and supposed to be more miraculous, have been attributed to Akbar himself by his historians. He is said to have had the power of miraculously curing the sick, for which reason, and for other reasons, some of his people prostrated before him as before their god. But such statements should not be taken as throwing doubts upon the historical events and acts of his life.

[1] Le Zend-Avesta, Vol. II., p. 644.

4. The fourth objection raised against Dastur Meherji Rana's mission is this. Tradition, as embodied in a song, says, that his mission so far succeeded, that he converted Akbar "to the Parsee faith by investing him with the sacred shirt and thread-girdle, *sudreh* and *kusti*, the outward sign of adopting that faith."[1] The idea of Akbar's putting on the sacred shirt and thread of the Parsees, as referred to in the song, is looked upon with doubt and ridicule. It is supposed, that a king like Akbar, who had his peculiar ideas of a new religion, could not have put on the symbols of the religion of Zoroaster. I admit, that Akbar was never a staunch Zoroastrian, as he was never a staunch Christian, Mahomedan or Hindu. But in spite of that, it is very likely that he once may have put on the *sudreh* and *kusti*, if for nothing else, for the sake of curiosity. We have authentic statements, that he put on visible symbols of other religions, like Christianity and Hinduism.

Father Catrou, who wrote the History of the Mogul dynasty in 1708, on the authority of a Portuguese manuscript of M. Manouchi, a Venetian, who had visited the Court of the Moguls in the reign of Shah Jehân, says: "Akebar took the Bible, placed it upon his head, in sign of respect, kissed the images, and made his children kiss them."[2] "He, on certain occasions, paid honours to Jesus and Mary. He carried, suspended from his neck, a relic, which he had received from Father Aquaviva, an Agnus Dei, and an image of the Virgin Mary."[3] "On the day of the assumption of the Virgin Mary, he had caused a throne to be erected, on which the image of the Virgin was placed"[4] "Akebar produced before the fathers the images of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary. He pressed them to his heart and kissed them with affection."[5] "It was no longer possible to doubt but that Akebar was in spirit and in belief a Christian. He was often present at the services which the fathers celebrated in their chapel; he assisted at their prayers, repeating them in a kneeling posture."[6]

All these are the statements of the Christian missionaries from their point of view. The Mahomedan historians, though they give an expression to his leaning towards the teachings of the missionaries,

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[1] B. B. R. A. Society's Journal, XIX., No. LIII., p. 292.

[2] History of the Mogul Dynasty, translated from the French of Father François Catrou, 1826, p. 106. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 125. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 127. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 128.

do not go so far. But even in spite of all the above public expressions of sympathy towards Christianity, the Christian fathers at times "apprehended"—to quote Father Catrou's words—"that dissimulation and policy, so natural to the Moghuls, had the greatest share in the discourse of the Prince."[1]

Coming to Hinduism, we find, even from the Mahomedan historians, that Akbar assumed all the visible signs of that religion. He became a vegetarian, and even put on the Hindu mark on his forehead, and went out in public with that mark and with the Hindu thread *rák'hi* on his body. Badâôni says "On the festival of the eighth day after the Sun's entering Virgo in this year he came forth to the public audience-chamber with his forehead marked like a Hindû and he had jewelled strings tied on his wrists by Brahmans by way of a blessing. . ." It became the current custom also to wear the *rák'hi* (راکھی) on the wrist." (Lowe's Translation, vol. II., p. 269. Rehatsek p. 27. Blochmann. Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 184. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Calcutta Text, Vol. II., p. 261, ll. 18 to 22.) According to Rehatsek *Rak'hi* is an amulet of string tied round the arm on a certain festival held in honor of Krishna during the full moon of Srâvana" (p. 27 n. 24). It is still put on by the Hindus on the Nâlieri Punam or Balev holiday.

Now then, if Akbar put on the visible symbols of the religions of the Christians and Hindus—either out of temporary real affection for these religions, or only out of dissimulation, or for the sake of curiosity—there is no wonder, if he put on, even for a short time, the *sudreh* and *kusti* (the sacred shirt and thread), the visible signs of Parseeism, from which he had taken several elements for his new religion, as noted by several historians of his reign.

There is one thing, which draws our special attention in connection with this question of *sudreh* and *kusti*. We read in Badâôni in the account of the 24th year of Akbar's reign (1579-80 A.D.) that Birbal recommended sun-worship to the king. There, at the end of the passage, the author says وقشقه و زنار را جلوه داد. *Blochmann* translates it "(For similar reasons, said Bir Bar should man pay

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

[2] Compare the words جلوه داد *Jaloeh dâd* here, with the same words used by Dastur Shapurjee Sanjânâ about Dastur Meherji Rana in connection with his visit to Akbar's court (*vide* above p. 46. همیشه دین بهرا جلوه داد)

regard . . .) to the mark on the forehead and the Brahmanical thread."[1]

Rehatsek translates this as "he also recommended marks on the forehead and strings." Rehatsek adds in a note: "Both are badges of caste; the forehead mark our author calls *qashqah* and the string *zunâr*."[2]

Lowe translates it: "That he should adopt the sectarial mark and Brahmanical thread." (Lowe's translation, Vol. II. p. 268.)

Now the word *zunnâr* (زنّار) referred to by Badâôni, signifies, according to Steingass: "A belt (particularly a cord worn round the middle by the Eastern Christians and Jews, also by the Persian Magi), the Brahmanical thread."

Badâôni does not use the word Brahmanical. It appears that it is latterly that it has been applied to sacred threads or cords put on by different communities, but formerly it was specially applied to that used by the Persian Magi. Firdousi applies it to the *kusti* or sacred thread of the ancient Persians. For example he says about Minocheher[3]:

منوچهر بنهاد تاج کیان .·. ببستش بزنّار خونین میان

i.e. "Minocheher put on the Kiânian crown and, bent on revenge, tied his waist with *zunnâr* (*i.e. kusti*.)" The Farhang-i-Jehangiri,[4] written in Akbar's reign, says of this word زنّار — رشته را گویند که آتش پرستان با خود دارند *i.e.*, "a thread which the fire-worshippers put on is called zunnâr." It seems to me, that as the word zunnâr appears here in connection with sun-worship adopted by Akbar and with the establishment of fire temples, it may have been understood by some to refer to the *kusti* of the Zoroastrians.

As the word *zunnâr* (*zenâr*) has the meaning of *kusti*, and as it has also the meaning of "a priest's gown," as Richardson puts it, it is quite natural, that the above sentence of Badaoni may have been taken by some later Parsees—even by mistake—to refer to their *sudreh* and *kusti*. So, irrespective of the question, whether Akbar put on or not, the *sudreh* and *kusti*—it may be through curiosity—as he put on the visible symbols of Christianity and Hinduism, it

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1 Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 183.

2 The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Islâm (1866), p. 25.

3 Mohl. Livre des Rois, Vol. I., p. 210, l. 1139.

4 Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwala's MS. copy, Lucknow Edition, Jild Second, p. 124.

is possible, that the above sentence of Badaoni may have led some later Parsees to infer, that zunnâr meant *sudreh* and *kusti*. Thus we find, that if later songs spoke of Akbar putting on the *sudreh* and *kusti*, they had some authority, real or mistaken.

But then, it is not the Indian songsters and singers alone, who say, that Akbar was converted to Parseeism. Even European writers, on the strength of Mahomedan authorities, have come to the conclusion, that Akbar was, to a certain extent, a convert to Zoroastrianism, and that it was the priests of Naôsâri who brought about that result. Prof. Wilson renders the passage of Badaoni on Akbar's religion thus: "A number of fire-worshippers, who arrived from Nausârî in Guzerat, gained many converts to the religion of Zerdusht. The emperor was, to a certain extent, amongst them."[1] Again, we have a German author, who says a similar thing. It is Comte de Noer. I quote him in the words of his translator Maury: "Il y avait à Naousari, dans le Goudjerat des disciples de Zarathustra. . . . Quelques uns de leurs prêtres furent mandés à Sikri et initièrent l'empereur à leur religion."[2] Thus, if it was the Naôsâri Parsees, who, according to these authors, led Akbar to Zoroastrianism, it is quite natural that Dastur Meherji Rana, the head of the Naôsâri Parsees, should have an active hand in the work.

Tennyson also, in his Akbar's Dream, takes the view that Akbar was converted to Zoroastrianism. He makes Akbar complain of the fact, that the people railed at him as a Zoroastrian. Tennyson[3] puts the following words in the mouth of Akbar:—

"The sun, the sun! they rail
At me the Zoroastrian. Let the Sun,
Who heats our earth to yield us grain and fruit,
And laughs upon thy field as well as mine,
And warms the blood of Shiah and Sunnee,
Symbol the Eternal! Yea and may not kings
Express Him also by their warmth of love
For all thy rule—by equal law for all?
By deeds a light to men!"

There is one thing very peculiar in this passage of Tennyson. He represents Akbar, as complaining against the people railing at him

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[1] H. H. Wilson's Works, edited by Dr. Rost, Vol. II., p. 389.

[2] L'Empereur Akbar, pp. 314—15.

[3] Tennyson's "Akbar's Dream."

as a Zoroastrian, and then as justifying his sun-worship: He says:

> Let the Sun,
> Who heats our earth to yield us grain and fruit,
> And laughs upon thy field as well as mine."

Tennyson here bases his thoughts upon that very passage of Badâôni, in which the word *sawâr* occurs, and in which Birbal justifies sun-worship, and is supported by other learned men of the court who, according to the Dabistan, were "a sect of the fire-worshippers." Badaoni's words corresponding to the above words of Tennyson are:—

"The sun was the primary origin of everything. The ripening of the grain on the fields, of fruits and vegetables, the illumination of the universe, and the lives of men, depended upon the Sun. Hence it was but proper to worship and reverence this luminary."[1]

Summary.

To sum up: We have the authority of four writers—two of them Badâôni and Abul Fazl, contemporaries of king Akbar—to say that it was the Indian Parsees who explained to the king, the religion of Zoroaster. Badâôni says that it was the Naosari Parsees who did so. The author of the Dabistan, written at least about 57 years after Badaoni, supports him in almost his own words. From these writers and from the author of the Târikh-i-Mamâlik Hind, we learn that by 1582-84 the king had openly adopted some of the Parsee forms of worship, the Parsee calendar, and the Parsee festivals. The Dabistan adds one fact more, viz., that Ardesir from Persia had also come to the Court of Akbar by special invitation, and was questioned "about the subtleties of Zordusht's religion." This event had happened subsequently *in* or *after* 1592, *long after* Akbar had openly adopted some of the Parsee forms of worship, etc. So Badaoni takes no note of this event; but the author of the Dabistan, who wrote at least 57 years after Badâôni, takes a note of this subsequent event. The Farhang-i-Jehangiri says, that the special purpose, for which Ardesir was called, was to help its author in the work of the dictionary, and that he was called in or after 1592.

Dastur Meherji Rana was the head of the Naosari Parsees. (1) Dastur Shapurji M. Sanjânâ, in his Kisseh-i-Âtash Beherâm-i-Naôsâri, written in 1765-66, clearly says that "he had gone to the

[1] Blochmann. Ain-i-Akbari, I., p. 183.

court of King Akbar and had shown him proofs of religion." This statement is supported by further facts. (2) Two farmâns of King Akbar himself and two other old documents of his time affirm that he was given 200 *bigâhs* of land by Akbar. (3) There are three old documents, which clearly show, that just after his return from the court of Akbar, he was formally acknowledged by the priests of Naosari as their head. (4) Old manuscripts of Zend Avesta prayer books, one of which is about 192 years old, affirm that his name was commemorated in prayers. Why was this ? It was in recognition of services rendered to the cause of Parsee religion at the Court of Akbar, as affirmed by Dastur Shapurji Sanjâná in his book. (5) Again old songs, one of which is recorded in a manuscript about 110 years old, and believed to have been written by Tansen, the minstrel of Akbar himself, record the event of his visit to Akbar's Court.

Coming to the objections raised against Naosari Parsees in general, it is said that the Gujarat Parsees were all ignorant at the time of King Akbar. Drs. West and Geldner, and Prof. Hodiwala have shown elsewhere that there was not that general ignorance as that alleged. We have the authority of two letters from Persia, recorded in the Revâyets, to say that the Zoroastrians of Persia were not far better than the Zoroastrians of India. As to the objection that Naosari was an obscure town, and as such was not capable of producing capable men, we have the authority of eight Revâyets, one after another, to show that it was not so. Coming to the objections against Dastur Meherji Rana, we have the authority of three documents and two manuscripts, and of a work of Dastur Dârâb Pâhlan, to show that he was not an obscure priest as alleged. We have the authority of one old document and an old manuscript Revayet to show that even his father Rana Jeshang was not an obscure priest. We have two manuscripts written by Rana Jeshang himself to show that he was versed in Pazend and Persian. So Dastur Meherji Rana was a known and learned son of a known and learned father.

The main issues in this question are :—

1. Is it, or is it not, a fact, (A) that Badaoni, *under the events of* 1579 *A. D.*, says (*a*) that "the Parsees from Naosari proved to his Majesty the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines," and that (*b*) they "impressed the Emperor so favourably that he learned from them the religious terms and rites of the old Parsis," and that (*c*) he "ordered

Abul Fazl to make arrangements that sacred fire should be kept burning at court by day and by night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings"; (B) that the Dabistan supports the above statement of Badaoni about the Naosari priests; (C) that Abul Fazl in his Akbar-nameh, under the events of the 23rd year of Akbar's reign, *i.e.* of 1578, refers to the presence of Zoroastrians in the assembly for religious discussions; and (D) that the Tarikh-i-Mamálik-i-Hind says that *in 1579 A.D.* Akbar was led away from Mohomedanism by the Parsees? In short, is it, or is it not, a fact, that before 1583 Akbar had adopted the visible forms of Parsee worship and adopted Parsee calendar and festivals?

2. As to the additional facts of Ardeshir's coming from Persia to the Court of Akbar, is it, or is it not, a fact that, according to the Farhang-i-Jehangiri Ardeshir was called for the purpose of the dictionary, and that he came *in or after* 1592?

If you decide these most important issues in the affirmative, you cannot but come to the conclusion that it was the Naosari Parsees who explained to Akbar the religion of Zoroaster.

Then as to the next question as to who was the leader of the Naosari Parsees the most important issues are :—

(1) Is it, or is it not, a fact that we have (A) documents of King Akbar's time saying that Dastur Meherji Rana was given 200 *bighas* of land given to him by Akbar as *madad-i-maash*, a special kind of grant; (B) documents of King Akbar's time, showing, that at the very time, which corresponds with the time of his return from Akbar's Court, he was formally acknowledged by the priests of Naosari as their head; and (C) a Zend manuscript about 192 years' old, which is supported by other later manuscripts, showing that his name is commemorated in a prayer as that of a departed worthy who had rendered some services to his community.

If you decide these issues in the affirmative, the question arises, (*a*) Why was it that Dastur Meherji Rana was given 200 *bighas* of land by Akbar; (*b*) why was he formally acknowledged as their head by the priests of Naosari; (*c*) why was his name commemorated? It must be in reward of some services rendered. What those services were appear from the writing of a Parsee author, who, in his work, written in 1765-66 A.D., says that Dastur Meherji Rana had gone to the Court of Akbar and explained to him the religion of Zoroaster. This visit to the Court of Akbar, is referred to

in a song by Tansen, the contemporary of Akbar, a song that is found in a manuscript written about 110 years ago.

If you decide all these issues in the affirmative, you cannot but come to the conclusion that it was Dastur Meherji Rana the leader of the Naosari Parsees who had gone to the Court of Akbar. These are the main issues. Without deciding them, all other arguments would be futile and useless.

Before I finish, I beg to say, that Mr. Karkaria has done gross injustice to Dastur Meherji Rana's descendants. He says :— "A paper has been put into my hands by the present descendants of this Meherji Rana, who still live in Naosari, in which what are called historical authorities are given for the abovementioned traditions. The writer of this quotes what purports to be passages from three famous historians of Akbar, *viz.*, Badaoni, Abul Fazl, and the author of the Tabakat-i-Akbari, in each of which the tradition is fully and emphatically mentioned. But, strange to relate, I do not find just those passages in these historians ! They are conspicuous by their absence in the excellent editions of Badaoni and Abul Fazl, published by the Bengal Asiatic Society in the *Bibliotheca Indica* !"[1]

Now, I produce those very papers, which were placed in the hands of Mr. Karkaria. Mr. Karkaria has taken care, to get them initialled by two or three well-known citizens. I find thereon, among other initials, the initials K. N. K. and D. F. These two, are the initials of Mr. Kaikhoshroo Nowrojee Kabraji and Mr. Dosabhoy Framji Karaka, C.S.I. It is fortunate, that what Mr. Karkaria thought to be necessary for his protection, has turned out to be necessary for the protection of the descendants of Dastur Meherji Rana.

Mr. Karkaria says in the above passage, that the paper, with which he was supplied, purported to contain passages from Badaoni. I do not find anything of the kind. Therein the name mentioned, is *not* that of Badaoni, but it is that of one Abdul Kadir Badlani, and the book is that called Vakaât Akbari. Perhaps Mr. Karkaria would say, that by mistake he took Badlâni for Badâôni. But then, in the paper given to him, Badlani's book is mentioned as Vakaât Akbari, and we know that Badaoni's work is Muntakhab-al-tawârikh.

Secondly, Mr. Karkaria says that he was supplied with passages purporting to be from Abul Fazl, "the excellent editions" of whose

[1] Vol. XIX., No. 53, pp. 293-94.

works (the Âin-i-Akbari and the Akbar-nâmeh), he says, are "published by the Bengal Asiatic Society in the Bibiliotheca Indica." But I find, that in the paper given to him, the above-named books are *not at all* mentioned. The book mentioned is "Tawârikh-i-Mâhânâmeh.

Thirdly, he says, that the paper given to him, was said to contain passages from the Tabakât-i-Akbari. What he calls the "excellent Tabakât-Akbari of Nizam-ud-din" is *not at all* referred to in the paper, but the Tabakât referred to, is spoken of, as one, written by Moulvi Abdul Nabi Sistani.

In the case of all the three above-mentioned books, Mr. Karkaria has given altogether wrong names. He represents the descendants of Dastur Meherji Rana's family, as giving him from three well-known works (Badaoni's Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh, Abul Fazl's Ain-i-Akbari or Akbar-nameh, and Nizam-ud-din's Tabakât-i-Akbari), passages which did not exist in those works, while, as a matter of fact, the passages are clearly spoken of in the paper supplied to him *as belonging to some other books*. Again, the worst of it is this, that he makes this charge, in spite of his being very clearly told by the giver of the paper, that the books, named in the paper, have not been found, though he tried his best, and that he was not sure whether the books existed or not, and that if they existed, he was not sure whether those passages were therein or not.

The fact is that those passages were given to the late Dastur Erachjee Sohrabjee Meherji Rana, the late learned librarian of the Mulla Firoz Library, by a friend at Poona, as being found by a Mahomedan Munshi in some manuscript books at Agra. As one taking an interest in all that related to the history of his family, he copied those passages in his manuscript book of family notes. Had the names of the books been those of the above well-known works, he would have at once verified the passages from the books in his Mulla Firoz Library. One of our vice-presidents, Mr. K. R. Cama, as the President of that institution, can certify, that Dastur Erachjee was a learned and diligent traditional scholar, and had written many manuscripts for his library. So, he could have easily verified the passages by a reference to the above works in his library, but as the names given were quite unknown, he simply took down the passages for what they were worth.

The gentleman who sent to Mr. Karkaria at his express desire, the paper containing these passages very clearly said, at the time, "એ કેતાબોની હૈયાતી છેકે નહીં તે જણાતું નથી. કારણ મારી મુશાફરી દરમ્યાન મેં ઘણી તજવીજ કરવા છતાં એ કેતાબો મને મળી નથી અને કદાચ કેતાબો હોય તો તેમાં એ ફકરા છેકે નહિં તે પણ હું કહી શકતો નથી. મને તો જેવા મળ્યા છે તેવાજ મેં નકલ ઉતારી લીધી છે."

i.e., "It is not known, whether these books exist or not, because during my travels, though I tried my best, I could not find these books. And even if these books exist, whether these passages occur therein or not, I cannot say. I have copied them as I have found them."

Mr. Karkaria put in a para. in the Gujarati papers, asking for papers connected with Dastur Meherji Rana. A member of the family sent him those papers, very clearly saying that, in his travels, he had tried his best to find the books named, and that he could not find them. His words very clearly show, that he did not mean at all, the well-known works of Badaoni, Abul Fazl and Nizam-ud-din. In spite of all that, Mr. Karkaria dares to say that the passages were "very likely a forgery by the copyist himself." To say the least, this is very unfair, and I beg to say that Mr. Karkaria, if not for his own sake, for the sake of the Society in whose journal he has published this libel, owes an explanation to the members of the family of Dastur Meherji Rana, who, he thinks, have made a "pretended claim" for their ancestor.

I cannot conclude this paper, without offering my best thanks to the gentlemen, whose names I have mentioned in the paper, for placing at my disposal the valuable documents and manuscripts in their possession. My best thanks are due to Dastur Dârâbjee Mâhiârjee, the present Dastur of Naôsâri, for kindly lending me the first original *Firmân* of king Akbar to be placed before the Society. My best thanks are due to Professor Shapursha Hormasji Hodiwâlâ for kindly lending me the old documents *re* the appointment of Dastur Meherji Rana at the head of the Naôsâri priesthood, and some other old documents. Most of these documents belong to Mr. Hormusjee Beharamji Dastur of Naôsâri. All those documents were brought to Bombay by Prof. Hodiwâlâ, from their owners at Naôsâri about 5 years ago, when the question was discussed. Professor Hodiwâlâ

has placed some of the results of his study in his letters to the *Bombay Gazette* over the *nom de plume* of Edie Ochiltree Junior and J. O. E. in 1896, and those letters have been of much use to me. I am indebted to these letters for many of my references in this paper. I offer my thanks to Mr. Munockjee Rustomji Unwala for some old manuscripts bearing on the subject. Lastly, my thanks are due to the Committee of the Nnôsâri Meherji Rana Library, and to the President of the Mulla Firoz Library, for placing their old manuscripts at my disposal for the occasion.

കേരളസാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

Appendix.

I will give here the text and the translation of some of the original documents, referred to above in the paper. Firstly, I will give the two *farmâns* of the 40th and 48th years of king Akbar's reign, given to Dastur Kaikobad, the son of Dastur Meherji Râná, in which it is mentioned, that before the dates of the grants, 200 *bigahs* of land, which formed a part of the 300 *bigahs* granted to him, were given to his father, Dastur Meherji Rana, for his *madad-i-maâsh*. I will give at the end, the photo-litho facsimiles of these two *farmâns*, together with those of some other documents referred to in the paper. I have to thank Mr. Jehangier Rustomjee Unwala for the photographs of these two documents, and Messrs. Cooper and Dhondy, of the New Litho Printing Press, for the photographs of the other documents. To photograph such very old documents is not an easy task, especially when some of the documents are too large to be had within the sphere of the camera at one and the same time. So the photos of some of the Persian documents had to be taken in parts and then arranged together on the stones. Then the lithographing of the documents was not, again, very easy. The lithographed stones had to be cleaned between the lines and the letters, to make the print distinct and legible. With all trouble and care the work has not been such, as one would wish it to be. However, I am indebted to the Education Society's Press, for the patience with which they have done this work and for the printing of this paper generally. My best thanks are due to my friend, Ervad Manockjee Rustomji Unwala, for helping me in seeing these old documents pass through the press.

To help both students and ordinary readers, I give the old documents in type also. The careful reading of these old *farmâns* requires some practice in this matter, which I had not before I undertook the work. So I am indebted to Mr. Khodâyâr Shehryâr Dastur for helping me in reading them. A few words here and there are still not clear and legible to me, and a few words here and there may perhaps be read and translated by others, in a way, different from that, in which I have read and understood them, but that does not make much difference in understanding the documents as a whole. In printing the last portions of the two *farmâns* with the seals, I have printed it upside down, in the same way as it is written in the original *farmâns* (*vide* the photo-litho facsimiles). I have explained

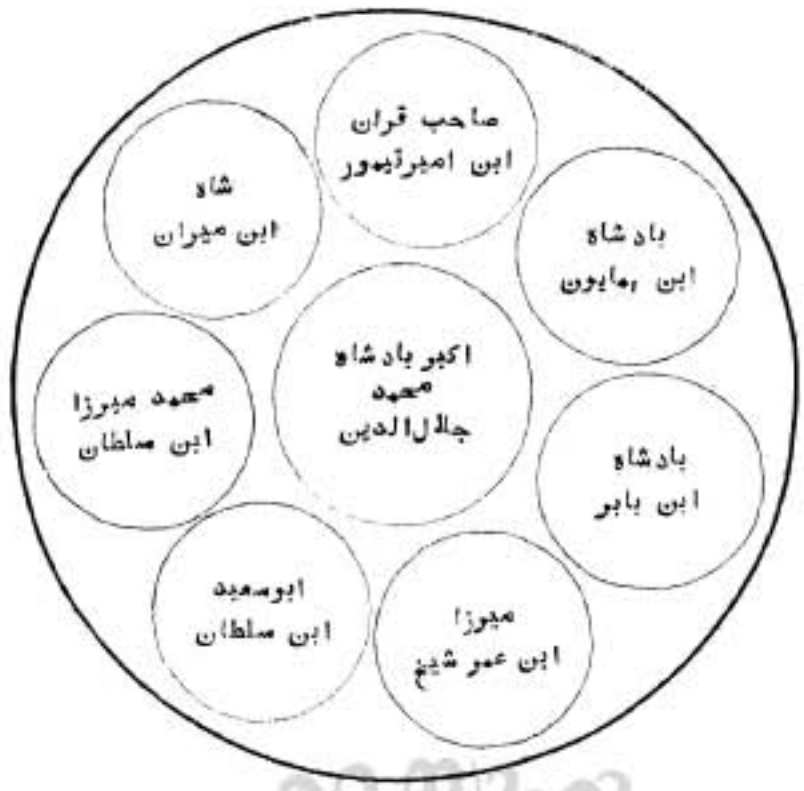
the reason there. The *farmâns* are printed line by line according to the original documents.

Irrespective of the question of support, which these two old *farmâns* of king Akbar's time give, as evidence, to the subject-matter of the paper, they are very interesting in themselves. They are of some interest to caligraphists. Again, they are interesting from another point of view. They give us an idea, of some of the customs and rules, connected with *jagirs* and land revenue in Akbar's time. In this matter, they serve as illustrations, as it were, of the different *âins* on this subject in the Âin-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl. So, I have translated these *farmâns* with the very help, as it were, of the Âin-i-Akbari. I have tried to explain the technical words and phrases, by means of the very language of the above book.

Most of the documents given in this paper are worth studying from their own standpoints of view. If I do not mistake, it is for the first time that such documents of Akbar's and Baber's times are printed. I beg to submit this appendix as an humble result of my studies in this matter.

الله اکبر

Document No. 1.
(The first Farmân of the 40th year of King Akbar's reign.—*vide* above, p. 38.)



فرمان جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی

درین وقت فرمان عالي شان عنایت نشان عز ورود یافت که چون موازی سه صد بیگهه زمین بگز الٰهي مع درختان تار و خرما وغیره که در آن زمین واقع است از سواد قصبه نوساري وغیره بموجب تفصیل ضمن در وجه مدد معاش کیقباد پارسي ولد مایار از تعین جاگیردار از فصل خریف قوي این اشتغال مي نموده باشد

بسبیل به حکام و عمال و کروریان و جاگیرداران حال و استقبال آن محال حسب‌المسطور عمل نموده و زمین مزبور را پیموده و چک بسته بتصرف مشار الیه‌ي گذارند

و در استمرار و استقرار آن عنایت کوشیده تغیر و تبدیل ندهند و بعلت مال و جهات و اخراجات و سایر جهات مثل قنلغه و پیشکش و جرمانه و ضابطانه و مهرانه و داروغگانه و محصلانه

و ده نیم وصد دوی و قانون گوی و تکرار زراعت و ترکاری و زکوة الجهتي و ضبط برساله بعد از تشخیص چک و کل تکالیف دیواني و جمیع اخراجات سلطاني مزاحمت نرسانند

و از کل حوالات معاف و مرفوع‌القلم نموده بیرامون نگردند و برساله دراین باب فرمان و پروانچه مجدد نطلبند و چون بتوقیع اشرف اعلي رسد اعتماد نمایند تحریراً

عشر آخر ماه اسفندارمز الٰهي سنه ۴۰

شرح تعلیقه بتاریخ روز تیر ۱۳ ماه آبان الٰهي سنه ۴۰ حکم فرمودند که موازي سه صد بیگهه زمین مع درختهاي تار و خرما وغیره که درآن زمین واقع است از سواد قصبه نوساري وغیره بموجب تفصیل ذیل در وجه مدد معاش کیقباد پارسي ولد مایار مقرر باشد که از آنچه قبل ازاین بتاریخ ۱۵ ماه مهر الٰهي سنه ۴۰ حکم شده بود چون بشرح داخل واقعه نشده بود بتابران بتفصیل داخل نموده شد برساله و چوکي افادت پناه افاضت دستگاه حقایق و معارف آگاهي علامي شیخ ابوالفضل و نوبت واقعه خواجه معزالدین حسین شرح حاشیه بخط واقعه نویس شرح متن بواقعه کمترین بندگان معزالدین حسین موافق است شرح دیگر بخط ملا نظر از تعین جاگیردار بگز الٰهي تنخواه نمایند از فصل خریف قوي این

ملما بیگهه

قصبه نوساري که زمین مزکور قبل ازاین در وجه مدد معاش مایار بود
۵ بیگهه
بصحه

از برزی از پرگنه پارچول
ما بیگهه
بصحه

۴ تاریخ ۲۹ ماه اسفندارمز الٰهي سنه ۴۰ فروردین الٰهي سنه ۴۱ نقل گرفته شد

برسالہ و چوکی نواب افادت پناہ افاضت دستگاہ حقایق و معارف آگاہی
علامی شیخ ابوالفضل نوبت واقعہ نویس معزالدین حسین بصحہ

1
اکبر شاہ
مریدہ
خان خانان

2
میرزا کوکہ

3

4

5

6
الحسینی
صدر جہان
کمترین
بندہ

7

۴۰
فی التاریخ
ثبت شد
۷ ماہ اسفندار مز
الٰہی

8

۴۱
فی التاریخ
ثبت شد
ماہ اردیبہشت
.....

9
نظر علی
بن حسین

فی التاریخ
مرقم شد
غرۃ ماہ فروردین سنہ ۴۱

10
داعی
بندہ
حسین
کمال الدین

مطلع شد
فی ۲۹ ماہ اسفندارمز الٰہی ۴۰

11
حسین
کمال الدین
العبد

قلمی
شد
۲۹ اسفندارمز الٰہی سنہ ۴۰

കേരള സാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

(Translation of the first Farmân.)

GOD IS GREAT.[1]

The *Farmân*[2] of Jalâluddin Muhammad Akbar Bâdshâh Gâzi.[3] At this time, a royal order, signifying favour, has acquired the

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[1] الله اکبر 'Allah Akbar' was the form of salutation, which, according to Badâôni, Akbar substituted for the previous form of salutation (*salâm*). The reply to this new *salâm* was جل جلاله *Jal Jalâleh*, *i.e.*, "May his magnificence be glorified." (Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh, by Lees and Ahmad Ali, Vol. II., p. 356, l. 10. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 367. Bohatsek, p. 77. Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 205.) It was in 995 Hijri (A.D. 1586) that he introduced this formula as a form of salutation, but it was in 983 (A.D. 1575-76) that he had introduced it on his seals and coins. We find from Badâôni that he had discussed the question of this formula with some of the courtiers before introducing it. We read in the Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh :—

"In these days (A.H. 983, A.D. 1575-76) His Majesty once asked how people would like it, if he ordered the words *Allâh Akbar* to be cut on the Imperial seal, and the dies of his coins. Most said that the people would like it very much, but Hâjî Ibrâhîm objected, and said, that the phrase had an ambiguous meaning,* and that the Emperor might substitute the verse of the Qur'ân *Lazikrullâhi Akbaru*,† because it involved no ambiguity. But the Emperor was much displeased, and said it was surely sufficient, that no man who felt his weakness would claim Divinity; he merely looked to the sound of the words, and he had never thought that a thing could be carried to such an extreme." (Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 213. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Text, Vol. II., p. 210, ll. 7-15. Elliot's (Dowson) History of India, Vol. V., p. 523.)

* "God is great" or "Akbar is God."

† To commemorate God is the greatest thing. لذكر الله أكبر

[2] According to Abul Fazl *farmâns* were issued for three purposes. In the list for the second set of purposes fall the "appointments to jagirs without military service," and in that for the third set, fall "grants on account of daily subsistence allowance." (Ain-i-Akbari, Book II, Ain 11. Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I. pp. 260-61, Text I., p. 194.)

[3] Jalâl-ud-din Muhammad Akbar Bâdshâh Gazi (جلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه غازى) was the title by which king Akbar was known. (*Vide* the Tabakât-i-Akbari. Munshi Newul Kishore's lithographed edition of 1292 Hijri (A.D. 1875), p. 242, l. 8. *Vide* Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badâôni. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Text, Vol. II., p. 8, l. 1; p. 9, l. 11. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., pp. 1 and 2.)

honour of publicity, that, Whereas, about [1] 300 *bigahs* [2] of land (measured) by the *Ilâhi gaz*,[3] together with palm and date trees, etc., which are growing on that land, have been assigned in the environs [4] of the town [5] of Nâosârî, etc., from the *Sirkâr* of Surat, according to the particulars of the contents [6] (of this *farmân*) for the purpose [7] of the assistance of livelihood (*madad-i-maâsh*) [8] of Parsi Kaikobad, son of Mâhyâr, from the assignment [9] of

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[1] موازی *mu'âzi*, nearly, about.

[2] According to the Âin-i-Akbari (Book III, Ain 10) a bigah (بیگهه) "is a quantity of land 60 *gaz* long by 60 broad. (قطعهٔ زمین است در درازا و پهنا شصت گز) Should there be any diminution in length or breadth or excess in either, it is brought into square measure and made to consist of 3,600 square *gaz*." (Blochmann's Text, Vol. I., p. 296, l. 21. Translation, Vol. II., by Jarrett, p. 62) "3,600 square *gaz* = 2,600 square yards = 0·538, or somewhat more than half an acre." (*Ibid*, n. 1.)

[3] According to the Âin-i-Akbari (Book III., Âin 8) the *Ilâhi gaz* "is a measure of length and a standard gauge. (پیمایندهٔ مقدار است و گذارندهٔ حال) High and low refer to it, and it is the desire of the righteous and the unrighteous. Throughout Hindustan there were three such measures current, viz., long, middling and short. Each was divided into 24 equal parts and each part called *tassûj* (تسوج Pers. تسو *tasu*). A *tassûj* of the first kind was equal to eight ordinary barley-corns placed together breadth-ways, and of the other two respectively, to 7 and 6 barley-corns. The long *gaz* was used for the measurement of cultivated lands, &c." (Blochmann's Text, Vol. I., p. 294, ll. 21-25. Translation, Vol. II., by Jarrett, p. 58-59.)

[4] سواد *Sawâd* is a term used in the Âin-i-Akbari in connection with different *subâhs* or provinces (*Vide* Bk. III., Ain XV., Blochmann's text, p. 377, *e.g.*, صوبهٔ لاهور پشت سواد Translation, Vol. II., by Jarrett, p. 110.)

[5] قصبه The Dabistân also calls Naosari a *qasabah*.

[6] ضمن contents. It is a technical word used in connection with *Farmâns*. The Âin-i-Akbari alludes to it.

صاحب توجیه آخرین تعلیقه را پیش خود نگاه دارد و شرح آنرا درضمن فرمان نویسد

i.e. "The Çahib-i-Taujih keeps the former Ta'liqah with himself, writes its details on the Farmân." (Bk. II., Ain 11. Blochmann's text, I., p. 194, l. 13. Translation I., p. 261.) The particulars referred to, are given at the end of the Farmân.

[7] وجه "way, means, expenses."

[8] *Vide* above p. 39 for this kind of grant of land.

[9] تعین *ta'in* is a technical term of appointment for the different *mançabdârs*, *jagirdârs*, etc.—*Vide* Blochmann, Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 242.

the Jagirdâr, from the season of *kharif*[1] *ku el*, so that from year to year, spending the income thereof, in maintaining his life, he may be engaged in praying for the increase of the wealth and good fortune (of His Majesty). It is incumbent[2] upon the present and future governors,[3] tax-gatherers,[4] *krorîâns*[5] and *jâgirdârs*[6] of that district, that, acting according to what is written, and measuring the above-mentioned land, and preparing a *chak*[7], they shall transfer it to

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[1] خریف Kharif is autumn. As to قو *ku* the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III. Âin 1.), speaking of the Turkish era, says that they counted years by cycles, each cycle having 12 years. In the names of the 12 years of the cycle, which Abul Fazl gives, we find قو *Kû* the sheep (گوسفند) as the 8th year. As to the word ایل *el* Abul Fazl says that they added "the word *el* to each of these words, which signifies year" در انجام هریک لفظ ایل کم بمعنی سال است برافزایند (Blochmann's text I., p. 273, ll. 16, 17, Translation Jarrett, II., page 21).

[2] سبیل path, road; so lit. it is the path or way for governors, etc.

[3] حکام pl. of حاکم *Vide* Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 241, for these officers. He says, "The higher Mançabdârs were mostly governors of Çûbahs. The governors were at first called *sipahsâlârs*; toward the end of Akbar's reign we find them called Hâkims, and afterwards *Çûbah Çubah* or *Çubahdârs*, and still later merely *Çubahs*. The other Mançabdârs held *jâgirs*, which after the times of Akbar were frequently changed. The Mançabdârs are also called ta'inâtiyân (appointed)."

[4] عمال agents, governors, nobles, tax-gatherers.

[5] کروری *Karôri* was an officer in charge of the revenues over one *krôr* (10 millions) of dâms.—*Vide* Âin-i-Akbari, Bk. I., Âin 2.

و یک یک کرور بدیانت پیشگان جدگزین سپردند

(Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 10, ll. 4 and 5.) "And zealous and upright men were put in charge of the revenues, each over one krôr of dâms" (Blochmann's translation, Vol. I., p. 13).

[6] *Vide* above, n 3.

[7] According to the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III., Âin 6), it was the duty of the *amalguzâr* (عمل گذار *i.e.*, the revenue collector) to "ascertain the correctness of *shaknâmah*" چکنامها مشخص گردانند (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 287, l. 16, Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 47). Jarrett says that the *chaknamah* is a grant of alienated lands specifying the boundary limits thereof. *Chak* according to Elliot, is a patch of rent free land detached from a village." (*Ibid.*, p. 47, n. 1).

the above-named[1] person. And that trying to bestow care in the settlement and perpetuity of that land, shall make no change or modification. And that on account of land-tax[2] and

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[1] مشار الي بي *mushâr ilai-hi* "abovementioned person." *Mushâr*, i.e., signified; *ilai-hi*, i.e., to him (Steingass, pp. 96 and 1242).

[2] مال *mâl* "rent of land, revenue arising from land" (Steingass). The following passage in the Ain-i-Akbari (Bk. III., Ain 7) explains this and some other words for different taxes mentioned in this *farwân*.

و در هر ملکي جز کشت و کار از مالِ مردم چیزي خوانند و آنرا قمغا گویند در توران و ایران برخي را بعنوان مال بر گیرند و غالبًا را بآئینِ جهات برستانند و لختي را بطرز سائرِ جهات طلب رود و چندي را بنامِ وجوهات و فروعات ٥ خلاصهٔ سخن انکه آنچه براراضيِ مزروعي از راه ربع قرار یابد آنرا مال گویند و از انواعِ محترفهٔ گزیده جهات خوانند و باقي را سائر جهات و آنچه متفرّع بر مال باشد آنرا وجوهات گویند اگر بدیوان رود ورنه فروعات نامند

Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 294, ll. 12-16.)

"In every kingdom Government taxes the property of the subject over and above the land revenue, and this they call *Tamghâ*. In Irân and Turân, they collect the land tax (mâl) from some, from others the *Jihât*, and from others again the *Sâir Jihât*, while other cesses under the name of *Wajhât* and Farûa'ât are exacted. In short, what is imposed on cultivated lands by way of quit-rent is termed *Mâl*. Imports (? imposts) on manufactures of respectable kinds are called *Jihât*, and the remainder *Sâir Jihât*. Extra collections over and above the land tax if taken by revenue officers are *Wajhât*; otherwise they are termed Farûa'ât." (The Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. II., translated by Jarrett, pp. 57-58.) From another part of the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. II., Âin 11, on *sawâ'ih*) we learn that the entries about this *mâl* or land tax formed one of the three parts in which the *Daftar* of the empire was divided. We read there

ابواب المال از خراجِ ملک باز گوید و افزوني و کمي بر خواند و هر گونه خواسته که فراهم آید درآن بنگارند Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 193, ll. 22-23) :—

"The *Abwâb al mâl* or entries referring to the revenue of the country. This part of the *Daftar* explains the revenue of the empire, details any increase or decrease, and specifies every other source of income (as presents, &c.)" (Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., p. 260.)

imposts on manufactures[1] and capitation taxes[2] and the rest of the taxes,[3] such as imposts[4] and

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[1] جهات *Vide* the preceding note.

[2] اخراجات from خراج capitation tax. The Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III., Âin VII. on رواي روزی *i.e.*, currency of the means of subsistence,) says of this tax در باستان از سر آدم چیزی بر گرفتی و خراج بر خواندی (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 292, ll. 24-25). "In ancient times a capitation tax was imposed called *Khirdj*" (Âin-i-Akbari translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 55). In the same Ain it also said آنکه بیگانگان دین بران صلح نموده باشند انرا خراجي شمرند و خراج خراجي را بردو گونه پندارند

مقاسمه از پنجم تا ششم بخش خراج وظیفه آنکه در خور توانائي وسودمندی قرار دهند و طایفهٔ اصل مال ارتفاعي را خراج گویند و چون حصهٔ آن گروه از خرج ایشان افزون آید بشرطي چند زکوة ازان بر گیرند و آنرا عشر نامند

Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 294, ll. 5-9). "Land which those outside the faith retain on convention. This they call *khirdji*. Tribute paid by *khirdji* lands is of two kinds: (1) *Muhasamah* (divided) is the 5th or 6th produce of the soil. (2) *Wazifah* which is settled according to the capability and convenience of the tributaries. Some call the whole produce of the revenue *khirdj* and as the share of the producing body is in excess of their expenditure, the Zakât is taken from the amount under certain stipulations, and this they call a tithe (Translation, Jarrett, Vol. II., p. 57).

[3] سائر جهات *Sâir Jahât, vide* p. 98, n. 2. Jarrett says of this word "In its original purport, the word signifies moving, walking, or the remainder: from the latter it came to denote the *remaining* of all other sources of revenue in addition to the land tax from a variety of imposts, a customs, transit dues, houses, fees, market tax, &c." (Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 58, n. 1.)

[4] This word is not clear and legible. One may read it قلعه *qu'ia*. It would mean "anything paid into the exchequer unweighed; borrowed money" (Steingass). I think it is the same as قنلغه spoken of as one of the imposts of king Akbar's time in the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III., Âin XI. Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 301, l. 8). Another MS. gives the word as قتلغه. In Blochmann's text the word is marked as doubtful. Jarrett has not translated it, saying he "cannot trace it" (Translation, Vol. II., p. 67, note 1.)

presents[1] and fines[2] and village assessments[3] and marriage fees[4] and Dârogha's fees[5] and tax-gatherer's fees[6] and five per

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[1] پیشکش It appears from the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III., Ain XI., Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 301, l. 6, translation, Jarrett, Vol. II., p. 66) that *pishkash* was one of the imposts (وجوہات *wajûhât*) of king Akbar's time. It is "a magnificent present, such as is only presented to princes, great men, superiors, or sometimes to equals (particularly on receiving a great appointment)." (Steingass.)

[2] جرمانہ *jurmâna*, "penalty, forfeit, fine." (Steingass.)

[3] ضابطانہ We find from the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III., Ain 15, Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 417, l. 16. Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 153) that ضبطي *zabti* is a kind of special rate for the revenue from crops. Jarrett says "*Abul Fazl*, employs it loosely elsewhere for the revenue collection or assessment of a village" (*Ibid*, p. 153, n. 1). The word ضابط means "a governor, commander, superior or chief." So perhaps the word may mean "payments due to the chief of a town."

[4] مہرانہ *mahrana*, "a fee exacted by the *Qâzi* from the Muhammadans at weddings." (Steingass.) Perhaps this is a reference to the marriage tax of king Akbar's time, referred to by Abul Fazl in his Âin-i-Akbari. (Bk. II., Ain 24 on كدخداي marriage. Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 291. Translation, Vol. I., pp. 277-78.) The tax varied according to the position of the parties. "The middle classes pay one Rupee and common people one *dâm*. In demanding this tax, the officers have to pay regard to the circumstances of the father of the bride." (Ibid, p. 278). Abul Fazl says of this tax that Akbar took it to enable the parties "to show their gratitude. The payment of this tax is looked upon as auspicious." (Ibid, p. 275).

[5] داروغگانہ According to the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III., Ain XI. Blochmann's text, p. 301, l. 6, Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 66.) Dâroghgâna was one of the imposts (*wajûhât*) of king Akbar's time. Dârôgha according to Steingass is the "headman of an office, prefect of a town or village, overseer or superintendent of any department."

[6] محصلانہ "Fees of the bailiff or tax-gatherer" (Steingass). I think it is the same impost as that spoken of as تحصيلداري (*tahsildar's fees*) in the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III., Ain XI., Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 301, l. 6. Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 66).

cent[1] tax and two per cent[2] tax and *kânungûi*,[3] (*i.e.*, fees of the officer acquainted with land tenures) and burdens[4] for cultivation and gardening and *zakât*[5] of duties on

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[1] ده نیم *dek-nîm* (Lit. half of ten, *i.e.*) five per cent. This tax on manufactures is alluded to in the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III., Âin XI., Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 300, l. 21. Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 66). This and the following two imposts, viz., صد دوئی *sad-dûi*, *i.e.*, two per cent., and قانون گوئی *kânûngui* are explained in the following passage of the above-mentioned IIth Âin (Blochman's Text I., Vol. 1, p. 300, ll. 21-24):—

شهریار آگاه دل درمال بدانسان که گذارش یافت نوازش فرمود
درجهات ده یک بخشوده ده نیم قرار داد و صد دوئی پتواری نصفی بدو
ونیمی بقانون گو باز گردد ○ نخستین نویسنده ایست ازطرف برزگران
خرج ودخل نویسد وهیچ دیه بی او نباشد ○ و پسین ملاذ کشاورزان و در
هرپرگنه یکی بود ○ و امروز حصه قانونگو بر انداختند و بشرط خدمت
گزینی سه گونه از درگاه یابند

"His Majesty in his wisdom thus regulated the revenues in the above-mentioned favourable manner. He reduced the duty on manufactures from ten to five per cent. (*dek-nîm*), and two per cent. (*sad-dûi*) was divided between the *patwari* and the *kânûngo*. The former is a writer employed on the part of the cultivator. He keeps an account of receipts and disbursements, and no village is without one. The latter is the refuge of the husbandman. There is one in every district. At the present time the share of the *kânûngo* (one per cent.) is remitted, and the three classes of them are paid by the State according to their rank."

[2] *Vide* the above note. Lit. two in the hundred, *i.e.*, two per cent.

[3] *Vide* the above note. His fee is one per cent. Jarrett says as follows of the *kânûngo*:—"An officer in each district acquainted with its customs and land-tenures and whose appointment is usually hereditary. He receives report from the *patwâris* of new cases of alluvion and diluvion, sales, leases, gifts of land, &c., which entail a change in the register of mutations. He is a revenue officer and subordinate to the *taksîldâr* (Jarrett, Vol. II., p. 47, n. 3).

[4] تکراز also means 'disputes' and 'repetitions'.

[5] This word is written زکواة or زکا *Vide* above, p. 99, n. 2, for this word. From the passage of the 8th *Âin* of the Âin-i-Akbari there quoted, it appears, that this impost amounted to the tenth part of the produce. Jarrett says as follows of this tax: "The poor rate, the portion therefrom given as the due of God by the possessor that he may *purify* it thereby, the root of the word, زکا denoting purity. The proportion varies, but is generally a fortieth or 2½ p. c., provided that the property is of a certain amount and has been in possession eleven months" (Âin-i-Akbari, II., Jarrett, p. 57, n. 4).

manufactures[1] and assessments,[2] no molestations should be given him every year, after (*i.e.* beyond) the ascertainment of the grant (*chak*) and all civil taxes[3] and all royal revenue. And (that) excusing and absolving[4] him of all charges,[5] they should not go round (him)[6] and should not ask every year for renewed[7] *farmâns* and *parwanchahs*[8] in this matter. And that when (it, *i. e.* the *Farmân*) comes with the royal signet[9] of His most exalted[10] Majesty, they should rely upon it. Written on the tenth of the last month Asfandârmaz of the 40th *ilâhi* year.[11]

Explanation of the Ta'liqah.[12]

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[1] جهات "Duties on manufactures" (Steingass). *Vide* the passage quoted on p. 98, n. 2, from the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III., 7th Âin).

[2] ضبط *Vide* the reference to the 15th *Âin* (Bk. III) on p. 100, n. 3, for this word.

[3] تکالیف pl. of تکلیف "impositions, levies, taxes."

[4] مرفوع القلم *marfû'u'l qalam*, absolved, remitted.

[5] حوالات pl. of حوالة transfer, commitment, charge, care.

[6] پیرامون گردیدن To go round. Here the meaning is, that the officials should not go round him, or round his land, *i.e.*, should, in no way, disturb or molest him. [7] Arab. مجدد *mujaddad*, renewed.

[8] The Ain-i-Akbari (Bk. II., Ain 11.) says گاه فرمان بعنوان طغرا بنویسند و دو سطر نخستین کوتاه نگردانند آنرا پروانچه بر گویند (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 195, ll. 7-8). "Firmâns are sometimes written in *Tughrâ* character; but the two first lines are not made short. Such a *Farmân* is called a *Parwânchah*. (Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., p. 263).

[9] توقیع *tauqîa* "signing with the royal signet; the royal signet put to diplomas, letters patent and other public deeds." (Steingass.)

[10] اعلی *a'lâ* most exalted. The word looks like this, but it may be اجل (most glorious), which we find in its stead in the second *farmân*. This sentence may refer to the person. [11] *Ros.* 10-12-964, *i. e.*, 1595.

[12] *Sharh-i-ta'liqah*. تعلیقه *taliqah* is a technical term used in the Âin-i-Akbari for an abridgment of the *yâddâsht* (*i. e.*, memorandum) of His Majesty's orders about the *farmâns*, etc. Its explanation in details is said to be its شرح *sharh*. The following passages from the 10th and 11th Âins will explain who made this *yaddasht*, or memorandum and *taliqah* or abridgment, and how they were made, and why this abridgment of the memorandum has been added here. We read the following in the 10th Âin on the واقع نویس *waqâ'inavis* (*i.e.*, the writer of events). "Keeping records is an excellent thing for a government . . . . . His Majesty has appointed fourteen zealous, experienced, and impartial clerks, two of whom do daily duty in rotation, so that the turn

(His Majesty) had ordered on the date, the 13th day Tir, month Abân, *ilâhi* year 40, that about three hundred *bigâhs* of land, together with palm and date trees, &c., which are growing on that land, may be assigned, in the environs of the town of Naôsâri, &c., as detailed below[1], for the purpose of the assistance of

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(نوبت *naôbat*) of each comes after a fortnight . . . . . Their duty is to write down the orders and the doings of His Majesty and whatever the heads of the departments report; . . . . . the acts of His Majesty as the spiritual guide of the nation; . . . . . appointments to mançabs; contingents; of troops; salaries; jagirs.

"After the diary has been corrected by one of His Majesty's servants, it is laid before the emperor, and approved by him. The clerk then makes a copy of each report, signs it, and hands it over to those who require it as a voucher, when it is also signed by the *Farwânchi*, by the *Mir 'Arz*, and by that person who laid it before His Majesty. The report in this state is called *yâddâsht* (یادداشت) or memorandum.

"Besides, there are several copyists who write a good hand and a lucid style. They receive the *yâddâsht* when completed, keep it with themselves, and make a proper abridgment of it. After signing it, they return this instead of the *yâddâsht*, when the abridgment is signed and sealed by the *Wâqiahnawis*, and the *Risâlahdâr*, the *Mir 'Arz* and the *Dârogah*. The abridgment, thus completed, is called *Ta'liqah* and the writer is called *Taliqahnawis*. The *Ta'liqah* is then signed, as stated above, and sealed by the ministers of State" (Blochmann's Translation I., pp. 258-259, Text I., pp. 192-3).

This passage of the 10th Âin then explains the terms *ta'liqah* تعلیقه (abridgment of memorandum), *wâqi'ah* واقعه (event or record), *wâqi'ahnawis* واقعه‌نویس (writer of records), and *risâlah* رساله (writing or record) which occur in these *Farmâns*.

The following passage of the 11th *Âin* explains why this *Taliqah* or abridgment of the memorandum of the king's orders has been entered on the back of the *Farwâs*. "The Çâhib-i-Tanjîh (صاحب توجیه or Military accountant) keeps the former Taliqah with himself, writes its details on the *Farmân* (صاحب توجیه آخرین تعلیقه را پیش خود نگاه داود و شرح آنرا در ضمن فرمان نویسد) and seals and signs it. It is then inspected by the *Mustaufi* and is signed and seated by him. Afterwards the *Nâzir* and the *Bakhshis* do so likewise, when it is sealed by the Diwân, his Accountant, and the *Vakil* of the State." (Blochmann's Translation I., pp. 261-62, Text I., pp. 194, ll. 13-14.)

[1] ذیل "appendix, postscript." بموجب تفصیل ذیل or ازقرار تفصیل ذیل "as detailed below; in accordance with the following statement." (Steingass.)

livelihood of Parsi Kaikôbâd, son of Mâhyâr. Whereas, before this time, on the 15th day of the month Meher, *ilâhi* year 40, an order was issued (which) as it had not been entered with particulars into the records,[1] it has been entered in details in the *rasâhah* and *chaukî*,[2] of A'llâmî[3] Shaik Abul Fazl, who protects emoluments, overflows in power, and knows truths and all sorts of knowledge, and in the *naubat* of the *waqiah* of Khwâjah Muizzuddîn Hussain.

The marginal note (written) by the hand of *Wâqiah-nawis*. The explanation of the text[4] is according to the record of humblest slave Muizzuddîn Hussain.

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[1] واقعه *wâqi'ah*, an event, record. واقعه نويس *wâqi'ah-nawis* or recorder was an officer in king Akbar's time, in each Çubâh. There is a separate Âin (Bk. II. in Âin 10) about his work in the Âin-i-Akbari (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p.192, l.25, Translation, Vol. I., p.258). His duty is thus described in the above Âin فرموده و كاركرد گيتي خداوند برنويسد.....منصب تابين ماهيانه جاگير..

"Their duty is to write down the orders and the doings of His Majesty . . . . . appointments to manqubs; contingents of troops; salaries; *Jagirs*. . . . . "

[2] The following passage in the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. II., Âin IX., the Âin of كشك, *i.e.*, hall or parlour) seems to explain this word.

بزبانِ وقت چوكي خوانند سه گونه بود سپاهِ چهار گونه هفت بخش شد و هريک بروزي نامزد و اميري بزرگ هوش بسر كردگي سرافراز يكي از طرزدانانِ معامله شناس بمير عرضي چهرهٔ افروزِ سعادت گردد و همگي احكام خلافت بشناساي اين دو فرويده مرد روائي كيود شبانروزي بپيرامن دولتخانه بر نيايش ايستند و در انتظار فرمايش بنشينند

(Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 192, ll. 4-7.) "Mounting guard is called in Hindi *chauki*. There are three kinds of guards. The four divisions of the army have been divided into seven parts, each of which is appointed for one day, under the superintendence of a trustworthy Manqubdâr. Another, fully acquainted with all ceremonies at Court, is appointed as Mir'Arz. All orders of His Majesty are made known through these two officers. They are day and night in attendance about the palace, ready for any orders His Majesty may issue." (Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., p. 257). It appears, that the particular officer, in whose turn of *chauki* the king issued orders or Farmâns, took notes in his books. [3] علامی, very learned. It was a title given by Akbar to Abul Fazl. (Badaoni Text II., p. 198, l. 11, Lowe II, p. 201).

[4] متن *matn*, the text of a book.

Another *sharh* (is) in the hand of Mulla Nazar. From the assignment of the Jâgirdâr the assignment[1] should be made with the *ilâhi gaz* from the season of *kharif kuel*.

300 *bigâhs*.

Village[2] Erui[3] in the *paragnah*[4] Párchôl.	In the environs (*sawâd*) of the town of Naûsâri, where the above-mentioned land was, ere this, for the purpose of the assistance of livelihood of Mâhyâr.
100 *bigâhs*.	200 *bigâhs*.
With *sah*.	With *sah*.[5]

Translation of the Persian lines on the first fold, of the lines on the margin which give dates, and of the lines under the different seals.

1. (First marginal line.) Date 29, month Asfandârmaz, Ilâhi year 40.[6] (It is not clear what the figure ۲ (two) in the beginning indicates.)

2. (Second marginal line.) Copy taken on the first day of the month Farvardin Ilâhi, year 41.

3. (The two lines on the first fold.) In the *rasalah* and *chauki* of Nawâb Shaikh Abul Fazl, who protects emoluments, diffuses power and knows truths and all sorts of knowledge and in the *naubat* (turn) of the Wâqiahnawis Muizzuddin Hussain with *sah*.[7]

4. (Seal No. 1) Khân Khânân, the follower of king Akbar.

5. (Seal No. 2) Mirzâ Kokâh.

(Seals Nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, not legible.)

6. (Seal No. 6) Humblest slave, Çadr Jahân Al Hussaini.

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[1] تنخواه "an assignment on lands." [2] قریه *karyat* village.

[3] *Vide* above, p. 40, n. 5. [4] According to Elliot *Sarkâr* is "a district into which *parganahs* are aggregated." Jarrett (Âin-i-Akbari, Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II., p. 114 n.) says, "Each *sûbah* is divided into a certain number of *sarkârs* and each *sarkâr* into *parganahs* or *mahals*."

[5] صح *i. e.* with صح *sah*, which is an abbreviation of صحیح *sahih*, *i. e.* "official signature to attest the authenticity of a deed."

[6] Perhaps this is the marginal note of the *Waqiahnawis*, as referred to in the Farmân as the marginal *shark*, of the *waqiahnawis*.

[7] The last word after this is the same as that written above under the figures 100 and 200.

7. (Date under Seal No. 7.) Entered on day 7 (?) month Asfardârmaz, Ilâhi year 40.

8. (Date under Seal No. 8.) Entered on day (?), month Ardibehesht, year 41. (There are one or two words at the end which are not legible or intelligible.)

9. (Seal No. 9.) Nazar Ali bin Hussain.

10. (Date under Seal No. 9.) Written on the day, the first day (*ghurra*), of the month Farvardin, year 41.

11. (Seal No. 10) Praying slave Hussain Kamâluddin.

12. (Date under Seal No. 10.) Became informed on day 29, month Asfandârmaz, Ilâhi year 40.

13. (Seal No. 11) Servant Hussain Kamâluddin.

14. (Date under Seal No. 11) Written on 29 Asfardârmaz, Ilâhi year 40.

Having given the translation of the first *farmân*, we will now examine the seals on the *farmân*. We have, at the top of the *farmân*, the seal of His Majesty. This is just in conformity to what Abul Fazl says about the position of king Akbar's seal. He says, "The seal of His Majesty is put above the *Tughra* [1] lines on the top of the *farmân*," (vol. I., p. 264) (قدسی مهر فراز طغرا روی فرمان آرایه) (lit. the holy seal adorns the face of the *farmân* above the *Tughra*). King Akbar's seal on our *farmân* is just at the top and just above the lines in which the title and name of the king are written.

As to the form of Akbar's seal, Abul Fazl, in his Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. I., Ain. 20), says, as follows, about the royal seals. (نگین شاهنشاهی).

"In the beginning of the present reign, Maulânâ Maqsud, the seal engraver, cut in a circular form upon a surface of steel, in the *riqâ'* character, the name of His Majesty and those of his illustrious ancestors up to Timûrlang; and afterwards he cut another similar seal in the *nastâlîq* character, only with His Majesty's name . . . . . The round small seal goes by the (chagatai) name of Uzuk, and is used for *Farmân-i-sabtie*; and the large one, into which he cut the names of the ancestors of His Majesty, was at first only used for

[1] طغرا "The royal titles prefixed to letters, diplomas or other public deeds which are generally written in a fine ornamental hand; a sort of writing."—*Steingass.*

letters to foreign kings, but now-a-days for both." (Blochmann's translation I, p. 52, Text I., p. 47, l. 18.) The seal on the two *farmâns* given to Dastur Meherji Rana's son Kaikobâd, in which the 200 bigâhs of land given to Meherji Rana are referred to, is the large one in which the names of Akbar's ancestors are mentioned. The following list, prepared from the pedigree of the house of Timur, given in Elphinstone's *History of India*,[1] gives the names of Akbar's ancestors.

Timur—Mirân Shâh Hosein—Mohammed Mirzâ—Abû Said—Omar Shekh—Bâber—Humâyûn—Akbar. This list gives us eight names, Timur and Akbar included.

The circular seal of Akbar on the *farmâns* in question, has eight circles, each of which contains the name of one of the above-named eight kings. The central circle is a large one and contains the name of king Akbar himself. The document being very old, the photo and the photo-litho have not come out as one would wish. But in the original document, one can decipher the names with a magnifying glass, though with a little difficulty.

The king's name in the central circle is Jalâluddin Muhammad Akbar Bâdshâh. The name is read from below.

Exactly above the circle of his name, stands the circle, containing his ancestor Timur's name. It is "ibn Amir Timur Saheb-i-quirân." Saheb-i-quirân was a title of Timur. The word "*ibn*" is used in the sense of "son" with all names except that of Akbar. It means that the first named was the son of the next and so on up to Timur. Just as now-a-days, in round seals and monograms, people arrange their names and initials in the best stylish way they like, so we find it in the case of the above seal and names. ابن امیر تیمور صاحب قران is the order in which the name seems to be written from below.

Coming down by the left, from the top circle, which contains Timur's name, we find one by one, the names of his descendants. In the first circle, on the left coming down from the top, we read ابن میران شاه *ibn*-i-Mirân Shâh. This is Timur's son, Mirân Shâh Hosein of Elphinstone's list. The next name lower down is *ibn*-i-Sultân Muhammed Mirzâ. Then comes the name at the bottom, *ibn*-i-Sultân Abul-Said. In all these last three names, the word *ibn* begins the line from the

[1] Fifth Edition by Cowell (1866), p. 773.

bottom and the word Sultân is above it. Then going up on the right from below, we have the name ibn Mirzâ Omar Shekh. Then we have in the ascending order the two familiar names, ibn-Bâdshâh Bâbar and ibn Bâdshâh Hûmâyûn. The order of the names in the seal would be Jalâluddin Muhammad Akbar Bâdshâh, the son of Bâdshâh Humâyûn, the son of Bâdshâh Bâbar, and so on up to Timur. The document being very old, the deciphering of some of the names is a little difficult.

Now we will examine the seals of the different officers placed at the end of the document. In those times, seals took the place of signatures of the present day. Abul Fazal says in his Âin-i-Akbari on this point

بل بوگروه را در معامله ناگزیر *i. e.* "in fact every man requires them in his transactions" (Blochmann's text, I., p. 47, ll. 17, 18, Translation I., p. 52, Bk. I., Ain, 20). Blochmann says, "We sign documents, Orientals stamp their names to them." (*ibid* n. 2).

There are altogether eleven seals attached to the document, besides that of the king at the commencement. Of these eleven, six are more or less legible and five are illegible. The way, in which the seals are affixed, as well as the names on the seals, require an explanation. To enable the reader to follow me in this explanation, I have put in the printed Persian copy of the *farmân*, progressive numbers in English figures over the circles of the seals.

The position of the seals can be more exactly ascertained by looking to the photo-lithographed fac simile.

First of all, we notice, that the position of the document, after the mention of the situation of the 300 *bighâhs*, is inverted, *i.e.*, the signatories turn the document upside down, as it were, and then proceed to put down their seals and their statements about the dates on which the documents were noted in their respective records (*vide* the original photo-litho facsimile). The reason, why these seals appear in an inverted order, is explained by the following paragraph of the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. II, Ain 12), which says that the seals were put in the order of the folds (شکنجی) of the document. So holding the document in our hands in the position in which it commences, the first fold will present the bottom of the other side of the document, where we find the seals of the principal officers. The passage of the Âin-i-Akbari on this subject says :—

"Farmâns, Parwanchahs, and Barâtas, are made into several

folds beginning from the bottom. On the first fold[1] which is less broad, at a place towards the edge where the paper is cut off, the Vakil puts his seal; opposite to it, but a little lower, the Mushrif[2] of the Diwân[3] puts his seal, in such a manner that half of it goes to the second fold. Then, in like manner but a little lower, comes the seal of the Çadr. But when Shaikh 'Abdunnabî and Sultân Khwâjah were Çadrs, they used to put their seals opposite to that of the Vakîl. In the middle of that fold is the place where that person puts his seal who comes nearest in rank to the Vakil. . . The Mîr Mâl, the Khân Sâmân, the Parwânchî, &c., seal on the second fold, but in such a manner that a smaller part of their seals goes to the first fold. The seals of the Diwan, and the Bakhshî do not go beyond the edge of the second fold, whilst the Diwân-i-jux, the Bakhshî-i-jux, and the Diwan-i-Buyûtât put their seals on the third fold. The Mustaufi puts his seal on the fourth, and the Çâhib-i-Tanjih on the fifth fold. The seal of His Majesty is put above the *Tughrâ* lines on the top of the Farmân, where the princes also put their seals in *Ta'liqahs*." (Blochmann's Text, Vol. I., p. 195, l. 19. Translation, Vol. I., pp. 263-64.)

We must note, that this is a general statement for the positions of the seals of the officers named in the passage, when they have to sign documents. It applies to *farmâns*, *parwânchahs* and *barâts*. (*i.e.*, cheque farmâns). So it appears that all the officers named above need not sign all the documents.

We will now proceed to examine the position of the seals and the names of the signatories.

At first on the first fold in the middle we find two lines saying that the document has been noted in the *rasalah* and *chauki* of Abul Fazl, who was the officer in charge of those posts.

The following passage in the Âin-i-Akbari (Book II., Âin 19) explains why Abul Fazl had also to take, at times, a note of the grants of *jâgirs*.

"On account of the general peace and security in the empire, the grant-holders commenced to lay out their lands in gardens, and thereby derived so much profit, that it tempted the greediness of the

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[1] لخت *lakht*, portion, part, bit. The text is لخت لختي کم پهنا

[2] مشرف an officer in a treasury who authenticates accounts and writings.

[3] ديوان is the officer who keeps the jagir accounts.

Government officers, who had certain notions of how much was sufficient for *Sayûrghal*-holders, to demand revenue taxes; but this displeased His Majesty, who commanded that such profits should not be interfered with. Again, when it was found out that holders of one hundred big'habs and even less were guilty of bribery, the order was given that Mir Çadr Jahân should bring these people before His Majesty; and afterwards it was determined that the Çadr, with the concurrence of the writer of this work, should either increase or decrease the grants" چنان قرار گرفت که صدر بصلاح دید راقم شکوف ناصه زیاده و کم سازد (Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., pp. 269-70, Text I., p. 199, l. 10.) This passage says that the Çadr had to seek "the concurrence of the writer of this work," *i.e.* Abu. Fazl.

We, see, that, by the side of the seal of the Çadr, of whom we will speak later on, we find the note, that the document has been recorded in the records of Abul Fazl. In the same above-mentioned two lines, it is also noted, that it is recorded in the record of the turn (*naubat*) of the *wâqi'ahnawis* Muizzuddin Hussain. The following passage of the Âin-i-Akbari (Book II., Âin 10) explains, who the officer was, and why he had to take a note of the grant of jâgirs, and why it is put down on the document in question that it has been entered in his record.

"Keeping records is an excellent thing for a Government . . . His Majesty has appointed fourteen zealous, experienced, and impartial clerks, two of whom do daily duty in rotation, so that the turn (نوبت *naubat*) of each comes after a fortnight . . . . Their duty is to write down the orders and the doings of His Majesty and whatever the heads of the departments report . . . . appointments to mançabs, contingents of troops, salaries, jagirs . . . . ." (Blochmann's Translation I., p. 258, Text I., p. 192, l. 20).

This passage then says, that one *waqi'ahnawis* was, according to his turn (نوبت *naubat*), always in attendance upon His Majesty and took notes, among other doings of His Majesty, of his grants of jagirs, &c. Hence it is, that we find that in the *farmân* under examination, the name of the *waqi'ahnawis*, during whose turn of office, the grant was made by the king, and in whose records it was entered, is mentioned. This *waqi'ahnawis* is one Muizzuddin Hussain. Now we come to the seals.

Seal No. 1.—On the extreme right of the above two lines, at the edge, first of all, we find a seal, on which we can distinctly read the name مرید اکبرشاه خان خانان Murid-i-Akbar Shâh Khân Khânân.

In the matter of this seal, we must note, what the above passage, of the Âin-i-Akbari, says about the first fold. It says نخستین لختی کم پهنا بر کنار پشت پیوست جائی که قطع کنند مهر وکیل شود "on the first-fold, which is less broad, at a place towards the edge where the paper is cut off, the Vakil puts his seal." (Blochmann's Text I., p. 195, ll. 19-20. Translation I., p. 263.)

We see in the case of both the original farmâns that are produced, that a portion of the paper at the right hand corner at the bottom, (which when folded forms the first-fold) is cut off, and it is just at the edge, where the paper is cut off, that the seal of this Khân Khânân, who was the Vakil at this period (1003 Hijri), occurs.

We gather the following particulars about this personage from Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari.

Murid-i-Akbar Shâh Khân Khânân. His full name was Khân Khânân Mirzâ Abdurrahim. When his father Bairâm Khân was murdered, he was a small child. Akbar took charge of him. Khân Khânân was the title conferred upon him in 992 Hijri for his victories. (Badaûni. Lowe's Translation II., p. 346.) In the 25th year of Akbar's reign he was appointed Mir 'Arz and in the 34th year Vakil. He died in 1038 Hijri.

He calls himself in his seal, *murid*, *i.e.*, a disciple or follower of Akbar Shah. He was one of the grandees of Akbar's court named by Abul Fazl in his Âin-i-Akbar (Blochmann I., p. 334-38, No. 29).

Seal No. 2.—The next seal, on the right of the above two lines of Abul Fazl's and Muizzuddin's records, and a little on the left of the above-named seal of Khân Khânân, is that of Mirzâ Kokâh. The name is clearly legible. We gather the following particulars about this personage and of the different offices that he filled in Akbar's court.

His full name is Khân-i-A'zam Mirzâ 'Aziz Kokah. He was a great favourite of Akbar. He is one of the grandees (No. 21) mentioned by Abul Fazl in his Âin-i-Akbari. In the 34th year of Akbar's reign, he was appointed Governor of Gujrat. In the 39th year he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and joined Akbar in the beginning of 1003 Hijri. He was made Vakil in 1004. Âzam Khan was

the title latterly bestowed upon him. (Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari I., p. 325-27.)

Now in what capacity is it, that Mirzâ Kokah signs this document. He was not the Vakil, because the Vakil of the time of this document (the 40th of Akbar's reign, *i.e.*, 1003 Hijri) was, as said above, Khân Khânân, and he himself was appointed Vakil, as said above, in the next year, *i.e.*, 1004 Hijri. So he seems to have signed it as "one who comes nearest in rank to the Vakil." In the above quoted passage about the order of the seals (Book II., Âin 12) we read

میان آن شکنج جاي کسي است کہ رتبهٔ او نزدیک وکالت باشد
چنانچہ اتکہ خان در زمان منعم خان و ادہم خان

(Blochmann's Text I., p. 195, ll. 22-23.)

"In the middle of that fold (*i.e.*, the first-fold), is the place where that person puts his seal who comes nearest in rank to the Vakil, as Atkah Khan did at the time of Mun'im Khân and Adham Khân. (Translation I., p. 263.)

To understand the above allusion, and to understand how it applies to the case of Mirza Kokah in the document under question, we must look to the list of vakils or prime-ministers given by Abul Fazl in his Âin-i-Akbari (Book II, Âin 29. Blochmann's Text, Vol. I., p. 232, ll. 7-8. Translation I., p. 527). Blochmann says (*ibid.*, p. 527, n. 1) that Abul Fazl's list is not complete. But, as it is, it is as follows :—

Bairâm Khân, Mun'im Khân, Atgah Khân, Bahâdur Khân, Khwâjah Jahân, Khân Khânân Mirzâ Khân (خان خانان میرزا خان) Khân-i-A'zam Mîrzâ Kokah (خان اعظم میرزا کوکہ)

Now in the above passage of the 12th Âin, Abul Fazl says, that when Munim Khan and Adham Khân[1] were Vakils in turn, Atkah Khân, who was nearest in rank to each of them, put his seal in the farmâns, &c., on the first-fold. We find from the above list, that this Atkah Khân himself was subsequently appointed a vakil. This shows that the person who is intended to be the next successor to the vakilship, is considered to be the "nearest in rank" or what we,

[1] Abul Fazl does not give Adam Khân's name in the list, in the 30th *âin*. He has evidently forgotten to give it, because he clearly says here that he acted as a Vakil. As Mun'im Khân came to Vakilship after Bairam Khân (Blochmann's Translation I., p. 323), it is clear that Adam Khân succeeded Munim Khân.

in modern parlance, call "assistant." This nearest in rank or assistant generally succeeded to the place at the first vacancy. Now as we find from the above list that Mirzâ Kokah was occupant of the post of Vakilship in Akbar's Court, and as we further see that he was appointed to the post in 1004 Hijri, it is quite clear, that in 1003, *i.e.*, in the 40th year of Akbar's reign, when the Farmân in question was granted, he was "the nearest in rank" to the Vakil, Khân Khânân. Hence it is, that next to the seal of Khan Khânân, the Vakil and his immediate superior, we find his seal as that of the nearest in rank or assistant.

The above passage of the Âin allots "the middle" of the first fold to the seal of "the nearest in rank to the Vakil," and we find Mirza Kokah's seal in the middle of the first fold. By the term ميان *miân*, *i.e.*, middle, we must not take it to mean the middle of the fold held horizontally, *i.e.*, the middle of the breadth of the paper of the document, but the middle of the breadth of the fold itself.

Seal No. 3.—It is altogether indistinct and illegible.

Seals Nos. 4 and 5.—They are both illegible. They are just near the two lines which mention that the document has been recorded in the *risalah* and *chauki* of Shaik Abul Fazl and the *Waqiahnawis* Muizzuddin Hussain. So very likely they are the seals of these two officers. On the first (No. 4) of this set of two seals, a word Shaik شيخ, is a little legible. It appears more so with the help of a magnifying glass. So this seems to be the seal of Shaikh Abul Fazl. The second (No. 5) of these two seals may be that of the *Waqiahnawis* Muizzuddin.

Seal No. 6.—On the left of the above-mentioned two lines, and opposite to the seals of Khân Khânân and Mirzâ Kokah, but a little lower, we have a seal, the writing on which is a little clear and legible. It is Al Hussaini Çadr Jahân Kamtarin Bandeh (الحسيني صدرجهان كمترين بندة) *i.e.*, humblest slave Çadr Jahân Al Hussaini. We read in the above Âin of seals, "Opposite to it (*i.e.*, the Vakil's seal), but a little lower,[1] the Mushrif of the Diwân puts his seal in such a manner that half of it goes to the second fold. Then, in like manner but a little lower (پايانتر), comes the seal of the Çadr." This seal then, which bears the name of Çadr Jahân, is the seal of the Çadr, referred to in the Âin-i-Akbari as above. Its position tallies with the situation allotted to it in the above passage of the *Âin*.

[1] واپسقر vâpaçtar. Vâpaç means "behind, in the back."

Çadr was an high officer of the State. Abul Fazl says of this officer, "As the circumstances of men have to be inquired into, before grants are made, and their petitions must be considered in fairness, an experienced man of correct intentions is employed for this office. He ought to be at peace with every party, and must be kind towards the people at large in word and action. Such an officer is called Çadr. The Qâzi and the Mir 'Adl are under his orders." (Book II., Âin 19, Blochmann's translation I., p. 268.) Blochmann says that the Çadr, who was also generally styled Çadr-i-Jahân, ranked during Akbar's time, as the fourth officer[1] of the Empire.

The Çadr or Çadr-i-Jahân, at the time when this *Farmân* was issued (1003 Hijri, 40th year of the reign), was a person whose name coincided with his title. Hence it is that we find in the *Farmân* the seal of the Çadr bearing the name Çadr-i-Jahân. We find his name last in the list of Çadrs given by Abul Fazl in the 30th Âin (Blochmann's Text I., p. 232, l. 15; Translation I., p. 528.) He came to office in 997 Hijri. He continued to serve under Jahangir. (Blochmann I., pp. 272-74.)

Seal No. 7.—This seal is quite illegible. It is perhaps the seal of the Mushrif of the Diwan, to whose seal, the above passage of the Âin allots a place in the first fold in the same line with that of the Çadr. It is on the same line and fold with that of Çadr Jahân and quite close to it. As the position of the seal in the *Farmân* is the same as that allotted, in the Âin-i-Akbari, to the seal of the Mushrif-i-Diwan, it appears very probable that this seal is that of that officer. There is one word that is legible on this seal, and that is جهان Jahân. But that word alone does not help us to determine who this personage was and whose seal it is.

Seal No. 8.—This seal is quite illegible. Not a single word or letter can be deciphered. The date, on which it was affixed, is put down under it thus:

ثبت شد فی التاریخ ماه اردیبهشت ۴۱ *i.e.*, entered in the book on the date month Ardibehesht, year 41. At the end of the line there is a word which may be the particular date, but I cannot make it out. The words ثبت شد *sabt shud*, used in connection with

[1] The four chief officers are (1) Vakils or prime ministers, (2) Vazirs or Ministers of Finance, (3) The Bakhshis, and (4) the Çadrs.

this seal, show, that this may be the seal of the Diwân. In the 11th Âin, speaking about the drafts of the *Farmâns*, Abul Fazal says: "The draft is then inspected by the Diwân, who verifies it by writing on it the words *sabt namâyand* (ثبت نمایند *i.e.*, ordered to be entered). The mark of the Daftar, and the seal of the Diwân, the Bakhshi and the Accountant (of) the Diwân (مشرف دیوان Mushrif-i-Diwân) are put on the draft in order, when the Imperial grant is written on the outside. The draft thus completed is sent for signature (ثبت *sabt*) to the Diwân."[1] We learn from this passage that *sabt* ثبت seems to be a special technical word for the office of the Diwân. Thus, as the position of the seal in the document is the same as that allotted to the Diwân, and as the phraseology of the date ثبت شد is the same as that attributed to the Diwân in the Âin-i-Akbari, I think it is the seal of the Diwân. From the 12th Âin we learn, that "the seals of the Diwân and the Bakhshi do not go beyond the edge of the second fold" (دیوان و بخشي از شکنج دوم در نگزرد)[2]

Seal No. 9.—This seal is distinct and legible. From the Farmân, as it is folded now, we cannot exactly determine what the first fold of the document was, and up to what the second, third and fourth folds extended. But from the position of the seals in the first fold, as described by the 12th Âin, this seal appears to be on the third fold. It gives the name Nazar Ali bin Husain. Under the seal we read مرقوم شد فی التاریخ غرة ماه فروردین سنه ۴۱ *i.e.*, written on the day, the first day[3] of the month Farvardin of the 41st year. The same date is thus given a little below on the margin of the document written vertically up from below.

غرة ماه فروردین الهی سنه ۴۱ نقل گرفته شد

i.e., copy taken on the first day of the month Farvardin, Ilâhi year 41.

Then the question is, who this personage, Nazar Ali or Ali Nazar is? He gives the date on which he put on the seal and entered the document in his books. He seems to be one of the

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[1] Blochmann's Translation I., p. 261, Text I., p. 194, ll. 11-13.

[2] Blochmann's Text I., p. 195, l. 24, Translation I., p. 263.

[3] The word may also be read نحرة *nahrat*, "the first day of the new moon: also the last day."

[4] This word can be read *nahrat* also—*vide* above, n. 3

officers like the above-mentioned *Wâqiahnawis* Muizzuddin, who had to do something with the original Tâliqah or its Yâddâsht. His name is also mentioned in the body of the Farmân, as one who also had made a *sharh* about the Farmân.[1]

Seal No. 10.—The name on this seal is quite clear and legible. It is داعي بنده حسين كمال‌الدين *i.e.*, praying slave Hussain Kamâluddin. Under the seal we read

مطلع شد ۲۹ ماه اسفندارمز الهی ۴۰

i.e., became informed on the date 29 of the month Asfandârmaz, Ilâhi year 40. The same date is given a little below on the margin of the document in a vertical line. This seal seems to be on the fourth fold which is allotted, in the above-mentioned 12th Âin, to the seal of the Mustaufi (مستوفی), who is an auditor or a controller of accounts. So perhaps this is the seal of that officer. Now it is not certain who this Kamâluddin was. We come across three personages of the name of Kamâluddin in Akbar's time.

1. Mir Kamâluddin Khwâfi, who is said to have served under Akbar, but it is not said under what capacity.[2]

2. Kamâluddin, the father of Abu Turab, who was appointed Mir Hajji by Akbar.[3]

3. Maulana Kamâluddin Husan, father of Maulana Ahmuddin, who was the teacher of Akbar.[4] This third personage Kamaluddin Husan seems to be the signatory of this *firmân*.

Seal No. 11.—This seal also is quite clear and legible. It is that of Al-Abd[5] Hussain Kamaluddin العبد حسين كمال‌الدين *i.e.*, servant Hussain Kamaluddin. Under the seal we read قلمی شد ۲۹ اسفندارمز الهي سنه ۴۰ *i.e.*, written on the 29th of Asfandârmaz of the Ilahi year 40. So we find that both the names and the dates of the

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[1] *Vide* p. 105.

[2] ق is the contraction of قاريخ

[3] Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari Translation I., p. 445, n. 1.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 506-507.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 540.

[6] عبد servant, slave. In many of the seals we find the signatories attaching some words of humility to their names, such as داعی بنده, کمترین بنده.

two seals No. 10 and No. 11 are the same. This may be the case perhaps because the same person may have held two offices. This seal is the last and the lowest; and the last officer, to whom the lowest part of the farmân, the fifth fold, is allotted in the above-quoted passage of the 12th Aîn, is Çahib-Taujih صاحب توجیه who is the adjuster of accounts. Just as in the case of the Diwân, the words ثبت شد *sabt-shûd*, used in our Farmân, helped us to think that the seal may have belonged to an officer of the Diwân, in whose connection the same words were used in the Âin-i-Akbari, so the words قلمي شد *qalami shûd* used in the *Farmân* under this 11th and last seal of Kamâluddin, help us to think that this seal may be that of the Çahib-i-Taujih. In the 11th Âin we read that "the Çahib-i-Taujih keeps the former Taliqah[1] with himself." (صاحب توجیه آخرین تعلیقه را پیش خود نگاه دارد)

Now in the case when the Taliqah was confirmed by the king, and the Jagir conferred, the words written in the report were, according to the above Âin, "*Taliqah-i-tan qalami numayand* تعلیقهٔ تن قلمی نمایند *i.e.*, they are to write out a *taliqah*.[2] So the words *qualami shûd* written under the 11th seal show that as alluded to in the Âin-i-Akbari, this seal may be that, of the Çahib-i-Taujih.

Let us now examine the different dates as given in the Farmân. From the Sharh-i-taliqah, *i.e.*, the details of the abridgment, we learn that His Majesty king Akbar first issued the order of the Farmân on the 15th of the 7th month Meher in the 40th year of his reign (1003 Hijri). The order was recorded on the 13th day Tîr of the 8th month Âban of the same year. In accordance with that order, the Farmân was prepared on the 10th day of the 12th month Asfandârmaz of the same year.

Then there are three statements of dates in which we read the month Asfandârmaz of the 40th year. One is under seal No. 7, which is illegible, and in which, the only word that we can read with

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[1] *i.e.*, the abridgment of the Yâddâsht or memorandum of the affairs of the king. Blochmann's Translation I., p. 261, Text I., p. 194, l. 13.

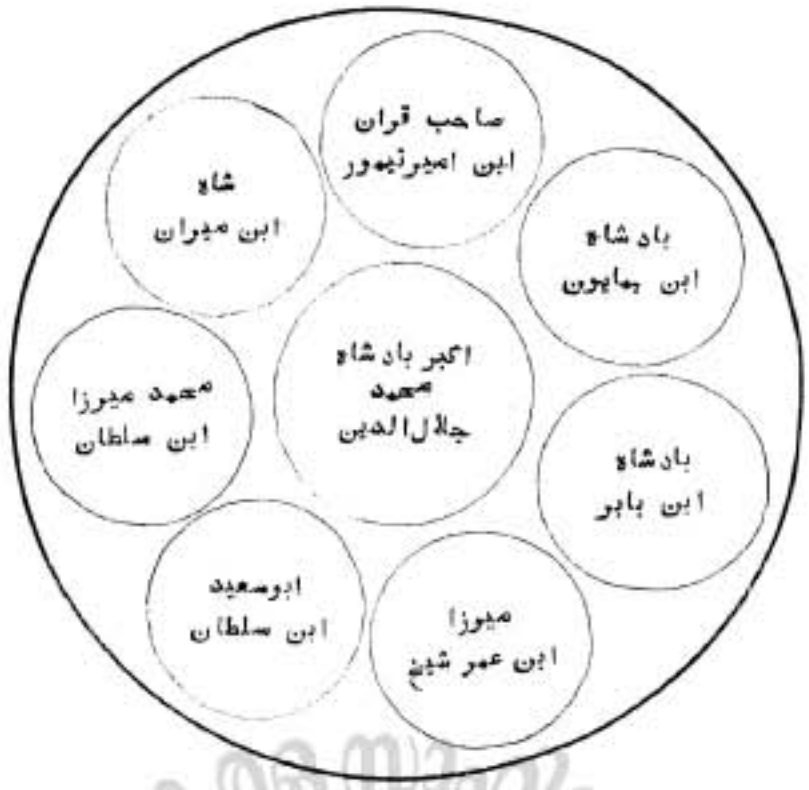
[2] *Ibid.*, Translation, p. 261, Text I., p. 194, l. 11.

accuracy is جهان Jahan. It is the date when the Mushrif or some officer attached to the Diwan put the seal. The particular day is not clear. It looks like 7, but that cannot be the date, as it must be one after the 10th. It may be the 17th, or it may be some date in connection with the first *shach*. Then the seals Nos. 10 and 11, those of Kamaluddin, have the dates put under them. These dates are clear. They are the 29th of Asfandârmaz of the 40th year. The same date, we read in one of the two marginal statements. Then we find that one seal (No. 9) of Nazar Ali has the date of the succeeding month, *i.e.*, Farvardin of the 41st year of the reign. This date is also given in the second of the two marginal statements. Then there is one seal (No. 8) which bears the date of the next month Ardibehesht of the 41st year. We notice one thing, and it is this, that all officers did not put down the dates when they attached their seals. Perhaps it was only those, in whose books the Farmâns were regularly recorded or taken note of, who put down the dates of their seals, to facilitate reference to their books in case of necessity. I think Abul Fazl seems to make a distinction, when he uses, in the case of some officers, the words *nishân va mohr* نشان و مهر *i.e.*, sign and seal, and in the case of others simply the word مهر mohr, *i.e.*, the seal. When they put down the dates with their own hands, under their seals, that was meant to be putting their *nishân* or sign. For example, he says that the Çahib-i-Taujih, the Mustaufi, the Nazir and the Bakhshis put on their signs and seals. In the case of the Diwân, his accountant and the Vakil, he uses simply the word seal.[1]

[1] Blochmann's Text I., p. 194, ll. 13-14, Translation I., pp. 261-62.

الله اکبر

Document No. 2.
(The first Farmân of the 48th year of King Akbar's reign.—*vide* above, p. 40.)



فرمان جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازي

درین وقت فرمان عالی شان عنایت نشان شرف صدور و عز ورود یافت که چون موازي سه صد بیگهه زمین بگز الهي مع درختان تار و خرما وغیره که دران زمین واقع است از سواد قصبه نوساري وغیره بموجب تفصیل ضمن سابقاً در وجه مدد معاش کیقباد پارسي ولد ماهیار از تعین جاگیردار بموجب فرمان قضا جریان من ابتداء خریف قوی ایل از سرکار سورت مقرر شده بود که سال بسال حاصل آن را صرف اوقات گذر خود نموده بدعای مزید دولت و اقبال اشتغال مینموده باشد مي باید که حکام و عمال و جاگیرداران و کروریان حال و استقبال آن محال حسب المسطور مقرره آن سه صد بیگهه را بموجبي که در صدر حکم شده بتصرف او باتمام و کمال باز گذارند و چیزي ازان قاصر و منکر نگردانند و آنچه در سال گذشته و سال حال از حاصل سه صد بیگهه گرفته باشند پس دهند و دران باب اهمال جایز ندارند و در استمرار و استقرار آن عنایت کوشیده تغیر و تبدیل ندهند و چیزي ازان اراضي وضع ننمایند و بعلت مال و جهات و اخراجات و سایر جهات مثل قنلغه و پیشکش و جرمانه و ضابطانه و مهرانه و داروغگانه و محصلانه و ده نیم و صد دوي قانون گوئي و تکراو زراعت و ترکاري و زکوة الجهتي و ضبط رساله بعد از تشخیص چک و کل تکالیف دیواني و جمیع اخراجات سلطاني مزاحمت نرسانند ومن کل الوجوه واحوالات معاف ومسلم ومرفوع القلم شمرده پیرامون نگردند

و همه ساله درین باب فرمان و پروانچه مجدد نطلبند و چون بتوقیع وقع اشرف اجل مزین و مجلي گردد اعتماد نمایند تحریراً في التاریخ ۲ ماه مهر الهي سنه ۴۸

شرح بالحاشیه واقعه بتاریخ روز بهمن ۳ ماه مهر الهی سنه ۴۸ موافق روز پنجشنبه برساله جملة الملکي مدار المهامي نظام الرسا آصف خان در چوکي بخشي الملکي مقرب الحضرت السلطاني خواجگی فتح الله

نوبت واقعه نویس کمترین بندگان محمد شفیع حکم جهانمطاع آفتاب شعاع صادر شد که چون موازي سه صد بیگهه زمین بگز الهي مع درختان تار وخرما وغیره که دران زمین واقع است

از قصبه نوساري وغیره که سابق در وجه مدد معاش کیقباد پارسی ولد ماهیار از تعین جاگیردار بموجب فرمان قضا جریان من ابتداء خریف قوی ایل از سرکار سورت مقرر شده بود که

سال بسال حاصل آن را صرف اوقات گذر خود نموده بدعاي دولت روز افزون اشتغال مینموده باشد حکام و عمال و جاگیردار و کروري حال و استقبال آنحال را حسب المسطور مقرر داشته

سه صد بیگهه را بموجبیکه حکم اشرف صادر شد بتصرف او باز گذارند و آنچه درسال گذشته و سال حال از حاصل سه صد بیگهه گرفته باشد پس دهند شرح حاشیه بخط واقعه نویس مطابق واقعه است

ماما بیگهه مقرر موافق فرمان عالیشان سابق برینموجب

ماما بیگهه

قصبه نوساري که زمین مذکور قبل ازین
در وجه مدد معاش ماهیار بود
۱۱ بیگهه

قوري از پرگنه نلاري
ما بیگهه

بصح

برسالہ عمدۃ الملکی رکن السلطنت العلیہ اعتماد الدولت آل خاقانیہ لایق العنام و الاحسان
جمالہ الملکی مدار المہامی نظام الرسا آصفخان و در چوکی بخشی الملکی مقرب الحضرت السلطانی
خواجگی فتح اللہ و نوبت واقعہ نویس محمد شفیع بتاریخ ۲ ماہ مہر الٰہی سنہ ۴۸ موافق روز پنجشنبہ بصح

1

2

3 اللہ فتح

5 العبدی صدر جہان کمترین بندہ

4 خان آصف

6

فی التاریخ ثبت شد
۱۴ ماہ مہر الٰہی سنہ ۴۸

7 الکریم عبد بندہ یزدانی

مطلع شد ۹ ماہ مہر الٰہی سنہ ۴۸

8 علی مرتضی

مرقوم شد
۷ ماہ مہر الٰہی سنہ ۴۸

بتاریخ ۱۴ ماہ مہر الٰہی سنہ ۴۸
برقرار دادہ و بصحہ مہر رسید بصحہ

بتاریخ ۷ ماہ مہر الٰہی سنہ ۴۸ بدفتر ثبت شد

9 حسین کمال الدین عبدہ

قلمی شد
۷ ماہ مہر الٰہی سنہ ۴۸

കേരള സാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

(Translation of the second *Farmân*.)

God is Great.

The *Farmân* of Jalâluddin Muhammad Akbar Bâdshâh Gâzi.

At this time, a royal order, signifying favour, has acquired the honour of being issued, and the dignity of being published, that, **Whereas** about 300 *bigâhs* of land (measured) by the *ilâhi* gaz, together with the palm and date trees, &c., which are growing on that land, in the environs of the town of Naosâri, &c., according to the particulars of the contents (of this *Farmân*), had been formerly assigned from the *Sarkâr* of Surat, for the purpose of the assistance of livelihood of Parsi Kaikobâd, son of Mâhyâr, from the assignment of the *jâgirdâr*, according to an order which has issued [1] forth, from the commencement of the (season of) *kharif* [2] *ku el*, so that, from year to year, spending the income thereof, in maintaining his life, he may be engaged in praying for the increase of the wealth and good fortune (of His Majesty) **It is incumbent** upon all present and future governors, and tax-gatherers and *jagirdars* and *krôriâns* of that district, that they should, according to what is written, give back in his possession, totally and entirely, the allotted part of 300 *bigâhs* in the same way as ordered above,[3] and should not diminish or refuse anything; and whatever may have been received during the past and current years from the income of 300 *bigâhs*, should be returned; and no burdens should be imposed in that matter; and trying to bestow care in the confirmation and perpetuity of that

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[1] قضا decree, order; جریان jaryân "which issues forth (as an order)." (Steingass.)

[2] خریف autumn, autumn harvest, harvest.

[3] Lit. in the beginning, front, chief. The word Çadr used in the seals in the sense of minister is derived from this meaning. Abul Fazl in his "Âin-i-Akbari" (Bk. II., Âin 19) says of this officer: "As the circumstances of men have to be enquired into, before grants are made, and their petitions must be considered in fairness, an experienced man of correct intentions is employed for this office . . . Such an officer is called Çadr. The Qâzi and the Mir'Adl are under his orders. He is assisted in his important duties by a clerk, who has to look after the financial business, and is nowadays styled Diwan-i-Sadâat . . . . . and afterwards it was determined that the Çadr, with the concurrence of the writer of this work, (*i.e.*, Abul Fazal,) should either increase or decrease the grants. (Blochmann's translation, Vol. I., pp. 268-70.)

should make no change or alteration; and make no deduction[1] from those lands;[2] and on account of land tax, and imposts on manufactures and capitation taxes, the rest of the taxes, such as imposts and presents and fines and village assessments and marriage fees and Daroghа's fees and tax-gatherer's fees, and five per cent. tax and two[3] per cent. tax and *kânungôi* (*i.e.*, fees of the officer acquainted with land tenures) and burdens (*i.e.*, taxes) for cultivation and gardening and *zakât* of duties on manufactures and assessments, no molestation should be given him every year, after (*i.e.*, beyond) the ascertainment of the grant and all civil taxes and all royal revenues; and excusing, freeing[4] and absolving him in every way[5] and of all charges, they should not go round him and should not ask every year for renewed *farmâns* and *parwânchahs* in this matter; and when (it, *i.e.*, the *farmân*, is once) adorned[6] and illustrated[7] with the royal signet of the respect[8] of His Most Glorious[9] Majesty, they must show their confidence in it.

Written on the date[10] second (day) of mâh Mêhêr *ilâhi* year 48.

Postscript[11] explanation (or details) of the *waqiah* (*i.e.* record). On the second day Bahman of the month Meher *ilâhi* year 48, corresponding to Thursday, according to the writing of *Jumlatul-*

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[1] وضع subtraction, deduction, abatement.

[2] اراضی (pl. of اراضی) lands, estates.

[3] Sad-dui. *Vide* above, p. 101, n. 1.

[4] مسلم musallam "free, dispensed, exempted from all public burdens."

[5] من کل الوجوه or من کلی وجوه *min kulli wajuh* "in every shape, entirely, every way."

[6] مزین muzaiyan, "adorned; signed and sealed by the Shâh."

[7] مجلی *majallâ*, illustrated, manifested. This sentence may also refer to the person. [8] وقع respect, regard. This word is not found in the first farmân. If read وقیع sharpened.

[9] اجل "more excellent, more or most glorious."

[10] التاریخ, or if you read it as الآنی *alâni*, "belonging to the present time," *i.e.*, row. The figure after this word is ۲ two. But as there is a slight faint ink blot near it, the man cleaning the photo-litho stone took it to be a nought, and having inked it has made it look like ۲۰ twenty. That the date is second appears from the next but one line and other subsequent dates. This date corresponds to *roz* 2 *mah* 7 year 972 Yazdazardi A.D. 1603.

[11] حاشیه a marginal note, postscript.

mûlki[1] *madarul-mahammi*[2] *nizamulrasâ*[3] Âsafkhan[4], and in the *chauki of bakhshi-almulki*, the favoured of His Majesty Khwajagi Fathullah[5] (and during) the turn[6] of the *wâqiah-nawis*, the humblest of slaves, Muhammad Shafîa.

The order of the universally-obeyed,[7] lustre[8] of the sun (*i. e.*, the king) has been issued that, Whereas about 300 *bigahs* of land (measured) by the *ilâhi gaz*, together with the palm and date trees, &c., which are growing on that land in the town of Naôsâri, &c., had been formerly assigned, from the Sarkâr of Surat, for the purpose of the assistance of livelihood of Parsi Kaikôbâd, son of Mâhyâr, from the assignment of the Jagirdâr, according to an order which has issued forth, from the commencement of the (season of) *kharif kuel*, so that, from year to year, spending the income thereof, in maintaining his life, he may be engaged in pray-

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[1] جملت الملک *Jumlat-ul-mulk* was a title. It was bestowed upon the *Vakîl* of the Empire. It was bestowed by Akbar upon Muzaffar Khân-i-Turbati (Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 349.) Badâôni says:—

"In this year (the 17th of his reign) the Emperor recalled Muzaffar Khan, who had been appointed governor of Sîrangpûr, and appointed him prime minister and gave him in addition to his other titles that of Jumlat-ul-mulk. (Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 174.)

[2] مدار ال مهام lit. the centre of important affairs, *i.e.*, a minister.

[3] نظام الرسا clever administrator. رسا skilful, quick of apprehension (?). Perhaps for *nizâm al rayâsat*.

[4] *Vide* below, p. 128, for this personage.

[5] خواجگي فتح الله Khwâjagi Fathullah was one of the grandees (بزرگان جاويد دولت) enumerated by Abul Fazl in his Ain-i-Akbari (Bk. II., Âin 30.). He was one of the سيصد و پنجاهي *i.e.*, the commanders of Three hundred and fifty (Blochmann's text I, p. 220, column 1, l. 11, grandee No. 285, Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., p. 499). He is there described as the son of Haji Habibullah Kâshi (of Kâshân). He once served under Mirza Aziz Kokah.

[6] *Vide* above, p. 102, n. 11, for the waqiahnawis. They were fourteen in number and worked in turns. Abul Fazl says هرروزی دوکس قرار یافت وپس از چهارده روز نوبت بیکي رسید

"Two of whom do daily duty in rotation; so that the turn of each comes after a fortnight." (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 192, l. 22. Translation Vol. I., p. 258). So here the particular writer, who had his turn to record the document, gives his own name.

[7] جهان مطاع Jahân mutâ, obeyed by the world.

[8] شعاع a *shu'â'*, light, splendour.

ing for (His Majesty's) daily-increasing[1] fortune, (It is enjoined) to all present and future governors and tax-gatherers and *Jagirdârs* and *kroris* of that district that ascertaining (the fact) according to what is written, they should, give back in his possession, 300 *bighâs*, in the same way as declared in the most noble order, and whatever may have been received during the past year and during the current year should be returned. The writing of the postscript is in the hand of the *waqâh-nawis* according to the record.

The 300 *bighâs* are fixed according to the former royal Farmân in this way :—

Village Tavrî in the *paragnah* of Talârî.	In the environs of the town of Naôsâri, where the abovementioned land was (allotted) ere this for the purpose of the assistance of livelihood of Mâhyâr.
100 *bighâs*.	200 *bighâs*.
	With *sah*.

Translation of the Persian lines on the first fold, and of the marginal lines, and of other lines under the seals which give dates.

(The three lines in the first fold on the side containing the seals.)

In the record of *umdatu'l-mulki*,[2] *rukn i saltanat*[3] *a'la*,[4] *itimâd-ul-daolat*[5] *alkhâkhânich*,[6] *layak-u'l-inâm*[7] *wa al-ahsân*,[8] *jumlat-ul-mulki*,[9] *madaru'l-mahamuri*,[10] *nizamu'l-raça*,[11] Açafkhân,

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[1] روز افزون increasing daily (in glory); a royal title implying august, fortunate.

[2] عمدة الملک "pillar of the state" (a title conferred on high officials).

[3] رکن سلطنت pillar of the dominion, a nobleman.

[4] اعلی most exalted.

[5] اعتماد الدولت reliance of the state.

[6] خاقانی imperial.

[7] لایق العنام worthy of prize.

[8] و ال احسان and (worthy) of beneficence.

[9] جملت الملک the sum total of the country, *vide* above, p. 123, n. 1.

[10] *Vide* p. 123, n. 2.

[11] *Ibid*, n. 3.

and in the *chauki* of *bakhshi-almulki*,[1] *muqarrabu'l-hazrat-ul Sultâni*,[2] Khwâjagi Fathullah [3] and (during) the turn of the *waqiah-nawis* Muhammad Shafia. On the day 2nd, month Meher *ilâhi* year 48 corresponding to Thursday.

(Seals Nos. 1 and 2 not legible.)

(Seal No. 3) Fathullah, (other words are not clearly legible).

(Seal No. 4) Âçaf Khân.

(Seal No. 5) humblest slave Çadr-i-Jahân al Hussaini.

(Seal No. 6 not legible.)

(Date under the two seals Nos. 6 and 4 which are mixed together.) Entered on the date 14th month Meher ilâhi year 48.

(Date just below the above date written vertically.) Fixed and Sealed and signed on the date 14th month Meher ilâhi year 48. With *sah*.

(Seal No. 7). Abdul Karim, yazdâni slave (*i. e.*, slave of God).

(The date under Seal No. 7). Became informed on the 9th of month Meher ilâhi year 48.

(Seal No. 8. The whole of it is not legible. The only word which is clear is) Ali Murtaza علی مرتضی

(The date under Seal No. 8). Written on 7th of month Meher ilâhi year 48.

(Seal No. 9) slave Kamâluddin Hussain.

(The date under Seal No. 9). Written on 7th day of month Meher ilâhi year 48.

(The marginal line under Seal No. 8 written vertically). Written in the book on the date 7th month Meher ilâhi year 48.

We will now examine the seals on the Farmân.

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[1] Bakhshi of the State بخشی الملکی Fathullah was at one time appointed Bakhshi—*vide* below, p. 128, n. 2.

[2] مقرب الحضرت السلطانی the favourite of His Majesty the king.

[3] *Vide* above, p. 123, n. 5. This commander seems to be in charge of the *chauki* at the time when the order in connection with the farmân was given.

The king's seal is at the top of the Farmân, as in the case of the first Farmân, and as referred to by the Âin-i-Akbari. It is made up of eight circles, containing the names of Akbar and his seven ancestors. The names in these circles are not as distinct and clear as in the case of the first farmân, and unfortunately the photo-litho has not come out so well. However, placing these two farmâns side by side, one can determine the names with the help of a magnifying glass.

We will now come to the seals at the end of the Farmân. As in the case of the first Farmân, we have to turn the Farmân upside down to read the seals and the note of the *waqiah-nawis*, beginning from the first fold.

Seal No. 1. The name on it is not at all legible. But from what is said in the Âin-i-Akbari,[1] and from the fact that that statement of the Âin-i-Akbari is confirmed by the seal No. 1 of the first Farmân,[2] we can safely say, that this is the seal of Khan-i-Âzam Mirzâ Aziz Kokah, the then Vakil of king Akbar's time. We saw in the case of the first Farmân,[3] that at that time (1003 Hijri, the 40th year of Akbar's reign), he was the person "nearest in rank to the Vakil," and as such we saw his seal on the first fold on the left of that of the then Vakil, Khân Khânân. But Mirza Kokah was promoted to the Vakilship in 1004 H. He continued in that post up to the time of the death of Akbar.[4] So at the time of the second Farmân (the 48th year of Akbar's reign, *i.e.*, 1011-12 Hijri) he was Vakil of the state and so the seal No. 1 seems to be his. It is just at the place pointed out by the Âin-i-Akbari, as the place of the Vakil's seal. It says, "On the first fold, which is less broad, at a place towards the edge where the paper is cut off, the Vakil puts his seal." [5]

Seal No. 2. The writing on it is not legible. Only a letter here and there can be deciphered. I think that from a comparision with the order, observed in the first Farmân, we can infer that it may be the

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[1] *Vide* p. 111.

[2] *Vide* p. 111.

[3] *Vide* pp. 111-112.

[4] *Vide* Abul Fazl's list of Akbar's Vakils.—Blochmann's Text I., p. 232, l. 8. Translation I., p. 527. About Mirza Kokah's career, *vide ibid* pp. 325-28.

[5] *Ibid* Text, p. 195, ll. 19-20. Translation I., p. 263.

seal of the *Waqiah-nawis* who must be in attendance on the king, when the order of the Farmân was issued. In the case of the first Farmân, we saw,[1] that at the end of the text of the Farmân, on the very first fold, a note was put down to say, that the document was noted in the *resâlah* and *chauki* of Abul Fazl and in the record of the turn (naôbat) of *Waqiah-nawis* Muizzuddin Hussain. We also saw that the two seals on the left of the above two lines of the first fold, seemed to be those of Abul Fazl and the *Waqiah-nawis* Muizzuddin.

Now in this second Farmân, we find a similar statement about the documents being recorded in (*a*) the *resâlah*, (*b*) *chauki*, and (*c*) *naôbat*. But there is this difference that, while in the case of the first Farmân, both the *resâlah* and the *chauki* were in the charge of Abul Fazl, in the case of the second Farmân they seem to be in the charge of two separate officers, the *resâlah* in that of Âçaf Khân, and the *chauki* in that of Khwâjagi Fathullah. The naôbat (*i.e.* the record of the turn) was that of Mahomed Shafia. So in the case of the second Farmân, we must expect three seals of three different officers on the left of the above-mentioned lines, in which these officers, make a note that the Farmân had been issued according to the records of their *resâlah*, *chauki* and *naôbat* respectively. N

is, that we see, that these two officers Âçaf Khân and Khwâjagi Fattah Allah, together with the *Wâqiah-nawis*, make a note upon the Farmân to say that the Farmân was issued during their time of office, and they put their seals to verify that statement.

We find the following particulars about this Khwâjagi, given by Abul Fazl in his Âin-i-Akbari, (خواجگی فتح الله No. 285).[1] He was one of the *si-sad va panjahi, i.e.*, officers in charge of 350 men (سیصد و پنجاهی). At one time he was a Bakhshi of the State.[2] In the 45th year of the reign (1008 Hijri), when Akbar besieged Âsir, he was associated with Muzaffar in besieging Fort Lalang.

Seal No. 4. We read over this seal very clearly the words Açaf Khân. As said above, he is the officer who, together with the above Khwâjagi Fattah Allah, the officer in charge of the *chauki*, and Mahomed Shafia, the *waqiah-nawis*, makes a note on the Farmân that the order was entered in his *resâlah*. He is the *resâlahdâr* in whose term of office, the original orders for the Farmân were issued. We said above that according to the Âin-i-Akbari, an *yâddâsht* or memorandum was made of the orders daily issued by the king. A Taliqah or abridgment is then prepared from the *yâddâsht*. From that Taliqah the Farmâns are prepared. "The abridgment is," says the Âin-i-Akbari, "signed and sealed by the Waqiah-nawis and the Resâlahdâr, the Mir 'Arz and the Dârogah.[3]" Of the first three officers, we saw that Mahomed Shafiha was the *Wâqi'ah-nawis* in charge of the *waqiah*, Khwâjagi Fattah Alla, the *Mir' Arz* in charge of the *chauki*, and Âçaf Khân the Resâlahdâr in charge of the *resâlah*. Having made a note on the Farmân of the issue of the orders for the grant of land during their terms of office, they put their seals on the Farmân near the note.

We find the following particulars about this officer Âçaf Khân. Âçaf is a title. Akbar had bestowed this title upon three of his grandees. So, Badaoni, to avoid confusion, distinguishes the second and the third Âçaf Khân as آصف خان ثانی *i.e.*, Âçaf Khân II. and آصف خان ثالث *i.e.*, Âçaf Khân III. Abdul Majid, Âçaf Khân I., died

[1] Blochmann's text I., p. 229.

[2] Badaoni. Lowe's Translation II., pp. 323,372. So he is called Bakhshi-al-mulki in our document.

[3] Blochmann's Translation I., p. 259.

before 981 Hijri. Khwajah Mirza Ghiasuddin Ali, Açaf Khân II., died in 989 H. So the Âçaf Khân referred to in this Farmân of 1011-12 H. was Mirza Jâfar Beg, Âçaf Khân III., who lived at the time of the Farmân. (*Vide* Badâôni Lowe II., p. 322.)

He was one of the grandees enumerated by Abul Fazl in his Âin-i-Akbari (No. 98). His name was Jafar Beg جعفر بیگ He came from Qazwin in the 22nd year of the reign. He was first appointed a commander of Twenty (بیستی). After a short time he was made a commander of Two Thousand (دو هزاری) and was then given the title of Âçaf Khân. In the 44th year (1008) he was appointed *Diwan-i-Kul*.

According to Badâôni he was a known writer of Akbar's time. He also fought several battles for Akbar. He was the colaborateur with Maulânâ Ahmad in his Târîkh-i-Alfi (*i.e.* the history of 1,000 years), which Akbar, in about 990 Hijri, asked to be written for all Mahomedan nations up to the thousandth year of the Hijri era. (Elliot, Vol. V., pp. 150-53). Maulânâ Ahmad was killed by one of his personal enemies after having finished two volumes. "The remainder of the work was written by Âçaf Khân up to the year 997 H" (*Ibid* p. 153). Badâôni also had a hand in the writing of this history.

In the 38th year of the reign (1001 H.) this Açaf Khân took part with Zain Khân Koka in a fight with the Afghans of Swat and Bajaur. (Elliot V., p. 467.) According to the Akbar-nâmeh, in the 45th year of the reign, he, in company with Abul Fazl, took part in investing the fortress of Âsîr. (Elliot VI., p. 971.)

Seal No. 5. We read on this "Al Hussaini Çadr-i-Jahân *kamterin-bandeh*," *i.e.* humblest slave Çadr-i-Jahân-al Hussaini. We saw his seal on the first farmân also. As we said above, he was the last Çadr of Akbar's court. He came to office in 997 Hijri and continued in office till the end of Akbar's reign, and even for some time in Jehangir's reign. So we find his seal in both the farmâns. In this second farmân also we find his seal in the same place as that allotted to him in the Âin-i-Akbari.[1] A little below this seal and on the left we find a date. It says: "Entered on the 14th of the month Meher îlahi year 48." On the first sight, it does not appear certain, whether the date belongs to this seal of Çadr-i-Jahân, or it belongs

[1] *Vide* above, p. 113.

to the above seal (No. 4) of Açaf Khân, or to seal No. 6, which is illegible and which is mixed up with No. 4. But a comparison of the way, in which the date is put in here, with the way in which we find the date under Çadr-i-Jahân's seal in the first farmân, leads us to say, that this date is that of Çadr-i-Jahân's seal. There also we find it a little below Çadr-i-Jahân's seal and a little on the left. What is more striking is that in both cases there is a peculiar stroke over the dates. As Çadr-i-Jahân is the only person whose seal is common to both the farmâns, and as we find this peculiarity near his seals, we are led to believe that the date in question is the date of Çadr-i-Jahân's seal.

Seal No. 6. It is quite illegible, and it is mixed up with seal No. 4.

Between the seals No. 6 and No. 7, it is possible, there may be one or more seals of some officials, but as the portion between these two is patched up in the original old document with a piece of paper, to support the tattered condition of the old paper, we are not certain if there was or not any seal there.

Seal No. 7. We read on it the name Abdul Karim Bandah-i-Yazdâni and under it, the date 9th of the month Meher of the *ilâhi* year 48. The words are مطلع شد تاریخ ۹ ماه مهر الهی سنه ۴۸. They are written in a very mixed fashionable way. It seems that the different officers had different styles of recording the document: one said ثبت شد *sabt shûd*, another said قلمی شد *qualami shûd*, a third said مرقوم شد *marqum shûd*, and a fourth said مطلع شد *muttali shud*. All these seem to be the technical wording, special to different departments, for signifying, that the farmân had been entered into the records of their departments, or seen and passed by their departments. Now the technical wording of this seal is the same as that on seal No. 10 in the first farmân (pp. 106,116). We saw in the case of the first farmân that the seal with that wording under it, was possibly the seal of the Mustaufi. So perhaps this person Abdul Karim (or perhaps Abdul Rahim) was a Mustaufi. We cannot positively say who this person was.

Seal No. 8. The words on this seal are not clear, but we can distinctly read the words Ali Murtaza. علی مرتضی Under the seal we read مرقوم شد ۷ ماه مهر الهی سنه ۴۸ *i.e.*, written (or dated) on 7th of month Meher ilâhi, year 48. The same date is written vertically on the margin a little below the seal. The seal in the first Farmân with a similar wording

is seal No. 9 (pp. 106, 115). The word علي in both the seals is common. Again in both cases their dates are repeated on the margin. So at first sight, one would be tempted to say, that it is the same person who has put down both the seals on the two Farmâns. But that is not the case. We saw in the case of the first Farmân that the seal seemed to be that of some officer connected with the preparation of the *Taliqah*. This seal therefore seems to be that of a similar officer. It may be that of the Darôgah داروغه (superintendent of the office). We saw above, on the authority of the Âin-i-Akbari that the original *Taliqah* from which the Fârman is made is prepared, "signed and sealed by the Wâqiahnawis, and the *Resâlahdâr*, the *Mir 'Arz* and the *Darôgah*." Of these four officers, we saw that the names of the first three, who are the principal officers, are mentioned in the three lines of the first fold, and that they have also put down their seals. So perhaps this is the seal of the fourth officer, the Darôgah.

Seal No. 9. This seal is quite legible. The words on it are عبده حسين كمال الدين *i.e.*, servant Hussain Kamâlluddin. Under the seal we read قلمي شد ٧ ماه مهر الهي سنه ٤٨ *i.e.*, written the 7th of the month Meher ilâhi, year 48. This seal occupies the same place in the second Farmân as seal No. 11 in the first Farmân. Again it is the same person who has put on the seal, though his seal is not the same. In the first Farmân, the seal reads العبد حسين كمال الدين but in the second Farmân it reads عبده حسين كمال الدين. The name is exactly the same, but the word expressive of humility, though the same, is a little different in its formation. It is *al abd* in the first Farmân, but *abdeh* in the second. Again the style of the date under both is exactly the same. From the technical phraseology "qalami shûd," found both in the Farmân and in the Âin-i-Akbari, and from its position in the Farmân, we determined, that the seal No. 11 in the first *farmân* seemed to be that of the Çahib-i-Taujih. On the same grounds, and because the name on both the seals is the same, we can safely say that this seal also is that the Çahib-i-Taujih.

Let us now examine the order of the dates in the second Farmân. It appears from the contents of the second Farmân that Kaikobad was not allowed to remain long in the peaceful possession of the 300 *bigahs* of land—of which 200 were those of his father and 100 of his own—given to him according to the first Farmân in 1003 Hijri. H

seems to have been molested. So the second Farmân, issued eight years later, mentions the fact of the previous Farmân, and enjoins that the land may be given back in his possession, and that whatever of his income from the land, in the then current year (*i.e.* the 48th year of the reign 1011-12 Hijri) and of the preceding year, he may have been consequently deprived of, should be made good to him. It further enjoins that no fresh Farmâns should be asked from him from year to year, but that the Farmân in question with the royal seal should suffice. This Farmân was dated 2nd of the 7th month Meher, in the 48th year of the reign.[1]

In the case of the first Farmân we saw, that His Majesty had issued orders for the grant on the 15th of the 7th month Meher (1003 H.). On the 13th of the next month Abân, *i.e.*, 28 days after the first issue of the order, the order was properly recorded and the *taliqah* made, and on the 10th day of the 12th month Aspandârmad, *i.e.*, about four months after the first issue of the order, a regular and *pucca* Farmân was granted to Kaikobâd. The other officers took about two months to record it in their respective departments and to put on their seals. The whole thing was complete in the second month Ardibehesht of the next year, *i.e.*, 1004 Hijri. In the case of the second Farmân, we see, that on account of the hardship caused to him by not being allowed to continue to remain in the peaceful possession of the land given by the first Farmân, there has been very little delay. The second day Bahman of the 7th month Meher is the day on which the Farmân is sealed with His Majesty's seal. On the same day, the officers who had to do with the *taliqah*, or the abridgment of the memorandum of His Majesty's orders, sign it. The Çadr-i-Jahân signs it, and within 12 days all the other officers sign and seal it.

[1] Kaikobad is said to have got subsequently from King Jehangir another *farmân* for these 300 *bighâs* of land, all in his own name.

Document No. 8.
(The third document, called the *Farmanchah*, of the 48th year of King Akbar's reign—*vide* above p. 41.)

الله اکبر

حکم خان خانان مرزا خان بهادر سپهر سالار

مقصدیان مهمات و معاملات سرکار سورت و قصبه نوساری و پرگنه تلاری بدانند که چون حکم جهان مطاع عالم مطیع درباب وظیفه داران صوبه گجرات صادر شده بود که

ازانچه مدد معاش داشته باشند نصفی بدهند موازی سه صد بیگهه زمین که موافق فرمان عالیشان سابق در وجه مدد معاش کیقباد فارسی از قصبه مذکور و موضع توری من اعمال

پرگنه تلاری مقرر بود یکصد و پنجاه بیگهه زمین بمشارالیه داده شده بود درین ولا که مومی الیه فرمان عالیشان مجدد آورد که اراضی مدد معاش کیقباد که سه صد بیگهه است

تمام و کمال مع اشجار خرما از محل قدیم بدهند امر عالی شد که موازی سه صد بیگهه زمین از مقبوضه قدیم مع اشجار بموجب تفصیل ضمن در وجه مدد معاش او مقرر باشد باز که اراضی مذبور را

بمومی الیه وا گذارند که حاصلات آن را متصرف میشده باشد و بدعای دولت ابد پیوند بندگان حضرت مشغول باشد و بعلت مال وجهات وسایر جهات

وکل تکالیف دیوانی چیزی از و مطالبه ننمایند و بهیچوجه من الوجوه مزاحم و معارة حوالة او نشوند و حسب الامر العالی عمل نموده از قرموده در نگذرند

تحریراً اول اسفندارمد ماه الهی سنه ۴۸ مطابق ۲۱ شهر رمضان المبارک ۱۰۱۲

مقرر ضمن تعلیقه از قرار بتاریخ روز باد ۲۲ بهمن ماه الهی سنه ۴۸ مطابق ۱۰ شهر رمضان المبارک ۱۰۱۲ بمهر وکالت پناهی شجاعت شعاری میرزا حسن علی بیگ

و صدارت دستگاهی میرزا عبدالملک دیوان و عمده دولت خواهان خواجه محمد معصوم میربخشی آنکه نواب کامکاری مملکت مداری امر فرمودند که چون بموجب حکم جهان مطاع که

ارباب وظایف صوبه گجرات در وجه مدد معاش داشته باشد نصفی بدهند موازی سه صد بیگهه زمین که موافق فرمان عالیشان سابق در وجه مدد معاش کیقباد فارسی از قصبه نوساری و موضع آن توری

مقرر بود یکصد و پنجاه بیگهه زمین بمشارالیه عنایت شده بود درین ولا که مومی الیه فرمان عالیشان مجدد آورد که اراضی مدد معاش کیقباد که سه صد بیگهه زمین است

بتمام و کمال مع اشجار خرما از محل قدیم باو وا گذارند حکم عالی شد که موازی سه صد بیگهه از مقبوضه قدیم مع اشجار خرما در وجه مدد معاش

او مقرر باشد باید که دیوانیان سرکار خاصه شدی در زمان بمومی الیه بدهند پیرایگی فضایل مآب صدارت دستگاهی مولانا عبدالعزیز و شرح حاشیه بخط حضرت پناهی

میرزا عبدالملک دیوان انکه حسب الامر العالی موافق فرمان عالیشان از مقبوضه قدیم پیرانچه قدمی تمام بنمایند

قصبه ——— م قریه ث

نوساری که زمین مذکور قبل ازاین در وجه مدد معاش ماچار بود

ل بیگهه

توری از پرگنه تلاری

ا بیگهه

(Translation of the parwânchah, the third document relating to the grant of land in virtue of the two Farmâns.)

God is Great!

The order of Khân Khânân[1] Mirza Khân, Bâhâdur,[2] the Sapâh-sâlâr (*i.e.*, the Commander-in-Chief).

Let the Government officers[3] of the affairs and business of the *sarkâr* of Surat and *kasbeh* of Naosari and *paraganah*[4] of Talâri know, that Whereas an order (of His Majesty), obeyed by the world and submitted to by all people, in the matter of the *wazifah-dârâns* (*i.e.*, the holders of wazifahs) of the Subah of Guzrat, had been issued, to the effect, that of whatever may have been possessed as *madad-i-maâsh*, half may be given; (and Whereas) out of about 300 *bigâhs* of land, which, according to the previous Farmân of His Majesty, have been assigned from the abovesaid *kasbeh* and from the village[5] of Tavri from the tract[6] of the *paraganah* of Talâri for the purpose of the assistance of the livelihood of Parsee Kaikobâd, 150 bigâhs of land have been given to the above-mentioned person;[7] (and Whereas) at this time, when the above-named person[7] brings a fresh *Farmân* from His Majesty, that the lands for

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[1] *Vide* above, p. 111 . . . . . We find him placing his seal on the first Farmân with the name Khân Khânân. His full name was Khân Khanân Mirza Abdurrahim, and as Blochmann says, "Historians generally call him Mirzâ Khân Khânân." (Âin-i-Akbari Translation I., p. 335.) Badaoni called him Mirza Khan before he was given the title of Khan Khanan. He says:

میرزا خانرا خطاب خان خاناني..... و منصب پنجهزاري..... بخشيد

"To Mirzâ Khân was given the title of Khân Khânân . . . . . and the rank of a commander of 5,000." (Badaoni. Lees and Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 336, ll. 10-12. Lowe's translation, Vol. II., p. 346.) He is called Sapah-Salâr because he was the commander of the army. According to Blochmann he was called *Khân Khânân or Khân Khânân o Sipah-Sâlâr*. (Âin-i-Akbari, I., p. 240.)

[2] So called on account of his victories. With an army of 10,000 troopers he had defeated Sultan Muzaffar of Gujrat at the head of 40,000 troopers (Blochmann's Aîn-i-Akbari, Translation I., p. 334.) This bravery gained him the title of Khân Khânân. Again he showed great bravery in the fight with Suhail Khan (*ibid* p. 335).

[3] متصدی *muttasaddi*, any inferior officer of Government, clerk, accountant.

[4] For the terms *sarkâr*, *kasbeh* and *paraganah*, *vide* above, p. 105 n. 4.

[5] موضع a village, hamlet, place. [6] اعمال pl. of عمل rule, a tract, country.

[7] *mushâr ilaihi* and مومي اليه *mûmi ilaihi* the above named (person).

the *madad-i-maash* of Kaikobâd, which are 300 *bigâhs*, should be given him, whole and complete, together with date trees, from his old place The exhalted order is issued that about 300 *bigâhs* of land of his old possession,[1] together with trees according to the particulars of the contents, should be assigned for his *madad-i-maash* And also that the above-named lands should be given over to the above-named person, so that he may be possessed[2] of its income, and joined with the servants of His Majesty, may be engaged in praying for his perpetual good fortune And on account of land tax, and imposts on manufactures and the rest of the taxes and all civil taxes, nothing should be demanded of him And in no way[3] whatsoever should there be any obstacles[4] and delay[5] in his assignment[6] And acting according to the order of His Majesty, they should not turn back from orders.[7] Written on the 1st of the month Asfandârmaz, Ilâhi year 48, corresponding to the 21st of the month Ramzân al mubarak, 1012.

The contents of the *Taliqah* (are) fixed[8] from the *qardr*,[9] on the date of the 22nd day Bâd (*i.e.*, Guâd) of the month Bahman ilâhi year 48, corresponding to the 10th of the month Ramzân-al-mubârak, 1012, with the seal of Mirza Hasan Alibeg,[10] who is the protector of administration,[11] and who is intrepid,[12] and Mirza Abdul Mulk Diwân

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[1] مقبوض *maqbûs*, seized, possessed, held. [2] متصرف possessed.

[3] Wajh min wajuh. Lit. in any way out of the ways. Or it may mean 'no tax out of the other taxes (*wujuh*) should cause delay in the assignment. *Vide* p. 98, n. 2, for *wajuhat*.

[4] مزاحم *muzâhim*, obstacle, impediment.

[5] معارة *mu'ârrat* 'delaying.' If we read the word معارضة *mu'ârrat* the meaning would be "contention, opposition."

[6] حوالة *hawâlat*, *hawala*, transfer, assignment.

[7] *Farmudah*, ordered.

[8] Muqarar fixed, settled.

[9] *qardr-nâwahs* are, according to Blochmann, papers, that "specify the revenue collections."

[10] This officer seems to be Mirzâ Alî Beg Akbarshâhi referred to by Blochman (Ain-i-Akbari translation I. p. 482).

[11] The word is not clear. It seems to be vakalat.

[12] شجاعت شعار intrepid.

who is the helper of premiership[1] and Khwajah Mahmad Maçum Mir Bakhshi, the pillar[2] of the well-wishers. The powerful Nawab, who is the centre of sovereignty, has ordered that (Whereas) according to the world obeyed order (of His Majesty) that of whatsoever the owners of the Wazifahs of the Subah of Gujrat may have possessed as madad-i-maâsh, half may be given (And Whereas) of about 300 bigâhs of land, which according to the previous Farmân of His Majesty, has been assigned from the *kasbah* of Naosari and its village Tavri, for the *madad-i-maâsh* of Parsi Kaikâbâd, 150 bighâs of land, had been given to the abovesaid person (And Whereas) at this time, the abovesaid person brings a fresh Farmân, that the lands of the *madad-i-maâsh* of Kaikobâd, which are 300 bigâhs of land, should be given him entirely and completely, together with date trees, from his old place The exalted order has been (issued) that about 300 bigâhs of his old possession, together with date trees, should be assigned for his madad-i-maâsh It is necessary that the officers of the *Sarkâr* should instantly give to the abovenamed person a special grant.

Parwânçi (*i.e.*, permission) of Maulana Abdul Aziz, who is the receptacle[3] of excellences, the strength of premiership[4] and the marginal *sharh* in the hand of Mirza Abdul Mulk Diwân, the protection of the royal court[5]. According to the exalted order, and in conformity with the Farmân of His Majesty, the *parwanchah* of the old possession may be put into writing completely.

Village Tavri in the paragnâh Talâri.	The town of Naôsâri, where the abovementioned land was, ere this, for the purpose of the assistance of the livelihood of Mâhyâr.
100 bigâhs.	200 bigâhs.

[1] *Sadârat* premiership.

[2] عمدة pillar.

[3] ماب If you read باب door.

[4] صدارة The office of Grand Vazir or prime minister.

[5] حضرت پناه *maheerat panah*. حضر royal court.

The text and the Translation of the lines on the margin.

(Lines written at the commencement in an inverted position. *Vide* photo-litho *fac-simile*. A line under these is not clearly intelligible.)

الله اکبر

بمضمون پروانچه عمل نموده هرجا که فرمان عالیشان مجدد باشد
بپروانچه معطل ندارند بصح

i.e., Acting upon the contents of the *Parwânchah* wherever His Majesty's order has been renewed, the Parwânchah may not be neglected.[1] (The abovementioned lines are under the following seal.)

A little under the seal we have the words تحریر کرده شد *i.e.*, written.

(The line on the margin of the other side of the *Parwânchah*.)

بموجب تعلیقه حکم پروانچه عالي قلمي شد

i.e. according to the Taliqah, the order of the exalted *Parwânchah* has been written.

This document is a Parwânchah. About this kind of document Abul Fazl says:—

گاه فرمان بعنوان طغرا بنویسند و دوسطر نخستین کوتاه نگردانند
آنرا پروانچه بر گویند

"Farmâns are sometimes written in *Tughrâ* character; but the two first lines are not made short. Such a Farmân is called a *Parwânchah*." (Bk. 11, Âin II., Blochmann's Text I., p. 195, ll. 7-8. Translation I., p. 263.)

We find, that as said above, in the two Farmâns, the two first lines are short, but in the *Parwânchah* in question they are not so.

Again the Parwânchahs are not signed by His Majesty. Abul Fazl says: "His Majesty, from motives of kindness, and from a desire to avoid delay, has ordered that these Parwânchahs need not be laid before him.[2]"

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1 معطل *mu'attal* abandoned, neglected.

2 Blochmann's Translation I., p. 236.

Now let us examine the seals on the *Parwânchâh*. We find the seal of Khân Khânân in the front page below the marginal note. We read on it مرید اکبرشاه خان خانان Murid-i-Akbar-Shâh-Khân Khânân. The wording on this seal is the same, as that on Khân Khânân's seal on the first Farmân, though the seal is a little different.

The Khân Khânân issued this *Parwânchah* as the senior officer, under whose seal as the Vakil, the first Farmân was granted.

As in the case of the Farmân, the *Parwânchah* also has its first fold less broad, and at a place towards the edge the paper is cut off, as referred to in the 12th Âin. It has ten seals, including that of Khan Khânân, referred to above.

The first seal on the right in the first fold has the words معصود علي حسن العبد This seems to be the seal of the officer Mirza Hasan Ali Beg referred to in the document.

The second seal on the first fold, a little on the left of the first seal has the words معصوم . . . . خان خانان legible on it. The word in the middle looks like مرید. It would then mean Mâ'acum the disciple of Khân Khânân.

The third seal on the first fold, a little on the left and a little above the second seal, has a few letters here and there legible, but the whole seal is not legible.

The next six seals are not legible. In the matter of dates, this *Parwânchah* differs from the Farmân in this, that though in the body of the *Parwânchah*, the ilâhi era is mentioned, in the four dates attached to the seals of the officers the dates are Mahomedan. In three cases it is the 22nd of the Ramzân رمضان of 1012 Hijri, and in the fourth case it is the 23rd of the same month.

We saw in the case of the second Farmân that it was granted in the 7th month Meher of the 48th year of the reign. It appears that even after that, the difficulties of Kaikobâd were not over. The king had issued a general order that the grant of Madad-i-maâsh may generally be halved. So out of his 300 *bigâhs* of land, only 150 were left to him and the other 150 were taken away. This Parwânchah then ordered that, in his case the whole of the land without any reduction may be given to him at once. The *Taliqah* in this matter was made on the 22nd day of the 11th month Bahman, and the final Parwânchah granted nine days later on, *i.e.*, the 1st of the 12th month Asfandûrmaz.

Document No. 4. The fourth document (محضر ચોથો દસ્તાવેજ) *which speaks of the 200 bigahs given by King Akbar to Dastur Meherji Rana (vide above p. 42).*

الله اکبر

نواب نامداری[1] صادق محمد خان

غرض ازین نوشته آنکه بتاریخ بیست و ششم ماه ربیع الثانی سنه ۱۰۰۵
در عمل...بحضور شرع[2] شریف شق نوساری و خواجه میرزا جان
[3]شقدار قصبه مذکور مسمی کیقباد ولد مهریار پارسی فرمان
عالیشان آورد که موازی دویست بیگهه زمین معه درختان و تار و خرمان
وغیره که دران زمین واقع است از سواد قصبه مذکور قبل ازین
در وجه مدد معاش مهریار که مقبوضه قدیم است تسلیم نمایند بنابرین
بجهت تحقیق مقبوضه سابق خواجه مشارالیه و جماعت مسلمانان و
کارکن[4] و کماشته امین وشماری و رعایان و مقدمان قصبه مذکور بر
مقبوضه سابق عزیمت فرمودند و تمام مقبوضه به تفصیل ذیل تحقیق
نموده و پیموده مشخص نموده اند بدین تفصیل

(Here follow a number of lines giving a detail of measurements. Then we have the following lines on the right margin, making several statements. The first line on the right margin is as follows):-

ثبت هذا المسطور باخبار المخبرین عنه خادم الشرع شریف کثیر تمیناه تم

(The next marginal statement is also on the right, under the above one. It runs as follows :—)

بحضور شرع شریف قصبه نوساری معامله مدد معاش کیقباد مهریار
بموجب فرمان و پروانچه قدیم[5].....محمد صدیق[5] .....

---

[1] The word is without *nuktahs*. It can also be read پایداری

[2] The last two letters are torn off in the original.

[3] "*Shiq-dar* a governor ; an officer appointed to collect the revenue from a certain division of land."—Steingass.

[4] I cannot make out exactly what this word is, but is seems to be نواب nawâb, which we find in the full name in the beginning.

[5] I cannot make out what follows.

(On the right of the foregoing lines, we find the following statement in Gujrati :—)

[1]દફતર અમીન પુ. ફરમાન પાતશા...[2] જલાલદી અકબર શાહ . . વજે વજીરે . [3] કેકબાજ મહીર પારસી ને પુ. મિહેજર દિલાગ્યા હેજરતી કાજી તા. મીરજાં જાહાન દીવોતેજપાલ વા ગુમશતે

પારસીની ને દેલાગ્યા મેહેજર ભરા ૨૦૦)

આદિ ૧૧૯૩. શ્રી ૮૦૩૩ દરખતાન

૧મે રદ રબીઅલાખર સાલ ૧૦૦૫ સા. ૧૬૫૩.

(Then we have the following lines above the Gujrati lines) :—

چون در[4] سال گزشته زمین خود کاشته معه درختان خرما که آب کیکه دیساي پرکنه پارچول بسته تمامي فرق شده هیچ از و حاصل نمي شد

(Then follow a few lines of measurement, after which we have the following lines of what is called گواهي *gawáhi* or evidence about the 200 *bigahs* granted to Dastur Meherji Rana.

که این مقبوضه تمام بشرح صدر در وجه مدد معاش مهریار مذکور قبل ازین تعین بود هرکه را بر صحت این حال و صدق این مقال اگاه و روشن باشد گواهي خویش در ذیل این محضر ثبت فرمایند تا موجب اعتقاد و سامان گردد

(Here follow a number of signatures. Owing to the peculiar way in which the Mahomedan signatures are made, their decipherment is a little difficult. It is possible others may decipher and interpret them in another way).

مشاهد[5] بما قبل عبدالکریم نورمحمد بخطی[6] الواحد من الحاضرین

تا ببوین کیریا

الواحد من الحاضرین خو محمد عبدالرزاق بخط

[2] الواحد الله من الحاضرین فقیر نعمت الله جمیل الله

[5] شاهد بما قبل تاج الدین بن اطف الله

---

[1] This is the date given in the commencement of the document. There the month is called "rabi'u-l sánl," *i.e.*, the second Rabi. Here it is called "rabi'u-l-ákhar, *i.e.*, the last rabi.

[2] Some letters which are unintelligible. The word પુ. in the first line is an abreviation of بلند પુલંદ *i.e.* the great (*farman*).

[3] Not legible. Perhaps પી.

[4] سا Miswritten for سال

[5] *i.e.*, witness to what precedes.

[6] *i.e.*, written by my own hand.

અનંત નાનાભાઈ શાખ

નાહાંના[1] ચંગા શાખ

૧ શાહેરીઆર નાગોજ શાખ

૧ બેહરામ ફરેદુન શાખ

૧ રાંણુંજી આ. બમેંન[2] શાખ

૧ દાજી ધઈઆં શાખ

૧ કુકા[3] ? માણુક શાખ

૧ મેહરા રોઈ શાદી

૧ કેસવ કડિ શાખ

૧ મહીઆં માંહીઆં શાખ (?)

૧ નાના જાદવ શાહદી

૧ ગોવંદ[4] નરાંણુ શાહદી

૧ ધના હીરા શાખ

(Translation of the above fourth document.)

GOD IS GREAT.

Nawâb Nâmdâri Çâdiq Muhammad Khân.[5]

The object of this writing is this, that Whereas on the date 26th of *mâh* Rabi-ul-sâni year 1005 in the rule of . . . .[6]

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[1] Reading doubtful.

[2] Or perhaps બમનેંન.

[3] Reading doubtful. This and the succeeding two names seem to be Hindu.

[4] The modern proper form would be ગોવિંદ નરાણ. Govind Nâran. The last word શાહદી means witness شاهد

[5] *Vide* below, p. 145 for particulars about this personage.

[6] It is said that in old writings of this kind, sometimes, when the subordinate officers had to mention the names of kings or princes, they, out of respect for the king or prince, kept the place for the name blank, leaving the readers to supply it. Sometimes the name was written on the margin. It seems that here, after the word عمل or rule, some space is left blank with a similar purpose. The *amal* or rule referred to here may be either that of the king himself as the ruler of the whole country or that of Prince Sultan Murâd as the ruler of the province of Gujrât.

in the presence of Shar-i-Sharif[1] of the division[2] of Naosari and of Khwâjah Mirjzâ Jân, the *shiqdâr*[3] of the said town, a person named Kaikobâd, son of Meheryâr, a Parsee, brought the *farman* of His Majesty, that about 200 bigahs of land—from the environs of the abovenamed town, together with palm and date trees, which are growing on that land—which were ere this, in the previous possession of Meheryâr for the purpose of his *madad-i-maâsh*, be given to him, therefore for the purpose of ascertaining that old possession, the abovesaid Khwâjah, and an assembly of Mahomedans and *karkuns* and superintendents *(gumastahs)* of the Amin[4] and *shumâri*[5] and non-Mahomedan subjects[6] and leaders[7] of the said *kasbah*, resolved (to meet) on the old possession and having examined as detailed below,[8] and, having measured, ascertained the whole possession according to these details.

(Translation of the first line on the right margin, p. 139.)

This[9] description (is) written according to the information of informers[10] (brought) before[11] me (lit. servant) in the Court of Justice much[12] (. . . .)

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[1] شرع شريف Shar'-i-Sharif "citing one before a Court of Justice." The Qâzi seems to be referred to under this title. That the Qâzi of a place had something to do with the jagirs appears from the following passage in the 19th Âin. (Bk. II.):—

"Again, when His Majesty discovered that the Qâzis were in the habit of taking bribes from the grant-holders, he resolved, with the view of obtaining God's favour, to place no further reliance on these men (the Qâzis)." Blochmann's Translation I., p. 269.

[2] شق Shiqq "a large division of a country forming a collectorate."

[3] *Vide* above, p. 139, n. 3.

[4] امين an officer employed to collect the revenues.

[5] شماري counting, gumâshteh-i-shumâri, *i.e.*, officers making calculations.

[6] رعايان subjects, especially non-Mahomedan of a Mahomedan ruler.

[7] مقدم muqaddam leader. ראש

[8] ذيل appendix, postscript.

[9] اذا this. [10] مخبر *mukhbir*, informer, teller of news. [11] عند near, before, according to.

[12] The last two words are not intelligible.

(Under this first line on the right margin, we have a seal on the right. It reads):—

حضرت سبحان خادم الشرع فضل الله بن [1] دوسي عمادي

i.e., Fazlallah, son of.....,[1] servant of glorious God.[2]

(Translation of the second line on the right margin beginning with حضور p. 139.)

In the presence of Shar'-i-Sharif (*i.e.*, Court of Justice or the Qâzi presiding there) of the town of Naosari, in the affair of the madad-i-maâsh of Kaikobâd Maheryâr according to the old *farman* and *parwanchah* . . . . [3] Muhammad Çâdiq . . . . [4]

(Over these lines, a little on the left there is a seal. It reads:—)

عبده ميرزا جان ابن خواجه خان

i.e., servant Mirzâ *Jân*,[5] the son of Khwâjah Khân.

(Translation of the statement above the Gujrati lines, p. 140.)

As in the past year, his cultivated land with date trees,—the water of Kikâ Desâi (?) of the *paragnah* of Parchol, being shut up—was all drowned, no income was obtained out of it.

(Translation of the last statement about the *gawâhi*)

The whole of this possession was, ere this, fixed in the above *Sharh*,[6] for the purpose of the *madad-maâsh* of the abovesaid Meheryâr.[7] Those who are aware and informed of the correctness of this state of affair, and of the truth of this statement may write their signatures (lit. evidence) below this document, so that it may be the cause of confidence and arrangement.

(Under this form, about 17 persons put their signatures to certify that the land of Meheryâr, was examined and settled by them. Among the signatories we find members of all communities, Mahomedans, Hindus, and Parsees.

---

[1] This name is not quite legible.

[2] The person referred to here seems to be the Qâzi or the *Shari-i-Sharif* referred to in the body of the document.

[3] This word is not quite intelligible.

[4] The rest of the writing is not intelligible to me.

[5] The Gujarati lines also give this name.

[6] The *Sharh* or description, as given above.

[7] In this document, we find the name Mâhyâr as Meheryâr, which is the proper form under which the name has come down to us as Meherji.

As one should expect in a Mahomedan Government, the first signatories are Mahomedans, and they sign in Persian characters. It is difficult to give correctly the names of all the signatories of this document. But I will give them as far as can be deciphered.

The Mahomedan signatures are as follow :—

1. Abdul Karim Nur Muhammad.
2. Mohammad Abdul Razâk.
3. Fakir Naâmat Allah Jamil Allah.

(Most of the signatories begin their signature with the word الواحد *i.e.*, the one, *i.e.*, the God. They also add the words من ال حاضرين *i.e.*, "From the persons present." They mean to say that they were present when the measurements, etc., were made.)

4. Tajuddin bin Latfullah.

(Then follow Hindu and Parsee signatures. Most of them add the words સાખ્ય or સાક્ષી *i.e.*, witness after their names.)

5. Anant Nânâbhâi. (This is a Hindu name.)
6. Nâhnâ Changâ ?
7. Shaheryâr Nâgoj (Parsee).
8. Beharâm Faredun (Parsee).
9. Rânji Bahman (Parsee).
10. Dâji Dhayân (Parsee).
11. Kuka Mânak.[1]
12. Mesh Shôl.[1]
13. Kesav Kau.[1]
14. Mâhiâ Mâhiân (Parsee).
15. Nânâ Jâdav.
16. Govand Narân (Hindu).
17. Dhanâ Hira (Parsee!).

We will now examine the contents of this document : —Firstly as to the person Çâdik Muhammed Khân, who issued the order, we find the following particulars about him :—

---

[1] Reading doubtful.

صادق محمد خان Çâdiq Muhammad Khân was one of the great Amirs and commanders of Akbar. He was one of the grandees (No. 43) named by Abul Fazl in his Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. II., Âin 30). Abul Fazl there calls him simply صادق خان Çâdiq Khân.[1] Blochmann says, "Akbar disliked the names Muhammad and Ahmad; hence we find that Abul Fazl leaves them out in this list."[2] "Other Historians call him Câdiq Muhammad Khân. . . . . He was one of the best officers Akbar had."[3] We read in Badâôni.[4]

از رسیدن این خبر فرمان بشاهزاده سلطان مراد بمالوه رفت تا بدارائي گجرات منصوب گردد و محمد صادق خان را بجاي اسمعیل قلي خان بوکالت او نامزد گردانیده از درگاه رخصت دادند وسرکار سورت و بهروچ از تغیر قلیچ خان در وجه جایگیر او [5] مقرر شد

Translation.—"On the arrival of the news,[6] a *farmân* was sent to the Prince Sultân Murâd that he should become governor of Guzrât, and the Emperor having appointed Muhammad Çâdiq Khân in the place of Ismâil Quli Khân as his *wakil*, allowed him to leave the Court. And the province of Surat and Baroach (Broach), on account of the removal of Qulij Khân, was fixed as his *jâgîr*."[7]

This event is described under the events of 1001 Hijri. We thus see that Câdiq Muhammad Khân was appointed under Prince Murad at the head of the Sarkâr of Surat in 1001 H. He continued to serve in this office till he died in 1005.[8] So he appears to have issued this order a few days before his death.

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[1] Blochmann's text I., p. 223, Translation I., p. 355.

[2] *Ibid.*, Translation I., p. 355, n. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 355 and 357.

[4] Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 387, ll. 17-21.

[5] Compare the words وجه جاگیر مقرر شد used here with similar words issued in the two *farmâns* and the *parwânchah*. These words, which Blochmann translates by "was fixed as his *jagir*," seem to be the technical words for similar *farmâns*.

[6] *Viz.*, that Khân-i-Azam Mirza Kokah (Mirza Kokah, one of the signatories on the 1st Farmân, *vide* above, p. 111), who was the Governor of Gujrat, had suddenly left his post and gone to make a pilgrimage to Mecca.

[7] Lowe's Translation II., p. 401.

[8] Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari I., p. 357.

He is called nâmdâr, but if we read the word پایدار pâidâr (*i.e.*, holder of the foot), it seems to be a title or a post in the king's service. At one time he was called رکابدار *Rikabdâr*, *i.e.*, spur-holder. This was a post he held in Bairam's service.

The first three documents were the documents from the King's own Court. They were what we can call Imperial documents. The fourth document under consideration is not Imperial, but what we may call Provincial. But it is very important in this point, that it speaks more particularly, of the 200 *bigâhs*, allotted previously to Dastur Meherji Rana. It seems that on Kaikobad's going to the *Sárkar* of Surat, armed with the very farmân of His Majesty (dated 1003 Hijri) in the matter of the 200 *bigâhs* granted to his father and 100 to him personally, the Nawâb of that district issued an order that the original land granted to Meherji Rana may be ascertained and fixed on the authority of well-informed persons. It seems, that on the death of Meherji Râna, Kaikobad was not allowed to remain in peaceful occupation of the place, so he must have gone personally to the Court of Akbar and obtained the *farmân* of the Shah. This inquiry was the result of the *farmân*.

Having given the text and translation of the Persian documents—two *farmâns*, one *parwanchah*, and one *nakzar*—of King Akbar's time referring to the original grant of 200 *bigâhs* of land to Dastur Meherji Rana, and having examined their contents, we will now examine some of the Gujarati documents referred to in the paper. The documents have an important bearing on the subject-proper of the paper. But apart from that, they will be found interesting from several points of view. To the student of the Gujarati language, they present specimens of Gujarati, especially Parsee Gujarati, written about 300 years ago. Again they throw side-lights on some religious customs of the day. In the case of the Persian documents, I have given their photo-litho facsimiles and have reproduced them in types in the same way as they are written. In the case of these Gujarati documents also, I have given their photo-litho facsimiles, but in reproducing them in types, I have changed a little the old forms of letters and have given them in a way as can be best read now by the Gujarati reader. In case of old archaic forms I have given in foot-notes their modern forms. I give the documents and their translations in the order in which they are referred to in the paper.

[1] Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari I., p. 355.

(*Document No. 5. The first agreement (of 1635 samvat) that refers to Dastur Meherji Rana as the head of the priests.*)

નૌસારીના મોબેદો દસ્તુર મેહેરજી રાનાને પોતા વડા ગણેછે તે બાબેનો પેહેલો લેખ).

સંમસ્ત અંજમંન નુસારીનાં જોગ લ. સંમસ્ત હેરબુદ જત શ્રોસ ત. નવ[1]સો નવાઢે જે હેરબુદ આપસાની નુબતે[2] નવાઢે તે એ· શ્રી મેહેરજી રાંણાને હજુર પુછી નવસો દીએ ત· શ્રોસ ઈજે તે પુછી ઈજે, પોત[3]દાર વરાંએ શ્રોસ ત· નવસોનાં દોકડા જે આવે તે પોતદાર આલે[4] તે વરાંએ બીજું કોઈ નહી આલે[4] જે આલે[4] તે અંજમંનનુ ગુનાહગાર શ્રોસ ઈજે ત· નવસો દીએ તે એ· શ્રી મેહેરજી વાછાને પુછી દીએ· નહી પુછે તે અંજમંનનુ ગુનાહગાર· રોજ ગુરબાદ માહ તીર સંવત ૧૬૩૫ વર્ખે કતબે સંમસ્ત હેરબુદ

૧[5]

૧ મોબદ ખુરસેદ (સા)

૧ ચાંદણાં કાકા (મતુ)

૧ પદમ રૂસ્તમ (મતુ)

૧ મોબદ સાબેર

૧ બહેરામ જેસંગ

૧ આ. ધમપાલ[6] કામદીન

૧ બહમન હોશંગ

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[1] તબા નવમે *Nav-shó*, the sacred bath given every third day in the Barashnum ceremony of nine days. Perhaps نوشو, *i.e.*, a new bath (شويدن) or from Avesta *nava-shaθ*, *i.e.* (the ceremony of) 9 nights.

[2] વારી પ્રમાણે نوبت turn.

[3] વહીવટ. The person to whose lot the turn comes, or perhaps پوتدار from پوته a treasury. The man who collects all income to be afterwards divided according to shares.

[4] The word આલવું in the sense of 'to give, to bring,' is still used in Nowsari.

[5] In the signatures in the Gujarati documents, I put into brackets those words at the end of names which do not form a part of the names, but signify different meanings which the signatories wish to convey. In these signatures આ. is for આચીર્યા *i.e.*, priests, ક. or કા. is for કબ્તંગ *i.e.*, writer. This word is sometimes written in full, in various ways, such as કબ્તંગ or કબ્તમ. The word કાતેબ كاتب also 'signifies writer.' It also is variously written as કાતબ or કાતબે or કાતબે. The word કી also is found appended to names. It is a Gujarati form of appellation still used among Hindus.

[6] or મરેપાલ.

૧ નુશેરવાંન યાશદન
૧ ચાંદણાં કાંમદીન પેનપાલ
૧ આ. રાણાં પેશીતન
૧ આ. મેહેરજી ચાંદજી
૧ આ. ખુરસેદ બહેરામ ભાઈઆ
૧ આ. બહાંન બહેરામ

Translation of the first agreement.

To the whole of the Anjuman of Naôsâri. Writers (are) all the Herbads (*i.e.*, priests). To wit. When they perform Sraôsh (ceremony) and give the sacred bath, the priest, who gives the bath according to his turn, shall give the bath, after asking the permission of Meherji Rana. And when he performs the Sraôsh ceremony he shall perform it after asking (him). The persons, entitled in turn, may bring the Dokdâ (*i.e.*, the share of fees), which may come to their share for the Sraôsh and sacred bath. No persons, other than these, shall take them. He who will take them will be a wrong-doer before the Anjuman. He who performs the Sraôsh and gives the sacred baths, must ask Meherji Vachcha before doing so. He, who would do that, without asking him, shall be a wrong-doer before the Anjuman. *Rôz* Guâd *mah* Tir *Samvat* 1635[1] Written by all Herbads.

(Signed)—Mobad Khoorsed. Chândnâ Kâkâ. Padam Rustam. Mobad Sâhêr. Baherâm Jesang. Dhampâl (or Gharpâl) Kâmdin. Bahman Hoshang. Nushervân Yâshdain (Âsdin). Chândnâ Kâmdin Dhanpâl. Rana Peshitan. Meherji Chandji. Khoorshed Bahêrâm Bhâlyâ. Bahman Baherâm.

(*Document No. 6. The second agreement (of 1636 samvat) which refers to Dastur Meherji Rana as the head of the priests.*)

(નૌસારીનાં મોબેદો દસતુર મહેરજી રાનાને વડાં ગણેછે તે બાબેનો (સવંત ૧૬૩૬ નો) બીજો લેખ)

શ્રી અંજમન નુસારીનાં જોગ્ય લા. હેરબુદ સમસ્ત જત અંગીયારીની રાસ વેહેવા તા. ઘસ્રર્ણાં તા. સરોશ તા. શેમ્બાવ તા. સંજાના તા. નવસો તથા બગર તા. અંગીઆરી સંબંધી જે કાંઈ આવે તે એ. શ્રીમહેરજી વાછાની તસલીમ[2] કીધું. એ. શ્રી મેહરજી વાછાની બગેર[3] રજા કંઈ અગીયારી સંબંધી

[1] *i.e.*, 12th March 1579. Parsee Prakâsh, p. 8.

[2] تسليم conceding, granting. મોપ્યું.

[3] بغير without બગર.

ઉઆલે[1] વંગા પુછે[2] કામ કરે તે વરસ ૧ એક લગે ભાગથી અલગુ. ખેયાંન[3]ત-
ચુગ[4] પકરે, તે દોકડુ ૧ લીએ તેહેનાં બમંનાં ખેયાંનત આપે. એ નામુ એ.
શ્રી મહેરજી વાછાની તસલીમ કીધું. એ લખાથી ચુકે તે અંજમંનનું ગુકુનેગાર.
એ નામુ એ. મહેરજીની શેહેતે રહે સહી. રોજ મેહેર મા. દેએ સંવત ૧૬૩૬
છતરીશા વર્ષે.

પેઇયાં ચાંદજી શાખ્યે	૧
	૧
	૧
	૧
	૧ બહાંન ચાંદા (મતુ)
	૧ આ. પેસીતન ચાંદા (લખ્તંમ)
	૧ અ. બહેરામ જેસંગ. (લખતં)
	૧ લા. આ. પદમ રૂસ્તમ
	૧ અ. કર્ઇકબાદ મહીઆર
	આ. ચાંદણાં કાકા (લખતંમ)
	૧ આ. ઘરપાલ કામદીન(લખતંમ)
	૧ લા. આ. શાપુર આસા
	૧ લા. આ. ચાંદણાં કામડીન ધન-પાલ (સાખ)
	૧ લા. આ. ખુરસેદ બહેરામ મ-હીઆર
	૧ નુશેરવાન યાગદૈન (લખ્તંમ)
	૧ આદર રાણા (કતબે[5])
	૧ લ. બહાન હોશંગ
	૧ આ. મોબદ સાબેર (મતુ)[6]
	૧ નરસંગ રામજી[7]

[1] ઉઆલે. The latter part of the word આલે, (bring) is the same as in the previous agreement. So it may be another form of the same word or it may be some word from آلیدن to recede, to depart from an agreement.

[2] વગર પુછે.

[3] خیانت fraud.

[4] Perhaps چوک a profound inclination or genuflexion before the King; humility; or ચુક a mistake; or perhaps read ચુકપ ફિ The meaning seems to be dishonesty.

[5] કતબે is the same as લખતંમ. Like લા. or લખતંમ it either precedes the name or comes after it.

[6] I have put into brackets the words at the end which do not form a part of the names, but simply signify "a witness, a signatory, a writer," &c.

[7] or Rânji રાનજી.

૧ અ. કાકા અસદીઅ (લખતમ)
૧ લા. પેસીતન છીવા (આ.)
૧ નરીમાંન હોમ (સાખ)
૧ આ. ખુરશેદ બહમન (સાખ)
૧ આ. પહોઆં બેહરામ (સાખ)
૧ આ બેહેરામ ફરેદુન

Translation of the second agreement.

To the Anjuman of Naôsâri. Writers all the priests. To wit, (All the affairs of) the income of the Agiâry[1], marriage and remarriage and Sraûsh, and Siâv[2], and Sanjâna[3], and *nan-sâ*, and Bhagar,[4] and all the income in connection with the Agiâry are entrusted to Ervad Meherji Vâchchâ. He, who shall recede from the agreement,[5] or do anything in connection with the Agiâry, without the permission of Ervad Meherji Vâchchâ, and shall do any work without asking him, shall be debarred for one year from his share. He who fraudulently or dishonestly (*i.e.*, without permission) receives any fees, shall have to give two, for every Dokdâ, that he receives.[6] This agreement is given to Ervad Meherji Vâchchâ. He who breaks the terms of this writing shall be a wrong-doer before the Anjuman. This agreement shall remain with Meherji. Signed *Rôz* Meher, *mâh* Deh *Samvat* 1636[7] thirty-six Varkhê.

Dhayân Chandjî (Shâkh, *i.e.*, witness) Bahman Chânda. Pesitan Chânda. Baberâm Jesang. Padam Rustam. Kaûkabad Mahiyâr. Chândnâ Kâkâ. Gharpâl Kâmdin. Shapur Asâ. Chânduâ Kâmdin

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[1] The temple where the religious ceremonies are performed.

[2] Consecrated clothes which are presented to the priests as a part of their fees.

[3] *i.e.*, the fees of ceremonies falling to the lot of the priests, who had come to Naôsâri from Sanjân, with the sacred fire of the first great fire temple founded in India.

[4] *i.e.*, the bhâg or share of fees falling to the lot of the original priests of Naôsâri. "ભાગ પાડવી" *i.e.*, to divide the Bhagar or shares is a term even now used in some places. Out of the sacred breads presented at the fire-temple by different parties for the recital of the Bâjs, the officiating priest removes one from each Bâj and all from the Sraûsh *bâj*. The collection so made is afterwards divided by the priests as a part-payment of their fees.

[5] *Vide* above, p. 149, n. 1.

[6] *i.e.*, for every pice that one receives for secretly performing any religious ceremony, without informing and taking the permission of Meherji, he shall have to pay two as fine. [7] *i.e.*, 1st September 1580.

Dhanpâl. Khoorshed Baherâm Mahiyâr. Nushervân Yâshdain. Adar Rânâ. Bahaman Hoshang. Mobad Sâêr. Narsang Ranji. Kâkâ Asdia. Pesitan Jivâ. Narimân Hôm. Khurshed Bahman. Dhaiyâ Beharâm. Beherâm Farêdun.

(*Document No. 7. An old copy of the document about the proper performance of the ceremonies, wherein Dastur Meherji Rânâ signs at the top*).

ક્રીયાઓ બરાબર કરવા બાબેનો સંવત ૧૬૨૨ નો લેખ જેમાં મેહરજી રાના વડા તરીકે પેહેલી સહી કરેછે).

સમસ્ત શ્રી અંજમન તુશારીના જોગ લખતં શમસ્ત અંધ્યરૂ તથા શમશત હેરબુદ જત આજ પછી જે કોઈ અંધ્યરૂ થાઈ અગીઆરી માહાં ફતરત[1] કરે ભગર લુટી[2] ચોરી કરે બેહેદીનની ફરસ્ત આપણ શી કરી આપણ સિધી લેઈ જાએ[3] તે અનજમનનું ગુનાહગાર અને દીવાનની બેઆનત સમારે. બીજું બાજનુ ધરનાર જેહનું વારૂ[4] હુએ તે દીશ પુહરમાં ખુબ કરી બે[5] પુરમાંહા શરવ બાજ ધરે. બાજ ધરતાં તખશીર નહીં કરે. તેહની બાજ ધરણા શમદ[6] જે લવાજમ સદા છે તે લીએ તે વરા[7]આં કાંઈ અધીક નહીં લીએ. બાજ ધરતાં ઈજરાને હીદોલાને કોઈ દારાહી[8] નહીં દીએ આપણ શી દાદ દાવર આગલ માગે. બીજું સરોશ, રચાવ, વેહેવા, ઘઘરણાં શરવમાંહ જે કોઈ ચોરી કરે તે બી અનજમનનું ગુનાહગાર, દીવાનની બેઆનતસમારે. બીજું ભગર વઢિ તે બાજ ધરીઆ પાખી નહીં વઢિ. બાજ ધરી સર્વ વઢિ લીએ સહી. અસ્પલ ખત વધિ ગ્રપાંલનાય[10] રોજ આદરમાહ અસપંદારમદ સંવત ૧૬૨૨ વર્ષે

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[1] فترة relaxation, remission અપોસ્તાઈ, બેદરકારી.

[2] લુટ. બેદલે આગીઆરીના પ્રગમાં બેદરકારી કરે અને લુટ અપણા બેરી કરે બેદલે અપ્રમાણીકપણુ આપરે. [3] ચોવાનાં હકની સગેલની બાજના દાન ઊપરલ બેહેદીનનાં દાન પોતાનાં કરી પોતાસાપે લઈ જાય, તે બેઆનત (خيانت fraud) માટે જવાબદાર રહે. [4] બારો દોષ, turn.

[5] બેપુર બેદલે બખોર. દીશાપુહર (દાવનહેની શરૂઆત) માં ખુબ કરી બખોર પકડતાં બાજ ધરી રહે.

[6] سمت finding the right way, course, direction, towards. [7] ورا except, besides સીવાય.

[8] داراي keeper, supporter. داراكردن to cause to hold, *i.e.*, કોઈ બાબેમાં નહી (doubtful); અપણા કોઈ અડકે નહીં. કોઈ બાજ ધરતો હોયતો તેનાં કબોરપર જાઈ તેની કોઈને અટકાવ (અપાય) કરે નહીં, પણ તેની સાથે જો કોઈક હોયતો દસતુર દાવર આગલ જઈ ફરીયાદ કરે. Compare this word with the word داراكى used by Badaoni (vide above, p. 145, l. 2 of the Persian passage). The meaning seems to be no body should disturb him while performing the ceremony.

[9] સર્વ. [10] It is an old form of benediction which means that the parties should adhere to the terms of agreement.

૧ કતબે[1] સમસ્ત હેરબુદ અંધ્યારૂ
૧ લા. મહીઆર વાછા
૧ બહમન આ. ચાંદા (કતબુ)
૧ આ. કબેકબાદ મહીઆર
૧ આ. કાકા ફ્રુત[2] આસદીન
૧ લા. આ. પદમ રસ્તમ
૧ રાણાં ચાચા
૧ આ. હોશંગ હોસંગ (લખત)
૧ લા. ફરદીન કાકા
૧ લા. બહમન હોસંગ
૧ લા. શાપુર આશા
૧ આ. અસ્પંદીઆર કાકા શાખ
૧ લખતમ રૂસ્તમ પેણપાલ
૧ લા. મોવદ મેહેરવાન
૧ આ. જેસંગ જાયા
૧ લા. આ. સાબેર બહેરામ
૧ લા. પદમ રૂસ્તમ બહેરામ.
૧ લખતમ કઈઆ મણકા
૧ લા. કામદીન રાણાં
૧ લા. દોહીઆ હોમ
૧ આ. પદમ જીવા (મતુ).
૧ લા. ચાંદણાં કાકા
૧ લા. કામદીન હોસંગ
૧ રાણા નરસંગ
૧ લા. આ. પેશીતન ચાંદા.

Translation of the document about the proper performance of the ceremonies.

To the whole of the Anjuman of Naôsâri.—Writers the priests and all the Herbads. To wit. From this day forward, he, who being a priest, is relax in (his work in) the Agiâry (*i.e.*, fire-temple), or practises dishonesty and fraud in the matter of his share (*bhagar*) appropriates as his own, the *farast*[3] of the Behedin (*i.e.*, the layman) and takes them away with him, shall be a wrong-doer before the Anjuman, and shall be responsible for the loss. Again he, whose

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[1] એટલે લખતમ અથવા લખતર.

[2] ફ્રુતરો. ફ્રુતનો ફ્રુતરો આસદીન એટલે આસદીન ફ્રુત Kâkâ's son Asdin.

[3] Of the draôna (*i.e.*, consecrated breads) some are called fraçast from the word (फ्रशस्ते) *fraçasté* (yaçna VIII-I), on reciting which, it is lifted up by the officiating priest and tasted in the ritual. (Le Zend Avesta par Darmestetter, Vol. I., Introduction LXVI). Out of these sacred breads used in the recital of [illegible] different *Bâjs* (बाज) in honour of different *yazatas*, the priest has the right of taking to his own house, those in the Sraôsh Bâj, *i.e.*, the Bâj in honour of Sraôsha. The other sacred breads consecrated in the other Bâjs, are taken back from the fire-temple to their own houses, by the laymen, who get the ceremony performed. Here it is meant that the priest, who besides taking the sacred breads of the Sraôsh Bâj, over which he has a prescriptive right as a part of payment in kind, takes away other sacred breads also, will be considered as committing a dishonest act.

turn it is to perform the Bâj ceremony, shall perform the Khûb[1] in the *pôhar*[2] of the day and finish all the Bâjs by the second *pôhar* (*i.e.*, noon). He shall commit no faults in the Bâj recitals. He shall take as his proper fee for the Bâj, the usual allowance. He shall not take anything more than that. While performing the Bâj ceremony, he shall not create a disturbance[3] on the Hindolâ (*i.e.*, the stone slab for the performance) of the Yazashné. He shall pray for justice before the Dâvar. Again, he also, who shall be dishonest in the matter of (the fees of) *Sraôsh siâr*, marriage, re-marriage and all (such ceremonies) shall be guilty before the Anjuman. He shall make amends for the loss. Again the distribution of the shares shall not be without the performance of the Bâj. All shall be distributed after the Bâj*. The original agreement may ever be respected.[5]

Rôz Âdar *moh* Aspandâmad *samvat* 1622.

Writers all the Herbads, priests.

(Signed)

Mahyâr Vâchhâ.
Bahman Chânda.
Kaêkabad Mahiyâr.
Kâka's son Âsdin.
Padam Rustam.
Rana Châchâ.
Hoshang Hosang.
Fardin Kâkâ.
Bahman Hosang.
Shâpur Âsâ.
Aspandyâr Kâkâ.
Rustam Dhanpâl.
Movad Meherwân.
Jesang Jâyâ.
Sâcer Baherâm.
Padam Rustam Baherâm.
Kaiya Mankâ.
Kâmdin Rânâ.
Dohiyâ Hôm.
Padam Jivâ.
Chândnâ Kâkâ.
Kâmdin Hosang.
Rânâ Narsang.
Peshitan Chândâ.

[1] Khub is a preparatory ceremony, which a priest must perform in order to be considered as qualified for the performance of several other ceremonies.

[2] پهر watch of the day. The time meant seems to be the first part of the Hâvangâh.

[3] Doubtful! It may mean 'he shall not lean'. The priest who performs the Bâj ceremony has, even now, to do so sitting in a position detached from adjoining sides or things; or it may mean, he shall not go over the Hindôlâ of other priests and disturb them. If he has any grievance against others, he must properly submit them before the Dâvar, *i.e.*, the person deputed to inquire into and do justice in such cases. *Vide* p. 151, n. 8.

* *Vide* p. 150, n. 4. [5] *Vide* p. 151, n. 10.

Document No. 8. (આતશબેહરામમાં ક્રીયા કામ કરતા તાડી નહી પીવા બાબેનો સંવત ૧૬૨૬ નાં લેખ.

The document about abstaining from toddy during one's turn to officiate at the Fire-temple.)

સમસ્ત અંજમન જોગ્ય લા. સમસ્ત હેરબુદ જત હેરબુદ સારતુ[1] થાએ તાડી નહી પીએ જે તાડી પીએ તે બરસમ હાથ નહી ધરે સારણાંથી બાહેર નીકળે, બરશનુમ માંહાંથી બાહેર કલે સહી ને ના કોઇ આતશ બુએ દીએ તે તાડી નહી પીએ. તાડી પીએ તે બરશનુમથી બાહેર નીકલે સહી. રોજ અરદબેહેશ્ત માહ અસપંદારમદ સંવત ૧૬૨૬ વર્ષે જે કોઇ બાજ ધરે તે તેતલા દહાડા આપણસી નુબતે અગીઆરામાંથી રહે તેટલા દહાડા દરવંદ સાથે નહીં અડકે સહી

કતાબે મહીઆર વાછા	૧ કતબે ખુરશેદ બહેરામ
	૧ ક.[3] આ. હમજીઆર પદમ
૧ આ. શાપુર આસા (કાતબે)	૧ કતબે આ. નરસંગ સાએર
	૧ બહેરામ સેહીઆર (કતાબે)
આ. ધરપાલ આ. કામદીન (કતેબ)	૧ આ. કાકા સુત[4]. અસપંદીઆર (કાતેબ)
૧ આ. પેસતન જીવા (કતબે)	૧ (કતબે) પદમ રૂસ્તમ
	૧ મેહેરજી માનક (કાતબે)
	૧ આ. ખુરસેદ અસદીન (કતબ)
	૧ આ. કઇઆ માણક (કાતબે)
	૧ નુશેરવાન આસદીન (કાતબે)
	૧ ચાંદણાં કામદીન (કતબુ)
	૧ રૂસ્તમ સહીઆર (કતબુ)
	૧ મોવદ સાએર (કતબુ)
	૧ કબેકબાદ મહીઆર (કતાબે)

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[1] મારતો, કરાંબ કીયાકામ કરતો. Ar. صرائيدن to chant. માડને ભણતો (cf "ગેદ સ્મરતો, આશીરવાદ સ્મરતો, એટલે સઘળી ક્રીયા કરતો.) The meaning seems to be "when he begins to perform religious ceremonies."

[2] આગ ઉજવાને નિમેરે ભણવાની ક્રીયાયી.

[3] contracted form of કાતેબ كاتب writer.

[4] *Vide* p. 162, n. 2.

[5] The first part of this name is not quite clear. But I think it is the same as that which appears in the old copy of the original of 1622 *Samvat* as કઇઆ મણક. The old copy of *Samvat* 1622 is not a safe guide, because it is not the original itself. I think the name is પદમ, the like of which we find in other names. By the help of the second part of this name here, we can correct the second part (father's name) of the name in the document of 1622 as મણક instead of મણક. The former name is common among Parsees.

Translation.

To the whole of the Anjuman. Writers all the Herbads (priests). To wit. The priest who begins officiating (at the Yaçna ceremony), shall not drink *toddy*. He who drinks *toddy* shall not hold the *barçam* in his hand.[1] He shall be out of the Çârnâ,[2] shall be out of the Barashnûm.[3] And he who performs the ceremony of Bôi before the fire (of the Âtash-Beharâm) shall not drink *toddy*. If he drinks *toddy*, he shall have to be out of the Barashnûm. *Roz* Ardi-behesht *mâh* Aspandarmad *Samvat* 1626. He who performs the Bâj may remain (at his home) from the Agiary during the days of his turn (of office), and shall not come in contact with *darvands* (*i.e.*, non-zoroastrians).

Mahyâr Vâchhâ
Shâpur Âsâ
Gharpâl Kamdin
Pestan Jivâ

Khurshed Baberâm
Hamajiâr Padam
Narsang Sâêr
Baberâm Sahyâr
Kâka's son Aspandyâr
Padam Rustam
Maherji Mânock
Khursed Asdin
Kaiya Mânock
Nusherwan Âsdin
Chandnâ Kâmdin
Rustam Sahyâr
Movad Sâêr
Kaeknabâd Mahyâr.

(*Document No. 9. The document for the assignment of a Wadi at Pipalia to Dastur Meherji Rana.*

દસ્તુર મેહેરેજી રાનાને આપવામાં આવેલી પીપલીઆ મધેની વાડી બાબેનો લેખ.)

સવંત ૧૬૨૯ ઊગણત્રીસોતરા વરખે રોજ હોરમજદ મા શહેરેવર

[1] The برسم (Av. [illegible]) is used only in the Yaçna, Bâj and Vendidâd ceremonies. So to debar one from holding the *barçam*, means that he shall not perform the above ceremonies, *vide* pp. 21-22.

[2] *i.e.*, the higher class of ceremonies in which the barçam is used.

[3] Those who perform the ceremonies in which the barçam is held, have to go through the Barashnûm ceremony.

[4] The figure 29 is repeated in words.

અધે શ્રી નાગમંડળ કરણે[1] પાદશાહા શ્રીઅકબરશાહા ત્રેજ[2] રાજે હવાલે-ખાન શી કલેચ મહમદખાન વ્યાપારે પંચકુળ પ્રજાપતે[3] લા. શા.[4] મંનો-ચહેર બહમન તથા પા. નાગુજ માણક તથા નુશેરવાન આંગા તથા શે.[5] ધૈઆં આસદીન તથા રૂસ્તમ જમશેદ તા. સમસ્ત બેહેદીન અંજમંન તુસા-રીનાં આ. મેહાર વાછા જોગ્ય જત એનામ વાડી પીપલીઆ મધે ભુમી વીંઘાં ૧૦ દસ તાડ ૫૦ પચાસ તા. ખજુરી ૧૦૦ એકસો સાલ પે સાલ[6] એનાંમ પલે[7] દીવાનકનેથી પલાત્રે[7] સમસ્ત બેહેદીન મલી પલાત્રે સહી.

નાગુજ માણક (લખતન)	૧ નરીમાં હોમ (લખતં)
૧ લા. નુશેરવાન આંગા	૧ આત્રોવા ધૈયાં લખતમ
૧ લા. રૂસ્તમ જમશેદ	૧ રાણજી બહમન (શા)
૧ લા. ધઇઆં આશદીન	

Translation.

In the year *Samvat* 1629 *roz* Hormazd *mâh* Shaharévar in Nâgmandal[8] in the time of Pâdshâh Akbar Shâh in the victorious rulership of Kalich Mahmad Khân,[9] the ruler of the trading and all the mixed communities. Writers Manochaher Bahman and Nagôj Mânock and Nusherwân Changâ and Dhaiyân Âsdin and Rustam Jamshed and all of the laymen class of Nadsâri. To Mahyâr Vâchhâ. To Wit, an Inâm[10] wâdi at Pipalia of 10 *bigâhs* of land with 50 palm trees and 100 date trees shall be maintained[11] as *inâm* from year to

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[1] قرن a generation, time, વખત, અકબરબાદશાહનાં વખતમાં.

[2] ત્રિજય victory.

[3] એ મહમદખાનનાં વિષેમાં એ કે "વેપારી પંચકુળ પ્રજાનાં પતી" એટલે વેપારી અને પાંચ વરણની પ્રજાનાં પતી

[4] એ ખા. (અખપાર) અથવા પા. (પારસી) એવા બીજર આવેલા કુલ રૂપનાં એવું રૂપ એ. એ શા તે શાહનું ટુંકું રૂપ એ, એ શબ્દ હલકા હીંદુઓમાં આવની ઉપાધી તરીકે વપરાયેલે. કેટલેક એ પ્રજાઓમાં પણ વપરાય છે.

[5] શે વંચીએ તો સકેત (શેઠ)નું એ રૂપ હોય.

[6] سال بسال એટલે દર વરસે

[7] ફરમી લિખવે. દીવાન કનેથી રાજ્યનાં કરેલી તે કરાવી જમીન તરીકે ધર્મખાતે જુદી રખાવે.

[8] An old name of Nadsâri.

[9] *Vide* p. 157 for this personage.

[10] Inâm انعام According to Badaoni In'âmi-zamînhâ, and In'âmi-dehhâ were some of the old terms applied to lands (Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari I., p. 271).

[11] The word is પાલે. It is P. پالیدن to rear, to purify. The meaning seems to be that they would see that the land may remain in the hand of Meherji Rana for religious purposes as *wâwi* land, free of taxes. To properly understand this document we must read it in relation with another document (p. 158) given to Meherji Rana's father by the laymen. Or the meaning may be એ વાડી એ નામ ઉપર રહે i.e., the wadi may be on this (Meherji Rana's) name.

year. It shall be maintained free from taxes from the Diwân (*i.e.*, the civil authorities). All laymen shall so maintain it free.

(Signed.)

Nagôj Mânock	Nariman Hom
Nusherwan Changâ	Auwa Dhaiyân
Rustam Jamshed[1]	Rânji Bahman (witness)
Dhaiyân Ashdin	

We will examine here, who the officer Kalich (Kalij) Mahamad Khân, alluded to in the above document was.

We learn from the Tabakât-i-Akbari that Kalij Khan was the Governor of Surat at this time (1629 *Samvat*, *i.e.*, 1573-74 A. D.). We read in that book: "Now that His Majesty's mind was set quite at rest by the suppression of rebels, and the reduction of their lofty forts, he turned his attention to the conquest of Gujarât. The order was given for the assembling of the army, and on the 20th Safar, 980, (1573) in the 18th year of the reign, the Emperor started and proceeded . . . . . ."[2] The conquest of Surat "was effected on the 23rd Shawwâl in the year 980. Next day the Emperor went on to inspect the fortress . . . . . on the same day he placed the custody of the fort and the government of the country in the hands of Kalij Khân."[3]

Elliot gives the name in the above passage as Kalij Khan, but the text of the Tabakât-i-Akbari gives the full name as قلیج محمد خان Kalij Mahâmad Khân, as we find it in the text of the document. Elliot's translation is too free. The passage about this officer's appointment is as follows:—

و بهانروز نام حکومت و حراست قلعر سورت و آن[4] ناحیر را اقتدار قلیج محمد خان کر بشرف و منزلت اختصاص دارد تفویض شد[5]

i.e., on that very day the Government and the custody of the

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[1] On comparing his signature in the original (*vide* the photo-litho) with his name as written in the body of the document, we find that both are very similar. So I think that the document is in the handwriting of this person.

[2] Elliot's History of India, Vol. I., p. 340.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 350-351.

[4] ناحیر neighbourhood, surrounding country.

[5] Munshi Newul Kishore's text of 1875, p. 299, ll. 4-5.

fortress of Surat and its neighbourhood, were confided to the trust of Kalij Mahâmad Khân, who has great distinction in honour and dignity.

This original passage of the Tabakât-i-Akbari shows, that the full name of the officer was the same as that which the document gives, and that he was placed in charge not only of Surat, but of its neighbourhood, of which Naûsâri forms a part. The Tabakât-i-Akbari speaks of him as the jâgirdâr of Surat.

"When the Emperor had settled the affairs of Gujarât, and had returned to his capital, the disaffected and rebellious men . . . once more raised their heads. . . . Kalij Khân, who was jâgirdâr of the fort (Surat), made it secure and prepared for a siege."[1]

In the events of the 23rd year of the reign, Elliot also gives his full name as Muhammad Kalij Khân.[2] Under the events of the 29th year of the reign, we still find him named as the "Jâgirdâr of Surat."[3]

(*Document No.* 10. *Document assigning a Wadi to Rana Jeshang.*
રાણા જેસંગને એક વાડી ધર્મખાતે આપવા બાબેનો લેખ.)
૭૪॥ શ્રી દીનનીખાતર બેહદીવાને...

સંવત ૧૫૭૬ છુતરા વર્ષે મા બહમન રોજ બહમન અદેહ[4] શ્રી નાગમંડલ કથે[5] પાતશાહ શ્રી સુલતાન મજફરશાહ બ્યજરાજે અમલ મલક શ્રી ઈબ્રામ નસીર બ્યાપારે પંચકુલ પ્રજપતે લખતં શ્રી માણક ચાંગા વ[6] આ.[7] આસદીન મેહેરવાન વ[6] શ્રી પૈયાં રાણાં વ[6] શ્રી રાણાં જમાસ વ[6] શ્રી આસા બહેરામ વ માણક બહેરામ વ[6] ઓ. ખુરશેદ ચાચા વ[6] બહેરામ સામર વ સમરુલોક વ[6] નૈયા રાણા વ મા.[8] મહેરવાન એવંદ રાણા જેસંગ જોગ્ય જત તાડ વ ભુમી

[1] Elliot, V., p. 360. [2] *Ibid*, p. 404. [3] *Ibid*, p. 431.

[4] In the similar document of Meherji Rana (No. 9) અને *adhe*. Perhaps સંસ્કૃત અધ *i.e.*, "now, then" signifying 'at the time'.

[5] For કથે, *vide* document No. 9 p. 156 n. 1 આગળના વિભાગમાં.

[6] This word is Persian, વ 'and' used for Gujrati 'અને' or 'વા' used in the other similar document of Meherji Rana (No. 9).

[7] આ. doubtful, perhaps contracted form for આસા Av. [illegible].

[8] મા. This seems to be a contracted form of a word like મા. for મોભીઆ પા. for પારસી, શ્રી for શ્રેષ્ઠ or શ્રી., મો. for મોભદ. Perhaps it is the contracted form of the Gujrati word મોર or મોરજી *i.e.*, a priest. It seems, that this word was at one time applied to Parsee priests by their laymen, because the word મોરાણી is still sometimes used for a wife of a priest, who prepares sacred breads, &c., for the ritual. Perhaps the word મોર was specially applied to those priests who prepared દરન *darunas* or sacred breads and sacred food used in the ritual.

અનામ[1] તાડ ૧૦૦ તથા ભૂમી વીંઘા ૧૦ દસ એક તાડ સુપ્ત[2] રહે. રાણા જેસંગને સાલ પે સાલ પાલે[3] તાડ વ ભૂમી ન માલા પાએ[4] સાલ ૫ સાલ પાલે સમસ્ત બહેદીન મલી પાલે સહી એ વાત કલ[5] કાવલ[6] નહી દીવાનથી પલાવે. સમસ્ત એક દીઘરાં[7] થાઈ પલાવે.

૧ લખતં માણક ચાંગા
૧ લા. આસદીન મહેરવાન
૧ લખતં ધેઈયાં રાણા સેહી[8]
૧ લા. રાણા જામાસ[9]
૧ લખતં ખુરસેદ ચાચા
૧ લા. માણક બહેરામ
૧ લે. આશા બહેરામ
૧ લા. નઈઆ રાણા ધઈઆં
૧ લખત. બેરામ સાગર
૧ લ. બહેરામ રાણા

Translation.

For the sake of religion, Babadîns.[10]

By the name of God.

In the year *Samvat* 1576 at the time of month (*mâh*) Bahman, day (*rôz*) Bahman, in Nâgmandal, in the time of the

[1] ઇનામની ભુમી કા. انعام. According to Badâôni Inâm-i-Zamîna, In'âm-i-Dehhâ were some of the terms used before the Moghuls. (Blochmann's Ain-i Âkbari I., p. 271.)

[2] સોપેલી રહે P. سفتہ *safta* 'gift.'

[3] پالیدن to rear, educate; to purify. પાલ. The meaning seems to be that they would see that it remains in the hand of Rana Jesang for the above religious purpose (દીનની ખાતર) from year to year, free of taxes.

[4] "ન માલા પાએ" એટલે "ન માલે માલેર" *i.e.*, કર વગર. I think it is the corrupted form of فرمال سایر *i.e.*, without miscellaneous revenues, *i.e.*, free of tax. For the words مال માલ *mâl*, and سایر *vide* above, p. 98.

[5] کل *kal*, trouble, injustice, a heavy burden.

[6] Perhaps قول *qâuvl* speakers. The meaning seems to be that "there should be no troubles and questions or inquiries in the matter."

[7] یک دگری uniting one with another, *i.e.*, in concert with one another.

[8] Or perhaps સેહ. An old copy of this document reads it સેહ.

The document seems to be in the handwriting of this man, because on comparing the names of the signatories, as written in the body of the document, with their own signatures at the bottom of the document, we find, that in the case of all signatories, their names and signatures differ a little in style and form, but in the case of this રાણા જામાસ Râna Jâmâs they resemble a good deal.

[10] Doubtful. Perhaps for بر دیوانی *i.e.*, civil matter.

victorious[1] rulership of Padshâh Sultân Muzaffar Shâh,[2] in the rule of king Ibhrâm Naçir,[2] the ruler of the trading and all mixed communities. Writers Manock Chângâ,[3] and Âsdin Meherwân and Dhaiyân Rânâ and Rânâ Jamâs and Âsâ Baherâm and Manock Baherâm and Khurshed Châchâ and Baherâm Sâgar and the whole of the community and Naiyâ Rânâ and Meherwan.[4] To Ervad Rânâ Jesang. To wit, palm-trees and Inâm land, 100 palm trees and 10 *bigâhs* of land may be given. It (*i.e.*, the land) shall be kept with Rânâ Jesang free of taxes from year to year. The palm trees and the land shall be maintained free of taxes from year to year. All the laymen together shall maintain it free of taxes. There shall be no trouble and bother about it. It shall be kept free from the civil authorities. All uniting one with another shall maintain it free.

(Signed)—

Manock Chângâ
Âsdin Meherwân
Dhaiyân Rana
Rânâ Jâmâs

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[1] ઇફર ફતહ, ઇફર is the same as ફીરોજ meaning 'victorious.'

[2] *Vide* below, p. 161 for this personage.

[3] For notes on some of the words of this document, *vide* the footnotes under the Gujarati document, p. 158-59.

[4] This man seems to have been popularly known as ગો. મેહરવાન Go or Gor Meherwan, but his real name seems to be બેહરામ રાણા Behrâm Rânâ, because he puts down his signature as such. There are ten persons named in the body of the document and these ten persons sign the document. In the signatures the order is changed a little. The first four signatories sign in the order of their names in the document. Then the fifth signatory ખુરશેદ ચાચા Khoorsed Châchâ is the seventh in the order of the names in the document, and the eighth signatory આસા બેહરામ Âsâ Behrâm is the fifth in the body of the document. Then the eighth and ninth persons બેહરામ સાગર Behrâm Sâgar and નેયા રાણા Nayiâ Rânâ in the document similarly change places as signatories. Naiyâ Rânâ signs seventh as નેયા રાણા ધાયાં Naiyâ Rana Dhaiyân. Then the tenth or the last person on the list ગો. મેહરવાન Go. Meherwân signs as બેહરામ રાણા Behram Rânâ. This shows then that ગો. મેહરવાન Go Meherwan must be his popular name, while his real name was Behrâm Rana. Again, we find that the writer seems to have first intended to close his list with the 8th person Behrâm Sâgar because he has put after this name the words સમસ્તલોક *i. e.*, "and all the community or all the people," but after writing these words he has added the above two names of the ninth and tenth signatories.

Khurshed Châchâ
Manock Baherâm
Naiyâ Rânâ Dhalyân
Asa Behrâm
Berâm Sâgar
Baherâm Rânâ

The king (Padshâh) Sultan Muzaffar Shâh referred to in this document of *Samvat* 1576 (1520 A. D.) is the Sultan Muhammad Muzaffar of Gujarat. He is one of the five Mahomedan kings, referred to by Bâbar in his Tuzak-i-Bâbari, as ruling in India when he conquered the country. He says, "At the period when I conquered that country, five Musulmân kings and two Pagans exercised royal authority. Although there were many small and inconsiderable *Râis* and *Râjâs* in the hills and woody country, yet these were the chief and the only ones of importance. One of these powers was the Afghâns, whose Government included the capital. . . . . The second prince was Sultân Muhammad Muzaffar in Gujarât. He had departed this life a few days before Sultân Ibrâhim's[1] defeat. He was a prince well skilled in learning, and fond of reading the *hadis* (or traditions)."[2] He is known in history,[3] as Muzaffar II. He reigned in Gujarât for 15 years from A.D. 1511 (917 Hijri) to 1526.

The king ઈબ્રાહિમ નસીર Ibhrâm Nasir seems to be Ibrâhim Lodi.

(*Document No.* 11. દીવ લખેલો કાગળ. *The letter to Diu wherein Dastur Meherji Râna is referred to as the leading priest.*)

લ. મ.[4] કાકા શ્રુત[5] આસદીન બહેદીન દીવના સમસ્ત કે બ[6] પહાના એ એજદાં બાદ જત બ[7] ચાંદિ ક્યામદીન હુ લીએ[8] અગ્યારી મહિ અહો જ (ન)

[1] Ibrahim Lodi whom he defeated in 1526 in the battle of Pânipat.

[2] Elliot IV. p. 259.

[3] Elphinstone's History of India, 5th Edition, by Cowell, p. 765.

[4] Contracted from લખ્યાન અંપીઆદ.

[5] A son. Kaka's son Asdin કાકાનો દીકરો અસદીન. અસદીનમાં.

[6] Looks like ન but it is 'બ.' Compare it with the first letter in the word બયાનુમ in l. 6 of the original بينانُ يزدان باد

[7] Doubtful. Perhaps બે.

[8] Doubtful. Perhaps અત બે બાંધ ક્યામદીન હુ લીએ (જેથી ખબરી લાવે)

ચાર બેઠા હતા તેહાં એમ કહિઉ જે દીવનાં સમસ્ત બેહેદીને કહ્યું જે એક હેવેદ બરશનુમ સુ[1] આંહાં આવે તે બાજ પણું તા. બેહેસારણું કરે અહ્માંરાં મુઆંની નિમત[2] આફ્રીગાન કરે તેહેની અહમો જેહે વાહુ[3] તેહેવી તેહેની તતબુ[4] કહે તે વાત કીધા પર એ. શ્રી મહેરજી રાંણાં નુએક શુડવી[5] તાકીદ કરી દીનનાં કામ ચાલતાં કરવા મોકલઈએ છે ખુબ છે લાએક છે ડાહ્ય[6] છે સાંસતુ[7] છે જેહવુ આપણો દીને જોઈએ તેહવું છે. એહની તતબુ એહના કેલ[8] જોઇ કરેજો સહી રો.[9] ગુઆદ મા. આદર સંવત ૧૬૪૬ વર્ષે.

સમસ્ત બહેદીન નએ[10] અહ્માંરૂં પનાહે અજદાં બાદ કતેબુ[11]

Translation.

"Writer priest[12] Kâkâ's son Asdin. To all the Bahadins (*i.e.*, laymen) of Din. May they be in the protection of God. To wit, two persons (*viz.*) Chanda Kiamdin with myself (*i.e.*, altogether), we four persons had sat together in the Agiâry (*i.e.*, fire-temple). There it was said that all the Bahadins of Diu have said that "a Herbad (*i.e.*, priest) with Barashnum,[13] may come here, that he may perform the Bâj and Gehsârnâ[14] ceremony, that he may perform the Afringân ceremony, for the repose of our dead, and that we will continue,[15] him as you will fix." On these words being said

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[1] સુપા.

[2] نيمت *nimat* sleep, slumber (peace) મુઆંની સાંતી માટે or for نيت *niyat* નીયત intention.

[3] ? واچيدن to collect, to pick out. જે મુકરર કેલ. Or it can be read જેહેના હુટે (for પટે) doubtful.

[4] P. تتبع searching diligently, continuation પાછુ રાખવો. હેવી *i.e.*, જેવી રીતે પટે તેવી રીતે.

[5] Doubtful reading, *vide* p. 163, n. 1.

[6] For દાહ્યો wise. બેહનેદ મારો છે, લાયક છે, ડાહ્યો છે, પનાહ છે.

[7] شايستگر શાયસ્તે worthy, fit. Or perhaps 'patient' as in પીરો સાંસતો

[8] કામ فعل work. એનાં પગ જેવ જેની પેઠડી પાછુ રાખજા.

[9] રોજ روز

[10] نيئت *niyat*, aiming at, intention. નઇયતે, માટે, or towards.

[11] of the كاتب *i.e.*, the writer. અમો લખનારની પનાહ પનાહ બાદ.

[12] અ. Contraction of બેહેદુરે andhilrao, *i.e.*, priest.

[13] *i.e.*, an officiating priest who had gone through the Barashnum ceremony.

[14] The funeral prayers to be recited near a dead body before its being removed to the Tower of Silence. The prayer recited is yaçna Chaps. XXVIII to XXXIV.

[15] If you read it તતબુ it is تتبع *tatabba*, searching diligently, continuation, or it may be corruption of તનખા تنخواه stipend.

Ervad Meherji Râná agreed [1] and has hastened to send (a priest) for carrying on religious rites (lit. affairs). He is a good, fit, wise, (and) worthy man. He is just what is required for our religion. Continue him (in your service) looking to his work. *Rôz* Guâd *mâh* Adar year *samvat* 1646. May our good wishes be for the protection of God upon all Behdins."

Having given above, copies of the documents referred to in the paper, I will now give here the colophons of some of the manuscripts, and extracts of letters, &c., referred to therein.

(Colophon of the old manuscript of 1792 A. D., which contains Tansen's song—*vide* above, p. 42.)

એ કેતાબ રામ તા. કબીત તા. ચંપરઘાચનો કીશો વગેરે તમામ થાઈ શ્રી રોજ આબાં ઈજદ માહા મુબારક બહમન અમિશાશપંદ શને ૧૧૬૧૬અ જદજરદીનાં. ૧૮૪૮ આખાડ વદ ૧૩ શેમે તમાં કીધી. એ કેતાબને લખાવનાર નેકનામ, નેક નઈએત, દીન દોશત, આલી હીમત, અશો પરવર, રોશન તાલે બેહેદીન શ્રીજમશેદજી મુરથમાં મકાંની કુકાજી પોતે પોતાનાં મુતાલે[2] તા. વાચવા ખાહેશ કરી લખાવી શહી. એ કેતાબનો લખનાર કમતરીન ખાકશાર મોબેદ જાદે મુબેદ બેહેરામ વલદે મોબેદ જીજી શુરતનો રેહનારાએ લખી શહી. એ કેતાબ જે કોઈ વાંચે તે ભુલચુક દેખે તાંહાં શમારે શહી.[3]

(Tansen's song about Dastur Meherji Râná—*vide* above, p. 42, copied from f. 81b. of the above old manuscript.)

(એ રામ શારંગ છે બપોરના ગાએ)

ઈઆહૂ પારશી પઢે શો કબૂલ,
ઈઆ ધેથી પારશી પઢે શો કબૂલ.
અગરકી પીઠ ચંદન લપેટેલ.
જેશોઈ શૂખડ પેડ.
ઈઆહૂ પારશી પઢે શો કબૂલ.

---

[1] Perhaps એક શુદ્ધ વી તારીક કરી. P. یک شد و تاکید کرد એકમત થય અને તારીક કીધી. [2] مطالع reading, study, અભ્યાસ.

[3] Colophon at the end, folio 237b—238. The book has in all 239 folios with 13 lines in a page. From folio 202 we have the story of Changragâcha, an Indian sage, who is said to have visited the Court of King Gushtâsp to discuss religious matters with Zoroaster. The writer calls his book "રાગ તા. કબીત તા. ચંપરઘાચનો કીશો" *i.e.*, the book of songs and poems, and of the story of Changragâcha. For Changragâcha and for his visit, *vide* "Zoroastre, Essai sur la Philosophie Religieuse de la Perse, par M. Joachim Ménant" (1857), pp. 57, &c. Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Irân, by Prof. Jackson, pp. 85—88.

લંબી લંબી દાઢાડી શાહ મેહેરીઆર.

તેરી મુખપર બરશત નૂર.

ઈઆહૂ પારશી પઢે શો કબૂલ.

કેહે તો મીરાં તાંન શંસ.

શૂનો શાહ અકબર.

ઈઆહી બેહેશતો કો ફૂલ.

ઈઆહૂ પારશી પઢે શો કબૂલ.

(Translation of the song of Tansen.)

Oh Lord![1] the Parsee's prayer is accepted,
Oh Master! the Parsee's prayer is accepted.
The back of *agar*[2] and sandalwood is put round it,
With it there is a piece of sandalwood.[3]
Oh Lord! the Parsee's prayer is accepted.
Shâh Meheryâr![4] you have a long beard,
Glory rains over your face.
Oh Lord! the Parsee's prayer is accepted.
Miân Tansen says,
Oh King Akbar! hear me,
He is the flower of the paradise,
Oh Lord! the Parsee's prayer is accepted.

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[1] Yâ-hû, *i.e.*, Oh God — *Vide* Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 170. "His Majesty passed whole nights in thoughts of God; he continually occupied himself with pronouncing the names *Yâ hu* and *Yâ hadi*." The word here seems to be originally Ahu (Avesta [illegible]), and it is applied in Persian even to kings. The song being transcribed in Gujrati, its language and orthography may not be quite correct. [2] *Agar* (aloe wood) is a kind of fragrant twig.

[3] The meaning of this second distich is not quite clear, but it seems to tell how the Parsee Meheryâr (another proper form of Meherji) referred to in the song said his prayers, placing fragrant wood and twigs in the fire.

[4] For the word Shâh, *vide* above, p. 156, n. 4.

(Mahârâjâ Sir Sourendro Mohun Tagore's letter, about Tansen's song—*vide* above, p. 44.)

Hara Kumara Bhabana,
Pathuria Ghata Raj Bati,
Calcutta, 6th February 1902.

To

J. JAMSHEDJI MODI, Esqre.,

DEAR SIR,—I am of opinion, so far as my humble belief goes, that the song which you had sent me as Tansen's is, as I already wired to you, his. Though the language is not that in which he ordinarily composed his songs, yet from the construction and general style of the piece, the song affords internal evidence of being the composition of that great singer. The piece, I understand, is sung in the Sâranga Ragini, and if this tune has been traditionally handed down, this is another proof of the piece being Tansen's, for *Darbâri Kânârâ* and Sâranga are known to have been his favourite Raginis.

Yours truly,

(Sd.) SOURENDRO MOHUN TAGORE,

Mus. Doc. Oxon.

Extracts from letters of Drs. West, Geldner and Mills, with reference to the alleged ignorance of the Parsees of Gujrât in the 16th Century—vide *above*, p. 52.

Dr. West says : —

"I have carefully read the contents of the Newspaper Cuttings, and need only say that my opinions, regarding the matters in dispute, practically coincide with those expressed by the writers whose signatures are Ed. Ochiltree, Junior, and J. O. E.[1] . . . . .

"Regarding the alleged ignorance and incapacity of the Gujerat Parsis, both priests and laity, in the 16th century, I believe that such an accusation would be a gross exaggeration of the actual facts. It appears to be based upon certain statements made in the

[1] Prof. S. H. Hodiwala's letters to the *Bombay Gazette*, in its issues of 24th August, 30th and 31st October, 5th November and 7th December 1896. His letter in the issue of 5th November 1896 is worth studying. Therein he has produced a number of instances as evidence to show that "even in those ages, supposed to be so dark, there were Parsees possessing a knowledge, not only of Sanscrit, but of Zend and Pahlavi"—*vide* below, p. 167, for his views on the general charge of ignorance,

Rivayets brought by Nareman Hoshang from Iran in 1478 and 1486. Strictly speaking, these were written about a century before the time of Meherji Rana, but it will be instructive to consider how far they were correct in their own time.

"One of the Iranian Scribes of the Rivayet of 1478 wrote in Persian as follows :—

"For this reason I have not written these things in Pahlavi writing, inasmuch as Nareman Hoshang said and declared that perhaps (*magar*) priests and laymen of the Mazda-worshippers of Nausari, Kambay, Broach, Surat, and Anklesar may not be understanding Pahlavi writing. He said there are laymen of these towns, and even priests, who perchance do not understand Pahlavi writing." But the earlier part of the same Rivayet contains a Pazand colloquy between Zaratusht and Ormazd, written in Avesta characters, also some extracts from the Gathas in Avesta and Pazand, as well as occasional Pahlavi phrases, with plenty of Persian. This free use of Avesta and Persian writing, and even some Pahlavi, clearly shows that the Iranian scribe had no real fear of not being understood by the Indian Parsis (whose vernacular was old Gujerati, and to whom even Persian was a foreign language) unless he used too much Pahlavi.

"With regard to the questions taken to Yezd by Nareman Hoshang, it seems to me (judging from the replies to about forty, which may be found scattered about in various parts of Darab Hormazyar's Rivayet Collection) that the queries, propounded by the Indian Parsis, do generally imply not so much any ignorance on the part of their priests, as an increasing reluctance on the part of the laity to comply with their teachings and decisions. The laity, living among those of other religions, would naturally find many of the precautionary observances and customs, enjoined by their own priesthood both troublesome and oppressive. Under such circumstances, the priests and more conservative elders would at last find it necessary to refer the principal matters in dispute to their brethren in Iran, so as to have their opinion to quote among their own more unruly members.

"If the Indian Parsi priesthood had been really ignorant and indifferent about their religion, they would not have undertaken the trouble and expense of referring such matters to a higher Court of

Appeal, such as the Iranian priesthood must have appeared to be to the Indian Parsis. And the questions, thus referred, seldom involve any of the great fundamental dogmas of the Parsi religion, but are nearly always confined to details of ritual and purification, or to matters of casuistry.

"The same may be said of all the other Rivayets and writings which were obtained from Iran, from time to time, during the next two centuries. They all indicate the deep interest which the Parsi priests and laity took in the preservation of their religion, and in obtaining copies of rare manuscripts from Iran." (Extract from Dr. West's letter, dated Maple Lodge, Watford, June 10th, 1898, to Mr. Mancherji Palanji Kutar.)

Dr. Geldner says:—

". . . . It may be that such Dastur lived in the obscure corner of Gujerat. With Brahmins and Jews also, it is also often the case that the real traditional knowledge lived on in corners. In certain Indian Dastur families the knowledge of Pahlavi must have remained traditional. Where otherwise—to mention only one—would the venerable Dastur Hoshangji in Poona, the teacher of the Europeans, have acquired his knowledge of the Pahlavi? Consequently a learned Pahlavi scholar was very well able to explain the doctrines of Zorosster to the great Mogul in a convincing manner.

"The Revayets, too, do not always treat elementary subjects, but often some with very important questions. cf. Sacred Books of the East. Vol. XXXVII., pp. 419, &c. They frequently give the authoritative decisions of the learned Dasturs in Iran.

"It is reported that Jâmâsp brought the Farvardin Yasht to India in 1721, which was said to have been lost there. This loss can only refer to certain congregations and not to the Parsees of India in general. The fact is that this Yasht existed in India at that time in several copies, and partly in a better state than the Persian MS. gave, but it was possibly kept secret by the owners." (Extract from Dr. Geldner's letter, dated Berlin, 25th August 1898, to Mr. Mancherji P. Kutar.)

Prof. S. H. Hodiwala says:—

". . . . . Every scholar in fact knows that Pahlavi and Pazand manuscripts of the sixteenth century are comparatively numerous. May

we not ask the meanings of these facts? May we not ask why so many of these copies were taken at Navsari? May we not ask why these copies should have been so carefully multiplied, if the ignorance in Gujerat was so universal that no one, whether priest or layman, could read or understand them? Perhaps, it will be said that merely copying manuscripts requires no knowledge of the language on the part of the scribe. This is certainly not strictly true, but even if it were, what can be the object of having work copied if nobody can make any use of them? . . . . . Besides the colophons of many of these transcripts contain express statements as to their having been made by priests for their own use—a fact which certainly militates against this theory of universal ignorance. But this is not all. We have something more than mere copies of the sacred texts. . . . . These efforts were really the earliest manifestations of a kind of literary activity whose ampler fruits we possess in the works of Hormuzdyar and his son Darab, of Rustam Peshotan, and many others in the next century" (Extract from a letter to the *Bombay Gazette* in its issue of 5th November 1896).

Dr. Mills says:—

". . . . . A highly intelligent traditional knowledge existed among Parsi priests at the time of Akbar, and before and after. And Akbar would certainly not have been so foolish as to get a Parsi who knew nothing to inform him." (Extract from Dr. Mills' letter, dated 119, Essex Road, Oxford, May 25, 1898, to Mr. Mancherji Paloji Kutar.)

(Colophons of Pazend and Persian manuscripts written by Rânâ Jesang, the father, and Kaikobâd, the son, of Dastur Meherji Rana, *vide* above, p. 68.)

I have come across three old Pazend and Persian manuscript books which tend to show that the family of Dastur Meherji Rana was a learned family. They had that amount of learning which one may expect in those times from learned priests. Besides Gujrâti the language of their country, and Avesta, the language of their scriptures, they knew Pazend and Persian languages.

The first old manuscript that I want to draw attention to, is an old manuscript of the Pazend Jâmâspi written by Rana Jesang, the father of Dastur Meherji Rana. It belongs to the first Dastur

Meherji Rana Library of Naosari.[1] I give below the colophon in Persian given at the end of the book. It gives its date as *roz* Meher, *mah* Ardibehesht, year 873 Yazdajardi (1560 *Samvat*), *i.e.*, 1504 A.D.

(Colophon of the manuscript of the Pazend Jamâspi written by Rana Jesang, the father of Dastur Meherji Rana.)

تمام شد این [2] کاتب جاماسپي من دین بندهٔ از کمترین خاک رویان
رانان بن هربد جیسنگ بن هربد دادا بن هربد جیسنگ بن هربد موبد
بن هربد قیام دین بن هربد موبد بن هربد کامدین بن هربد زرتشت بن
موبد هرمزدیار بن هربد رامیار از نسخه دیر زیوشني هربد کروا بن
[3] بیکجیو بهروجي نوشتم از جهت دانشني نوفو پنکیانرا و کرفه وخشني
بهدینانرا تن درستي دیر زیشني ایو په گیتي اشو په مینوی روانرا
گرور تماني باد روز مهر وماه اردیبهشت سال هشصد هفتاد سه بهندیوی سال

संवत १५६० वर्षे रोज महिर मा. अर्दबहिश्त पारसी संवत ८७६ वर्षे.

Translation.

Completed. I am the writer of Jâmâspi, I a servant of the religion from the humblest of the dust-faced,[4] I Rana, son of Herbad Jesang, son of Herbad Dâdâ, son of Herbad Jesang, son of Herbad Mobad, son of Herbad Kayâmdin, son of Herbad Mobad, son of Herbad Kâmdin, son of Herbad Zartusht, son of Mobad Harmazdyâr, son of Herbad Râmyâr. I have written it from a copy of Herbad Karvâ (may he live long), son of Bikajiv of Broach, for the knowledge of new preceptors and for the increase of righteousness of the Behdins (*i.e.*, the Zoroastrians). May there be health of body, long life, *i.e.*, in this physical world, may they be righteous, (and) in the spiritual world may their souls attain paradise. *Roz* Meher, *mah* Ardibehesht year eight hundred and seventy-three. In Indian year *Samvat* 1560 *roz* Meher, *mah* Ardibehesht, Parsee era 873.

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[1] *Vide* the catalogue of the library published in 1894, Gujrati list of Pahlavi, Pazend and Persian manuscripts, p. 62, manuscript No. 9.

[2] One may take it as miswritten for كتاب and complete the sentence at the next word جاماسپي, but the sentence must be completed with the words تمام شد

[3] For either Bhicâji or Vicâji.

[4] Khâk-ruyân. It may be khâk-rubân. A term of humility, an equivalent of خاکسار

The manuscript is written in Pazend and the colophon in Persian. This shows that Rana Jesang knew languages other than the language of the country, the Gujrati.

The next manuscript written by Rana Jesang is that of the Bahman-nameh.[1] It belongs to Mr. Minocherjee Burjorjee Pavree. It has 378 folios, *i.e.*, 756 pages, with 13 couplets in a page.[2] Its colophon at the end, giving the name of the writer and its date, runs thus:—

تمام شد این کتاب بهمن نامه ایو پنتو ایواشهي[3] تمام شد این داستان
شاه بهمن بن اسفندیار شاه ملوک ایران بیزدان کام باد فرجیه پدرود
شادی و رامشني و دیوزیوشني من دین بنده کاتب الحروف پیربد رانان
بن پیربد جیسنگ بن پیربد دادا از گوهر موبد هورمزیار پیربد راعیار
اندر قصبه نوساري در عهد مسعود شاه سلطان بن لطیف خان
برادرزاده بهادر شاه سلطان بروز آستاد و ماه آذر سال نهصد پانزده
از تاریخ ایزدزرد شهریار و شهود سنه خمس خمسین تسع ماه و بندی
سال سموت سول چود و تره (folio 378a, l. 13.)

Translation.

This book of Bahman Nâmah is finished. There is only one path which is that of virtue (or piety).

This narrative of king Bahman, the son of Asfandyar, the king of the kings of Irân, is finished. May it be according to the wish of God. Finished with good wishes, joy and pleasure and long life. I a servant of the religion, the writer of these writings (am) Herbad Ranâ, the son of Herbad Jesang, the son of Herbad Dâdâ from the family stock of Mobed Hormazyâr, (son of) Herbed Râmyâr, in the city

[1] Le Livre des Rois par M. Mohl, Vol. I., Preface, p. LXVIII.

[2] This gives (756 × 13 =) 9828 couplets or distiches. M. Mohl says: "Le Bahman-nameh contient à peu près dix mille distiques." *Ibid.*

[3] It is the first line, written in Persian characters, of the following Avesta proverb, which is found at the end of several old Parsee manuscripts.

i.e., there is only one path of virtue. All other paths are no paths. The Pahlavi rendering of it is :—

of Naosari, in the time of Mahmûd Shâh[1] Satân bin (*i.e.*, son of) Latif Khân, the nephew of Bahâdur Shâh Sultan, on day Âstâd and month Âdar, year nine hundred and fifteen, of the era of Yazdagird Sheheryâr. Friday,[2] year 955 (Hijri),[3] Hindi year *Samvat* sixteen hundred and two.

The third manuscript I wish to refer to, is an old manuscript of the Persian Darâb-nameh,[4] belonging to Mr. Mâhiar Nowroji Kutâr. The manuscript is dated 1025 Yazdajardi (A.D. 1656). It appears from this manuscript that Dastur Kaikobad, the son of Dastur Meherji Rana, had taken a copy of the Persian Dârâb-nâmeh from the libraryof king Akbar. Dastur Kaikobad's own manuscript is not to be found, but the old manuscript of 1656 notes the fact.[5] It is a MS. of 266 folios with 25 lines in a page.

The following lines in the colophon narrate the way in which the manuscript came to be written :—

تمت تمام بذالکتاب دارابنامه درسنه الف..... شهر شعبان یوم یکشنبه بتاریخ سیوم وقت فجر بخط بشوتن ابن فریدون لقب اروپسگاپان در قصبه نوساری تحریر یافت فرجبد بدرود و شادی وراهشنی روز رشن ماه مهر مبارک سال اور یکهزار و بیست و پنج از شهنشاه یزدگرد شهریار از تخمه ساسان ابن ادرشیر ابن اسفندیار ابن کشتاسپ نوشته شد

श्रीमं नृप विक्रमार्क समयातीत सवत १७१२ वर्षे शाके १५७८ प्रवर्त्तमाने उत्तरायन गते श्री सूर्ये सन्मागल्य परदे परम पद पवित्र जेष्ठ मासे शुक्लपक्षे पंचमी तीथौ रविवासरे पुष्य नक्षत्रे ध्रुव योगे बवकरणे एवं पंचांग शुधौ रविर्गते वर्षे राशौ

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[1] This Mahmûd Shâh was Mahmûd III. of Gujrât, who reigned for 16 years from 1538 A.D. (944 Hijri) to 1553-54 (961 Hijri). Elphinstone says on this point, "Bahâdurshâh's natural heir was his nephew Mahmûd, the son of Latif Khân." (Elphinstone's History of India, Fifth edition, by Cowell (1866).

[2] شهوند *shahâd*, Friday.

[3] خمس *khamsa* five. خمسین fifty. تسع *tisa* 'nine.' ما one hundred. So the whole number is, $5+50+9\times100=955$.

[4] Le Livre des Rois, par M. Mohl, Vol. I, Preface, p. lxxiv.

[5] The following lines in the colophon give the date of the manuscript :—

فرجبد بدرود و شادی وراهشنی روز رشن ماه مهرمبارک سال اور یک هزار و بیست و پنج از شهنشاه یزدگرد شهریار

चंद्र गते कर्क राशौ एवं शुभ्यं श्री दाराबनामः पुस्तकं लिखितं फरेदून सुत पेशुतं न लिखितं समाहा.[1]

چون این کتاب جان افزا در بلاد ہند وغیرہ غریب است
از آتش کم کسی بدیدہ وازین مشکین نقاب دلربا مشام اہل تاتار
و خطا بوئی نشنیدہ در اکثر امصار و بلدان انرا ہیچ کس نداشتہ
و نیافتہ مگر بکتب خانهٔ شریفہ حضرت بادشاہ ..... جلال الدنیا
والدین محمد اکبر بادشاہ غازی خلدالله تعلی ملکہ ابدا بنظر اندر
آمد و چون اشتیاق این کتاب نادر مقبول خاطر بجناب مکرمت آیاب ...
سعادت دثار مفخر اہل فارس یعنی نوشیروان ابن بہمن شاہ پارسی
ساکن قصبہ نوساری طول عمرہ وزاد قدرہ فوق الحد بود بنوشتن
اشارت ارزانی فرمود بنابر حکم ایشان اقل العباد کیقباد ابن
مہیار پارسی کمر خدمتکاری برمیان جان استوار کردہ سعی تمام و
کوشش لاکلام بجای آوردہ تا از روی آن منقول فریب مسودہ شکستہ
بمتہ بسمت تحریر یافتہ بود و ازان مسودہ ... خواجگی حبو رضی الله عنہ
بخط عبدالرحمان در برکنہ پا تسوت رقم کنانیدہ بود بس آن کتاب بدست
مرزا بن مرزا محمد زمان آمدہ ازان مسودہ این کتاب تحریر یافت
بخط بشوتن برای خود (Folio 266 a, l. 20.)

Translation.

"Finished this[2] book of Dârâb-nâmeh in the year one thousand

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[1] I give below the correct rendering of the Sanskrit in modern Gujrati types, and its translation as kindly done for me by a friend. My English translation is rendered from the Gujrati version.

શ્રીમન્ નૃપ વિક્રમાદિ સમયાતીત સંવત ૧૭૧૨ વર્ષે શાકે ૧૫૭૮ પ્રવર્તમાને ઉત્તરાયણ ગતે શ્રીસૂર્યે સત્ ભાદ્રપદ માસે પરમ પદ પવિત્ર સેક માસે શુક્ર પક્ષે પંચમી તીથૌ રવિવાસરે પુષ્ય નક્ષત્રે મુત યોગે બાલ કરણે એવં પંચાંગ શુધ્ધૌ સ્વો ગતે વૃષરાશૌ પંડગતે કર્ક રાશૌ એવં શુધ્યમ્ શ્રી દારાબનામ પુસ્તકમ્ લિખીતમ્ ફરેદુન સુત પેશુતન લિખિતમ્ સમ્.

અર્થ.

શ્રીમાન રાજા વીક્રમાદિના સમયને ૧૭૧૨ વર્ષ વર્યા ત્યારે, અને શાકીવાનના શકનું વર્ષ ૧૫૭૮ પ્રવર્તતું હતું ત્યારે, અને સૂર્ય ઉત્તરાયણમાં હતો ત્યારે, સમા ભગવાને આપનાર મહા પવિત્ર સેક શુદ ૫ રવિવાર પુષ્ય નક્ષત્ર, મુતયોગ, બાલકરણ, હતા. એ પ્રમાણે પંચાંગ શુધ્ધી હતી ત્યારે રવી વૃષભ રાશીમાં હતો અને કર્ક રાશીમાં હતો, ત્યારે આ દારાબનામનું પુસ્તક ફરેદુનના પુત્ર પેશુતને લખ્યું. શુભમાસ્તુ.

[2] ایں hasâ.

. . . . . .[1] in month Shâbân,[2] on day Sunday, on the 30th day at the time of morning. Written by the hand of Beshôtan,[3] son of Faridun surnamed Arvisgahân,[4] in the town of Naosari. Finished with good wishes, joy, and pleasure. Written on the day Rashna, auspicious month Meher, year 1025 of king Yazdagard Sheheryâr of the line of descent of Sâsân, the son of Ardeshir, son of Asfandyâr, son of Gushtâsp.

In the year 1712 of the glorious king Vikramark, in the year 1578 of Sâlivân era, when the sun was in the winter solstice, on the true auspicious holy day *Jeth Shâd* 5 Sunday, *Pushya nakshatra*,[5] *Dhruva yôga*,[6] *Bav Karana*.[7] When the positions of the heavenly bodies, according to the calendar, were in these proper positions, the sun was in the Taurus and the moon in the Cancer. It was then that this book of Dârâb-nâmeh was written by Peshutan, the son of Faridun. May it be auspicious.

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[1] There is a gap which the writer seems to have thought of filling up later on. The number of the year in Arabic words cannot be written at once by a Parsee without a reference to books. This seems to be the cause of this gap.

[2] The 8th Arabic month.

[3] Same as Peshôtan.

[4] ارویسگاه *arvisgâh* is the place where the Parsee priests perform the ceremony of Yaçna, Vendidâd, &c. The writer seems to have taken his surname from this word, because perhaps he belonged to the class of priests who performed those ceremonies. It is not all the priests who perform these ceremonies. He seems to have taken this surname just as others even nowadays take their surnames, such as Mobedji or Dastur from their work or profession. I find from a manuscript Persian book (*vide* colophon of the tract چند ابیات درباب رحمت گوید) on miscellaneous subjects belonging to Mr. M. R. Unwala written in 1012 Yazdazardi that Arvisgâhân was used as a surname. In this manuscript, the writer gives his name as موبد زاده موبد جمشید پن مهرنوش لقب ارویسگاهان The manuscript begins with Persian couplets under the heading

اندر گفت سي وسه اعشاسقند

[5] The 8th lunar mansion.

[6] Polar junction.

[7] *Karana* "is a division of the day in astrology. These *Karanas* are eleven."

[1] . . . As this soul-reviving book is rare in the cities of India, etc., one has seen very little of it, and as (even) the people of Tâtâr and Khatâ have not smelt the perfume of this heart-ravishing musky veil, (and) as nobody got it or acquired it in most of the great cities and towns, but it was seen in the library of His Majesty the noble king,[a] . . . . . the splendour of the country and of religion Mahomed Akbar Bâdshâh Gazi, the exalted of the great God, of the everlasting royalty, and as the desire of having this rare book was dear to the heart of a great man possessing generosity . . .[2] clothed [3] with happiness, glorious among the people of Pars (the Parsees), *viz.*, Noshirwan,[4] the son of Baman Shâh, a Parsee inhabitant of the town of Naosari, who was (a man) of excellent glory,[5] and unlimited[6] innate power,[7] he ordered[8] it to be written. So according to his order, his obedient servant[9] Kaikobâd bin Mahiyâr, Parsee, tying the belt of service strongly on the waist of his life, tried his best and endeavoured a good deal, so that from the copy of the abovesaid rare manuscript eaten by worms (lit. torn by moth *matta* مطّ) he wrote a copy correctly.[10] And from that copy

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[1] A portion of the page being spoilt, a word here is not legible.

[a] The portions omitted are in the praise of the book and of the king and they do not give any further particulars about the history of the manuscript.

[3] دثار upper garment.

[4] He seems to be the great grandson of the well-known Châng-âshâh of Naosari. His father is called Bahman Shâh. Shâh seems to be the appellation or title of honour by which his father Mânock and his grandfather Châng-â were known as Mânock Shâh and Châng-â Shâh. Shâh is a common term of respect. They say it is even now used in Afghanistân. Among the Bhâtiâs, a sect of the Hindus, it is generally used before a name in place of 'Mr.' It appears that this family took an interest in the ancient literature of their fatherland. We learn from the Parsee Prakâsh (Vol. I., p. 7) that Bahaman Mânock, the father of this Noshirwan and Mânock Châng-â his grandfather, had got the Virâf-nameh rendered into Persian verse by one Kâus Farîborz bin Nowroz from Yezd.

[5] طول excellent, long, and عمرة crown, tiara.

[6] فوق الحد *fauqu 'l-hadd*, beyond measure.

[7] زاد born and قدرة power, strength.

[8] ارزانی فرمودن to order, اشارت sign, signal.

[9] اقل least. عباد *ibâd*, servant, holyman, devotee.

[10] سمت Finding the right way.

Khajagi Hapu — may God pardon[1] him — got a copy made by the hand of Abdul Rahmân in the *paraganah* of Hansôt.[2] Then[3] the book having come into the hand of Mirzâ bin Mirza Mahammad Zamân, this book was written from that manuscript by the hand of Peshutan for himself.

It appears from the colophon of this old Persian manuscript that Kaikobad, the son of Dastur Meherji Rana, had taken a copy of this book from the library of king Akbar. It is said that laudatory poems were composed by Kaikobâd in honour of Jehangier and Prince Khurram (afterwards Shâh-Jehan), and that he had visited the Mogul Court in the time of Jehangier also. Anyhow this old manuscript shows that Kaikobâd was versed in Persian, and that he also had visited the Court of Akbar later on.

From the different documents, manuscripts and books that we have produced as evidence in this paper, we have prepared the following chronological table about the different events of Dastur Meherji Rana's life :—

Date.				EVENTS.
A.D.	Yazdajardi.	Samvat.	Hijri.	
1563	922	.....	.....	In the Revâyet, known as Kâus Kâmdin's Revâyet, Dastur Meherji Rana's name is mentioned first in the address (*vide* p. 64 of this paper).
1566	.....	1622	.....	In an agreement about the proper performance of religious ceremonies, his signature stands first (*vide* p. 62).
1570	.....	1625	.....	In an agreement to abstain from the drink of *toddy*, while engaged in certain rituals, he signs first (*vide* pp. 62-63).
1570	.....	.....	.....	In a letter from Persia brought by Faredun Murzban, and given in the Revâyet his name is mentioned first (*vide* pp. 63-64).

[1] lit. May God be contented (razi) with his faults (عذت)

[2] A town near Broach.

[3] پس for پس

Date.				EVENTS.
A.D.	Yazdajardi.	Samvat.	Hijri.	
1573	.....	1629	.....	By an agreement by the laymen of Naosari, land in a place known as Pipalia-wadi, is given to him as the head of the community for religious purposes (*vide* p. 63).
1578	.....	.....	986	Badaoni mentions under the events of this year, the event of the coming of the Naosari priests to the court of Akbar. He mentions this event in this year as a past event, so he must have gone there either this year or the year before (*vide* pp. 9-12).
1579	.....	1635	.....	The date of the first document of the Naosari priests in which they speak of him as their head (*vide* p. 46).
1580	.....	1636	.....	The date of the second document to the same effect (*vide* p. 46).
1590	.....	1646	.....	The date of a letter to Din, wherein he is referred to as the head (*vide* p. 48).
1591	960	.....	.....	Death.

From the different documents, manuscripts and books that we have produced as evidence in this paper, to show that Meherji Rana's family was a well-known family, we have prepared the following chronological table about the different events of the life of Rana Jesang, the father of Dastur Meherji Rana:—

Date.				EVENTS.
A. D.	Yazdajardi.	Samvat.	Hijri.	
1504	873	1560	.....	Rana Jesang wrote the manuscript of Pazend Jamaspi (*vide* p. 169).
1520	.....	1576	.....	He was given a piece of land by the laymen of Naosari for religious purposes (*vide* pp. 65-66 of this paper).
1527	896	.....	.....	The date of Shapur Asa's Revayet, in which Rana Jesang is addressed first (*vide* pp. 66-68 of this paper).
1546	915	1602	955	The date of his manuscript of the Persian Bahman-nâmeh (*vide* p. 170).

Chronological List of Events in the life of Dastur Kaikobad, the son of Dastur Meherji Rana.

A.D.	Yazdajardi.	Samvat.	Hijri.	
1565-66	.....	1622	.....	Signs with his father and other priests the document for the proper performance of religious ceremonies, wherein his father signs at the top (*vide* pp. 151-52).
1570	.....	1626	.....	Signs with his father an agreement to abstain from *fowlay* while engaged in the Âtash Behrâm and other ceremonies.
1580	.....	1636	.....	Signs with other priests the second document, acknowledging his father Dastur Meherji Rana as the head of the priesthood (*vide* pp. 149-50).
1591	.....	.....	.....	He came to Dastarship on his father's death.
1595	.....	.....	1003	Akbar's first farmân in his name (*vide* p. 95).
.....	.....	.....	1005	The محضر *mahzar* for inquiry, Hijri 1005 (*vide* p. 141).
1603	.....	.....	1011	The second farmân (*vide* p. 121).
1603	.....	.....	1012	The Farwanchah (*vide* p. 134).
29-10-1619	12-12-988	.....	.....	Death.

Art. IX.—*The Shahee dialect of Arabic.* By Lt.-Colonel A. S. G. Jayakar, I.M.S. *(Retired)*, M.R.A.S.

(Communicated, April 1902.)

The most northern extremity of the province of 'Oman, which consists of an almost triangular tract of land having for its base an imaginary line drawn from the seaport town of Dabá on the shores of the Gulf of 'Oman to Galeel near Rás-ul-Kheimá on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and for its apex Rás Masandam, may be considered in a dialectical point of view specially apart from the Batineh coast of 'Oman on the one hand and the Pirate coast in the Persian Gulf on the other. This mountainous and rocky tract called the Roos-ul-Jibál is inhabited by several tribes which go under the generic name of ash-Shahooh, and speak a dialect of Arabic so totally different from that of their close neighbours on either side, as to deserve more than a passing notice.

Some of these tribes, as will be observed from their names, were evidently originally offshoots from the 'Omanee tribes, but by their long-continued residence among the Shahooh, have now become thoroughly incorporated with the original inhabitants of the place, so that though they still retain their original tribal names, the language they speak is the common dialect of the place. Palgrave speaks of the inhabitants of Roos-ul-Jibál in general as "a strange set," and says in regard to their dialect that his Arab associate and guide Yoosuf called it "Lissan-ot-teyyoor," "bird's speech."[1] This latter remark is more particularly applicable to the language of one small tribe included in the generic name of Shahooh, which speaks in addition to the dialect common to the place a peculiar and unintelligible dialect of its own. The Kamázareh, which is the name of this tribe, live principally at Khaṣab and Kamzár, and are ethnologically and dialectically distinct from the general Shahooh group; and although the principal features of their dialect will be noticed at the end, the chief object of this paper is to show the main characteristics of the general Shahee dialect.

[1] Central and Eastern Arabia, Vol. II.

The Shahooh themselves claim to have descended from Málik bin Fahm, the first Azdee immigrant to 'Oman from Al-Yaman through Shah bin Málik, as alleged by them, but history does not seem to favour such a claim, as Málik bin Fahm is not known to have had any son or direct descendant bearing a name which would give a clue to their tribal name. Sheikh 'Alee bin Muhammad, one of their learned men, however, on the strength of the general belief which obtains among them of their having originally come from Sabá (Shebá) in Al-Yaman, and of their being the descendants of a Málik, suggests that they are most probably the descendants of Shajeej (شَجِيج) bin 'Adee bin Málik bin Zeid bin Sahl bin 'Amr Seifee bin Sabá the younger bin Ka'b, &c.[1], and that their name Shahooh (شَحُوح, *sing.* Shahee شَحِي) is most probably derived from Shaheeh, a corruption of Shajeej. This explanation, interesting as it is in a dialectical point of view, as an instance of the conversion of ج into ح, with the great tendency of the Shahee dialect, and for that matter to a certain extent of many of the modern dialects of Arabic, to an interchange of letters and abbreviation of words, appears to be a plausible one also, though it seems difficult to believe that the Shahooh could have thus abbreviated the name of their original ancestor from Shaheeh to Shah by eliding the last syllable of it.

Whatever may have been their exact origin, there appears to be a strong presumption for the belief that they have descended from some of the original immigrants from Al-Yaman and that having been isolated in some manner from the 'Omanee and other surrounding tribes, they have retained in some respects the features of the dialect they brought with them, and in other respects developed features which are foreign to Arabic, perhaps through constant intercourse with the inhabitants of the Persian coast. It is, however, certain that the legendary explanation of their origin as given by themselves cannot be maintained in the case of the Kamázarch whose dialectical peculiarities and physical features betray a foreign origin.

As is the case with the 'Omanee tribes which are classed under the two great political factions — the Ḥináwee and Gáfree — the Shahooh are also divided into two great political divisions, — the

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[1] According to the genealogy as given in Vol. II. of العقد الفريد of Shihab-ud-deen Ahmad al-Andalusee under the head of the genealogy of the Arabs.

Beni Shiteir and Beni Hidiyyeh. The following are the tribes at present included in the Shahooh group :—

Beni Shiteir.

Al-Kamázareh
Beni Murreh
Al-Kiyasheh
Beni al-Aṣam
Ahal Leemeh
Al-Khanábileh
Ahal Salhad
Al-Mahábeeb
Al-Muḳádileh
Beni al-'Urwah
Beni Jum'ah bin Sá'id
Ahal Sh'am
Aḍ Ḍahoorieen (in alliance with the Kamázareh)
Ahal Maḳám (half)

Beni Hidiyyeh.

Beni Sa'eed
Beni 'Alee
Al-Khanázireh
Beni Ḥamm* Sálim
Al-Ḥaboos
Beni Judeid
Ash-Shirádineh
Beni Zubboh
Beni Kamál
Beni Hamm* 'Abeid
Ahal Makám (half)

Of all these tribes, the tribe of Beni Sa'eed, though numerically a small one, consisting as it does now of only about thirty or forty men, is politically by far the most important one, as it is the only tribe believed to represent the original Shahooh, and therefore to possess the right of furnishing the general Sheikh for the Shahooh group.

* Ḥamm stands for Muḥammad in this dialect.

The principal places on the coast occupied by these tribes are Dabá, Leemeh, Kamzár, Khaṣab, Kadá, al-Jaree, al-Jádee, Bukhá, Faḍgá, Gamḍá, Teebát, Sha'm, Galeeleh and Khore Khuweir.

The dialect of Arabic spoken by these tribes, as might be expected, has a strong affinity to the 'Ománee dialect, but both the alphabetical and etymological variations from it are so many that to enumerate them all would be beyond the scope of a paper of this kind. We shall therefore restrict ourselves to such of the prominent variations as give to the Shaḥee dialect its peculiar character and value.

As in the 'Ománee dialect the initial ا is sometimes altogether elided, but whilst in the 'Ománee dialect it is often substituted by either و or ء, in this dialect the letter substituted for it is invariably ف, a characteristic of the Yamánee dialect; thus أَيْن (*where*) becomes وَيْن or فَيْن in the 'Ománee dialect and فَيْن in the Shahee dialect. The letter *hamzeh* sometimes becomes converted into ء and itself and ا often serve as substitutes for ع, thus instead of شُوبُوب, (*a shower* of rain), وَاعِي (Om. *awaie*) and بَعْجَل (*quickly*), we have شُهْبُوب وَأَي and بَاجَل

The letter ث is invariably substituted by ت, thus ثَوْب (*cloth*) ثَقَل (he *pressed* in this dialect), وَثَق (he *closed* in this dialect) and بَحَث (he *dug*) become تَوْب , تَقَل , وَتَق and بَحَت

The letters ج , ح and خ are interchangeable as in some other modern dialects of Arabic.

د often takes the place of ذ and is sometimes substituted for ز, thus in دُلُول (*tame* in this dialect) the د evidently stands for ذ, and in ابوقدح (a *rainbow* in this dialect) for ز.

The sound of the letter ر when medial or final is one of the most remarkable features of this dialect, showing as it does a great tendency to assimilating it to the sound of the letter ڈ in the Indian languages, which tendency reaches its acme in the Kamzáree dialect. Thus, the words طُرُق, خُبُر, ضُرُب &c., are pronounced as if they were written as طُڈُق, خُبُڈ, ضُڈُب &c. As an initial letter it

takes the place of غ and ل in رِيطَة (Om. غِيطَة = *mud*) and لَقَط (لَقَط = he *picked*); and in مَنْجَل (a *cauldron*) the ن evidently stands for the ر of the standard Arabic word مِرْجَل.

The Beni Ḥamm 'Abeid invariably pronounce the letter ش as س, and the latter letter often takes the place of ص in this dialect.

Initial ع generally becomes ا and medial ع becomes ى, ا or *hamzeh*: thus بَاجِل (*quickly*), أَمّ (a *master* as of a slave), أَيْل (a *slave*) أَرْبَة (*four*), سَبَة (*seven*), أَشْرَة (*ten*), stand for بِعَجِل, عَمّ, نَعل, أَرْبَعَة, سَبْعَة and عَشْرَة.

The letter غ is sometimes converted into ر or ل, as in رِيطَة or لِيطَة (*mud*), which is a corruption of غِيطَة. It is sometimes altogether elided as in the imperfect tense of the verb بَغَى (he *wanted*); thus, هُومَاتَبَا (*ho-má-tabá* = *what do you want?*). It may, however, be here noted that the Shahee women generally pronounce the غ distinctly in expressions like the above one, and that it is mostly elided by the men.

The letter ي is sometimes converted into ج; thus, يَابِس (*dry, arid*) becomes جَابِس. In the 'Ománee dialect, on the contrary, ج sometimes becomes ي.

Beside these important alphabetical variations, the reader will be able to detect others of a minor importance in the vocabulary given at the end.

The etymological peculiarities of this dialect are numerous and often vary among the different tribes, so that it is difficult to deduce from them any rules which would include all of them. The most important variations from the standard and 'Ománee dialects only will therefore be here noticed, so as to give a general idea of the dialectical features.

The most remarkable variation as regards number is, that the dual number is often expressed by the plural form of the noun with

the word ثنين (*two*) added to it, and that when the regular dual form is used the word ثنين is still used with it; thus, ثنين سكينين (*two knives*). Similarly the plural number is often preceded by the word هبشي (*many, much*) or followed by وبيد (*many, much*), which is evidently done to give emphasis to the sense; thus, هبشي سكاكين (knives), قلامة وبيد (pens).

The following are some of the forms of the broken plurals of triliteral nouns, both masculine and feminine, in common use :—

Singular.	*Plural.*	*Plural measure.*
طحف (a *gale*)	طحوف	فعول
لحم (a *shark*)	لحوم	
معرقة (a *throat*)	معارق	مفاعل
حبة (a kiss)...	حبون	فعلون
قطوة (a cat)...	قطو	فعل
ندبة (a present)	ندب	
قماطة (a centipede)	قماميط	فعاعيل
مسقب (a club)	مساقب	مفاعل
سترة (a courtyard)	ستار	فعال
صيبة (a fastness)	صيب	فعل
بناى (a potter)	بناية	فعالة
ثوب (a shirt)	ثواب	فعال
شخط (a lucifer-match)	شخاط	
كنة (a sleeve)	كنان	فعال
جفرة (a pit)...	جفار	فعال

The regular plurals of both the masculine and feminine nouns are formed in the usual way, but in the case of the latter there is a great tendency to treat them as irregular nouns.

The vowel of the Diminutive is invariably *kasreh* as in the 'Ománee dialect; thus, كُلَيْب (*a small dog*), جُبَيْل (*a small mountain*), &c. It may be here observed that a word indicative of the diminutive nature of the thing expressed is sometimes added, evidently for the sake of conveying a clear meaning as in the case of the dual and plural numbers, thus صُنَيْدِق شُشُوْن (*a small box*).

The separate personal pronouns are as follow, though their pronunciation differs a little amongst the different tribes :—

	Singular.	*Plural.*
3rd P.	Masc. هَاهُ or هُوَ (*hoh*).	Com. gend. هُم or هِم
	Fem. هِي (*hey*).	
2nd P.	Masc. إِنْت	أَنْتُو or أَنْتُون
	Fem. أَنْتِن or أَنْتِين	أَنْتِن
1st P.	Com. gend. أَنَا, أَوْنَا or أَوْن	Com. gend. حُنِين

The dual is formed as in the case of nouns by the addition of the word تِنَيْن (*two*) to the plural number, thus أَنْتُون تِنَيْن (*you two*).

The affixed possessive pronouns are the same as in standard Arabic, with a slight variation in their pronunciation, but in addition to them the separate pronouns are also used, as is sometimes the case in the 'Ománee dialect; thus كِتَابِي أَنَا (*my book*), كِتَابِك إِنْت (*thy book*)' كِتَابُهْ هُو (*his book*), كِتَابُهَا هِي &c. The first personal plural affix, however, among some of the tribes is وْ; thus كِتَابُوْ حُنِين (*our book*).

The Demonstrative Pronouns are :—

	Singular.	*Plural.*
This	Masc. دُوْ, هُدُوْ or هَادُوْ	Com. gend. هُدِينَا or هُدِينُوْ
	Fem. هُدِي	

	Singular.	Plural.
That	Masc. هُدُوك or دُوك Fem. هُدِيك	Com. gend. هدينوك or هدينَاك

The Ḥadar generally substitute ه for ذ in the demonstrative pronouns as in many other words containing the latter letter.

The Relative Pronoun is اَلَّذِي, being the same in both the genders and both the numbers.

The Interrogative Pronoun *what* is expressed by هُوم and *who* by مَن; thus هُوم دُو (*what is this?*)

The Cardinal numerals are :—

One	وَاحِي	*Seven*	سَبْعَة
Two	تِنِي or تِنَين	*Eight*	ثَمَانِيَه
Three	ثَلَاث	*Nine*	تِسْعَه
Four	اربا or اربَعَه	*Ten*	اشْرَه
Five	خَمْس	*Eleven*	حَدَاشَر
Six	سِت	*Twenty*	إشْرِين
		Hundred	إمِيه

The Ordinal numerals are expressed as حَادِي , ثَانِي , ثَالَث , رَابَا , خَامَس &c., &c.

The months of the year, with the exception of the four months Rabee'a al-Awwal, Rabe'a al-Ākhir, Jumáda-al-Awwal and Jumádá al-Ākhir, which together are called اربَاة المَوَالِيد, are the same as in standard Arabic. Rabe'a al-Awal is called مَولُود الأول or أول مَولُود, Rabe'a al-Ākhir مَولُود الثَّاني or ثَانِي مَولُود, Jumádá al-Awwal ثَالَث مَولُود or مَولُود الثَّالَث and Jumádá al-Ākhir رَابَا مَولُود or مَولُود الرَّابَا. Ramaḍán is called either رَمَضَان or مَرْضَان

Considering the general nature of the dialect which varies even among the different tribes of which the Shahooh group is composed, the variations to which the verb is subject in its inflexion ought not to excite any surprise. Although the model of inflexion is the same throughout the whole dialect, it is evident that two distinct forms known principally by the sound of the final vowel of the verb in the preterite tense can be recognised; for instance, in the third person plural the final ا is not only omitted, but the consonant preceding the final و takes among some tribes a *fatheh*, and among others a *dammeh*: thus كَتَبُوا (*they wrote*) in the standard Arabic is either كَتَبُو (*katbow*) or كَتَبُو (*katbo*) in this dialect; so also in the second person plural both the standard form with the final syllable تُم and a form with تُون as the final syllable are used; thus, *you wrote* would be expressed either as كَتَبْتُم or كَتَبْتُون. In the first person plural, too, the final pronominal affix is either نَا or نْ thus كَتَبْنَا or كَتَبِن (*we wrote*). Similarly in the first person singular the pronominal affix ت is either pronounced sharply or prolonged into تُو; thus كَتَبْت or كَتَبْتُو (*katabto = I wrote*). As the Shahooh are in the habit of expressing the separate pronoun in addition to the pronominal affix, the distinction in sense between the first person singular with the sharp sound of ت and the second person singular is easily made out. The medial letter of a triliteral verb in the preterite generally bears a *fatheh*.

The vowel of the medial radical in the aorist in the case of regular triliteral verbs is mostly a *fatheh*, in which respect and also in regard to the vowel of the pronominal prefix, this dialect differs strongly from the 'Ománee dialect; thus يَضْرَب (*he strikes*), يَكْتَب (*he writes*) of the 'Ománee dialect are يَضْرُب and يَكْتُب in this dialect. In the 'Ománee dialect the vowel of the pronominal prefix is generally determined by the vowel of the medial radical, but this rule does not seem to hold good in this dialect, in which the pronominal prefix of the second person, sometimes in the singular number only and sometimes in both the numbers, takes a *kasreh*; thus يَكْتُب (*he writes*), تَكْتُب (*thou writest*), تَكْتُبُون (*you write*), يَجْلِس (*he sits*), تَجْلِس (*thou sittest*)

and تجلسون (*you sit*), would be in the 'Ománee dialect يكتب , تكتب, تكتبو , يجلس , تجلس , and تجلسو.

The vowel of the imperative in the case of triliteral verbs is mostly a *kasreh*; thus اكتب (*write thou*) and اجلس (*sit thou*). In the plural the final ا is generally omitted and the و, which is then the final letter, takes the sound of *o* or *oo*; thus ضربو (*darbo* or *darboo* = *strike ye*).

To illustrate these points, the following paradigms of the principal forms of verbs are here given, so that the reader may at a glance be able to notice the verbal peculiarities of this dialect:—

كتب (*he wrote*).

Preterite.

Singular. Masc.	Fem.	*Plural.* Com. gender.
3rd P. كتب	كتبت	كتبو (*katbo*) or كتبو (*katbaw*).
2nd P. كتبت	كتبتي or كتبتين	كتبتم or كتبتون
Com. gender.		
1st P. كتبت or كتبتو		كتبنا or كتبن

Aorist.

Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
3rd P. يكتب	تكتب or تكتب	يكتبون
2nd P. تكتب	تكتبي or اتكتبين	
Com. gender.		
1st P. اكتب		نكتب

Imperative.

Singular. Masc.	Fem.	*Plural.* Com. gender.
2nd P. اكتب	كتبي	كتبو (*kitboo*) or كتبو (*kitbaw*).

رُكَب (*he mounted*).

Preterite.

Singular. Masc.	Fem.	*Plural.* Com. gender.
3rd P. رَكَب	رَكَبَت	رَكَبو (*rakbo*) or رَكَبو (*rakbaw*).
2nd P. رَكَبْت	رَكَبْتِين or رَكَبْتِي	رَكَبْتُون or رَكَبْتُم
Com. gender.		
1st P. رَكَبْت		رَكَبْت or رَكَبْنا

Aorist.

Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
3rd P. يِرْكَب	تِرْكَب	يِرْكَبون
2nd P. تِرْكَب	تِرْكَبين or تِرْكَبي	تِرْكَبون
Com. gender.		
1st P. اِرْكَب		نِرْكَب

Imperative.

Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
2nd P. اِرْكَب	رِكَبي	رِكَبو (*rikbo*) or رِكَبو (*rikbaw*).

جَلَس (*he sat*).

Preterite.

Singular. Masc.	Fem.	*Plural.* Com. gender.
3rd P. جَلَس	جَلَسَت or جَلَسْت	جَلَسو (*jalso*) or جَلَسو (*jalsaw*).
2nd P. جَلَسْت	جَلَسْتِين or جَلَسْتِي	جَلَسْتُون or جَلَسْتُم
Com. gender.		
1st P. جَلَسْت		جَلَسْت or جَلَسْنا

Aorist.

Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
3rd P. يُجْلِس	تِجْلِس	يُجْلِسُون
2nd P. تِجْلِس	تِجْلِسِي or تِجْلِسِين	تِجْلِسُون
Com. gender.		
1st P. أُجْلِس		نِجْلِس

Imperative.

Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
2nd P. اِجْلِس or جِلِس	جِلِسِي	جِلْسُو (*jilsoo*) or جِلْسُو (*jilsaw*).

رَدّ (*he returned*).

Preterite.

Singular. Masc.	Fem.	*Plural.* Com. gender.
3rd P. رَدّ	رَدّت	رَدّو (*raddo*) or رَدّو (*raddaw*).
2nd P. رَدّيت	رَدّيتِين or رَدّيتِي	رَدّيتُم
Com. gender.		
1st P. رَدّيت		رَدّينا or رَدّين

Aorist.

Masc.	Fem.	
3rd P. يُرِدّ	تُرِدّ	يُرِدّون
2nd P. تُرِدّ	تُرِدّين or تُرِدّي	تُرِدّون
Com. gender.		
1st P. أُرِدّ		نُرِدّ

Imperative.

Masc.	Fem.	
2nd P. رِدّ	رِدّي or رِدّي	رِدّو (*raddoo*) or رِدّو (*raddaw*).

جِيْ (*he came*).

Preterite.

Singular. Masc.	Fem.	*Plural.* Com. gender.
3rd P. جِيْ or جِيَ	جِتْ	جُوْ
2nd P. جِيت	جِيتِين or جِيتِي	جِيتُون or جِيتُم
Com. gender.		
1st P. جِيت		جِينَا or جِينُ

Aorist.

Masc.	Fem.	
3rd P. يِجِيْ	تِجِيْ	يِجُون
2nd P. تِجِيْ	تِجِين	تِجُون
Com. gender.		
1st P. أِجِيْ		نِجِيْ

There being no imperative from the same root, the word تُوْ or تِيْ as a substitute for تَعَالَ is employed as such.

The following are some of the variations in the Particles, &c., in use :—

When? is expressed by مَتِي instead of مَتَى *Where?* is expressed by فِين instead of أَيْن *Why?* is expressed by لَم instead of لِمَا and also by لَوِيش instead of لَيْش. *Also* is expressed by أَيْضاً and also by بَاد which evidently stands for بعد. كُلّ (*each, every*) is changed into كِل, and *here* is expressed by هِنْ, هِنُو, or ترو (اونا ترو = I am here) and *there* by هِنُوك.

Able (to be)	عَبَر — اِبَر — aor. يَعْبَر or يِعْبَر. (فُلَان ما يِعْبَر يِخْدِم = such a one is not able to work)
Afraid (to be) ...	خَيْف — زَحَاق
Allowance (pay) ...	فَرَاضَة pl. فَرَايِض ('Om. فَرِيضَة)
Also	بَاد (ا stands for ع).
Ankle	جُوزَة pl. جَوَازِي
Anus	تَقْبَة pl. تَقَاب (ت for ث).
Aqueduct (small) ...	مَنِي pl. مَنْيَات
Arbitrate *v. i.*	سَلَف aor. يِسْلَف
Arbitrator	سَالِف pl. سَوَالِف
Arid (as land) ...	شَارَة
Asleep	غَيْقَل (This word is used only by some of the tribes, but the words most commonly used are نَايِم , غَافِي and نِيعَاس) فُلَان غَيْقَل لَا تُوقِيه = such a one is asleep, do not wake him up.
Auction *v. t.* (to sell by auction).	دَلَّل aor. يِدَلَّل
Awake *ad.*	وَاعِي also وَاعِي and وِيعَان
Awaken *v. t.*	وَيَّع also وَيَّ
Axe	طَبَر pl. طَبَارَة (P. تَبَر)
Axe (Battle-)	جَرْز pl. جُرُوز (P. گُرز)
Bad	بَوْطَل — بَاطِل
Bag (purse)	صُرَّة pl. صُرَار
Baggage	اُوبِيز — حُوَابِج ('Om.).

Ball (cannon)	بَلُوَاة pl. بَلُول (ب for ج or rather گ - 'Om. جَلُولَة).
Barber	مُصَلَّة pl. مُصَلَّات
Bastard	نُغَل pl. نُغُول ('Om.), also بغل pl. بُغُول
Bat	خُرْفُيش pl. خُرَافِيش
Bathe *v. i.*	قُبْرَة aor. يُقَبْرَة
Beautiful	خَلِيق — زَيْن
Beckon *v. i.*	لَمَا — لما عوليه = he beckoned to me.
Bedstead	صُرِير — شَبْرِيَة ('Om.) pl. صُوَر (ص for س)
Bet *v.*	آشَا aor. زَامَط — يَاشِي aor. يُزَامِط
Bet *n.*	إم آشات (used both as sing. and pl.)— زَمْطَة pl. زَمْطَات
Big	أُود ('Om. ا for ع).— كَبِير
Blister *n.*	شَكَاك pl. شَكَاكَات
Blotted (stained) ...	صَمِّي
Body of troops ...	حُشْد pl. حُشُود
Boil *v. i.*	حَرّ aor. تَوَّر — يُحَرّ (ت for ث)
Boon (a gift as from a sultan).	شُفَيَّة pl. شُفَيَّات and شُفَاي
Boulders	قَلَاوِيع (There is no sing. from the same root, the sing. being مِلْوَاق and حجر)
Brackish (highly) ...	مَا أَق — أَق = brackish water.
Brackish (slightly) ...	زُوَيْل
Brain	مُخ

Brass	شُبي (ي for ٤)
Brazier...	مُوقد pl. مَواقد — هُنَاديج pl. هُندوج
Breakfast.	قُويل pl. قُويلات
Breast	سُوس pl. سيسان
Broom	مُجفة pl. مُجفات
Button	قُسمة pl. قُسمات
Button-hole.	زُر pl. زُرر
Calf (of the leg). ...	تُبّانة pl. تُبابين
Call, *v. t.*	فلان — يزاق aor. زاق — يصيح aor. صاح
	فلان يزاقني = such a one calls me.
	مصيوح له = such a one is invited or called.
Camel (young male). ...	حشو pl. حشيون or حشوين
„ („ female). ...	حشوة pl. حشوات
Cap	قحفية pl. قحافي
Case (covering for a book).	بكينة pl. بكاين
Case (covering for a gun)	لبسة pl. ملابس
Cask...	بيب pl. بيبة
Cat	قطو pl. قطوة
Cataract (disease) ...	سوق pl. سوقات
Cauldron	منجل pl. مناجل (ن for ر)
Cavern	سوت pl. سوات and سويت
Centipede	قماطة pl. قماميط

Cheek	خُر pl. خُرَار (ر for د)
Chicken	صَفْصُوف pl. صَفَاصِيف
Choke, *v.* (with a solid thing.)	إِزْدَلَط
Choke, *v.* (with a liquid)	إِسْتَرَف
Close, *v. t.* (shut) ...	وَتَق aor. يُوتَق (ت for ث). وَتَق البَيْت = close the door.
Club	عَسْقَب pl. عَسَاقَب ('Om. قب).
Collide, *v. i.*	دَمَا — دَمَع
Collision	مُدَامَعة pl. مُدَامَعَة ('Om. مُدَاعَمَة).
Commander	مَدْرُوب pl. مَدَارِب
Confusion	غَبَة
Corner	رَقْدَة pl. رَقُود (ق for ك and د for ت).
Counterfeit	بَاطِل
Court-yard	صَفْرَة pl. صِفَار and صَابَاط pl. صَوَابَاط (ص for س).
Coward...	جَبُون pl. جَبُونِين
Cradle	مَنْز pl. مَنَازِه
" (made of midribs of palm leaves).	شِيب pl. شِيبَة
Crowd, *v. i.*	قَقَوَض — (النَّيس مَقَقُوضِين = the people are crowded.)
Crowd, *n.*	قَوْض pl. قَوِيض
Cultivator (gardener) ...	بِيدَار pl. بِيَادِير — خَدِيم pl. خَدَايِيم
Deep	غَزِير ('Om. غَرِيز)

Descend	قُحُم aor. يقحم—سقط aor. يسقط
Desert, *n*	سيح ('Om.)—بيح pl. بيوح (ب for س)
Dig	بُحت (ت for ث)
Dirt	صِيَّة
Dirty	قُزُز—مَي
Donkey	حُمُور pl. حُمِير. also مُصْرِي ('Om.)
Drive, *v. t.*	نَقَد
Drunkard	دُوَّاخ and دُوخان
Effects (furniture, &c.)	أُوَيِّيز pl. آزة—حُمال
Elude, *v. t.*	غاوز aor. يغاوز
Embrace, *v. t.*	صارع aor. يصارع—حَبّ aor. يُحِبّ
Embrace, *n.*	مُحَبَّة
Empty	خَلي
Expedition (military)...	سَيْرة
Explode, *v. i.*	ثار aor. يثور (ت for ث).
Extinguish	قُتَل
Fade	ضُمُر
Faeces	حُرَّان (ح for خ)
Fall, *v. i.*	طَق aor. يطق
Famine	غَلى
Fastness (stronghold)...	صيبة pl. صِيب
Fear, *v. t.*	زَحق
Fill, *v. t.*	زَخ aor. يزخ

Fish (small)	بُوت (*coll.*) (This name is applied to all the smaller kinds of fish excepting the sardine, which is called زِيفَيْب.) ب for ح.
Flay, *v. t.* (to skin) ...	صَلَح (ص for س and ح for خ).
Flee, *v. i.* (to run away)	فَاض — فَيْض فلان = such a one has run away.
Flower, *n.*	بُوم (*col. noun*). شَجَرة بِيرْمِيَة = a tree in flower.
Fold, *n.* (a pen for goats, &c.)	زَرْب pl. زُرُوب
Fox	ثَالِب pl. ثَيْلِب (ث for ث and ا for ع)
Frog	شَقْرُدغ (*coll.*)
Furniture	أَوْيِيز — سِيمَان
Gag, *v. t.*	قَلَع
Gale	طُحَف pl. طُحُوف
Gecko	دَعْبَة pl. ثَابَة (?Om. ثَغْبَة) pl. ثَابُوت
Girdle	حِزَامَة pl. حِزَامَات
Go, *v. i.*	نَحَي aor. يَنْحَي
Goat	غَلَم (*coll.* ل for ن) — شَيْه (no pl. from this root)
Gradually	بُصَارَة
Grinder (tooth) ...	لَهَة pl. لُهِي
Gum (of the tooth) ...	أَمْرَ الضَّرْس pl. أُمُور الضروس
Hastily...	نَوْء بَاجَل — بَاجَل
Hide, *v. t.*	كَمَل (ل for ن)
Hold, *v. t.*	قَبَش

Hollow	مُجُوخ (خ for ف) — نُقُخ
" (in the head, having no brains).	بُنْجُو
Infant	شِشُّون pl. شِشُونِين — شُوَيْشِين pl. شُوَيْشِينِي ('Om. نُقُون)
Inquire...	دُوَّر
Instalment	قُوم pl. قُرُوم
Invite	صاح-ل aor. يُصِيح-ل
Joke, *v. i.*	فلان يُقَكْشِر لك = Such a one jokes with you.) — كُشُمُر
Jump, *v. i.*	حول — قَعَص (the latter is more a Badawee word).
Kernel	نُبُوَّة
Kiss, *v. t.*	حُبّ
" (another's hand)	حابُب ('Om. خابر)
" (a woman) ...	قُبَّل
Kiss, *n.*	حُبَّة pl. حُبُون
Knuckle (of a finger) ...	كُعُب مال صُبُعه pl. كُعُوب مال صُوابُعه (*hamzah* for ع)
Languid (from fever, &c.).	مُتَكَسِّل
Last night	لَيْلَة أَمْس
Lizard	حَلَك (pronounced as *halack*) pl. حَلَكات
Loan	ايرة pl. ايرات (ا for ع)
Lobster...	خَيْل البَحر
Low (opposite of high)	هاوِي

Lark	لُكَمْل
Man	رُجَّال ('Om.) pl. رِجَال — أَيْدَم pl. أُوَيْدَم
Many	وَيِيد — قَوْض — هَبْشِي
Master (as of a slave) ...	أَمّ pl. أَمُومِيَة (ا for ع)
Mat (made of grass) ...	حُصْر pl. حُصِير
,, (made of date-palm leaves).	قُرُوش pl. قَرْش
,, (small)	سُجَّادَة pl. سُجَاجِيد (A small mat, even though not intended for praying upon, is so named).
Match, *n.* (lucifer) ...	شَخْط pl. شَخَاط
Milk	صَرِيح — حَايِب
,, (sour)	مُحَض
,, (freshly curdled)	رُتِي (Prepared by milking fresh milk over sour milk.)
,, (curd)	رُوب
Mortar (iron, for pounding).	مِهْجَاز pl. مَهَاجِيز — رِشَاد pl. رِشْدَة — رِشِيد pl. مَرَاشِيد
,, (wooden ,, ,,)	مِيكَلَة — مُوقَعَة pl. مُوَاقَا — مُوَاكَا
,, (large, wooden)	جُون pl. جُونَات and جُوَانَة
Moss	خُلّ
Mouse (rat)	أَضَل pl. أَضَالَة (ا for ع)
Mouth	حَلْق pl. حُلُوق — مَضْحَك pl. مَضَاحِك (the latter is a Badawee word.)

Move, *v. i.* (aside, out of the way).	إنْحَر
Much	حُوِيه — هُبْشي (the latter is Badawee.)
Mud (clean)	غِيلَة pl. غِيل
„ (dirty)	رِيطَة pl. رِيط
Naked	اَيْوُد — صَلْخ
Neutral	طَايِح بَيْن الخَصْمين
Nipple	ثُوَمَة pl. ثُوام
Noise (low)	هُورَة
„ (loud)	غُبَّة
Nonsense	خُرط مُرط
Nothing	شِيلُو
Opacity (of the eye) ...	طُيُرَة
Open, *v. t.*	هِدّ البَيْت — هُدّ — طَلَق = open the door.
Oyster (of the pearl-shell).	بِلْبِل
Pass, *v. i.*	طَاى
Pebbles..	دُحِي — بُطَح (the latter word is applied to very small pebbles.)
Penis	زِبّ pl. زُبُوب and زُبَيّا
Pestle (iron)	رُشَاد pl. رُشَادَات
„ (stone)	سُفَن pl. سُفَانَا
Pick, *v. t.*	رُقَط (ر for ل)
Picnic	ثَطْمُوشَة — جِشْت
Plaster, *v. t.* (as a wall)	رَاغ aor. يُرَاغ

Plaster, *n.* (of a wall) ...	رُوغَان — رُوغَان
„ (medicinal) ...	حُزَّقَة (ح for ل)
Plough	هُيَس pl. هُيَسَات ('Om.)
Pod	قِبّ pl. قُبوب
Potter	بَنَّاي وُقَيه pl. بَنَيْنِي and بَنَّايَة
Prawn	رُبيَان (*coll.*)
Prepare, *v. t.*	زَهَب
Present, *n.*	نَدَبَة pl. نَدَب
Pull down, *v. t.* (to demolish).	هَدَم — نَقَتَف — دَعور
Pull off, *v. t.* (as clothes)	صَلَخ — سَلَخ
Rainbow	ابوقدح — تَقصيح
Ripe	بَالِغ
Room (space)	نَسم
Room, to make ...	نَسَّم
Round	كَتَوِيلَه
Row, *n.* (disturbance) ...	جَوَلَة — هَيجَلَة
Sand (on the sea-beach)	دَارِج
„ (mixed with pebbles in a valley).	دَحِي
Savage	فَارِي
Shallow	ضَاحِي — ضَافِي
Shark	لَخَم pl. لَخُوم and لَخَام
Shave, *v. t.*	صَلَّع — Badawee word صَلَّع
Shirt (male)	ثَوب pl. ثُوبَب and ثِوَاب — قَمِيص pl. قُمصَان and قُمُص

Shirt (female)	قُنْدُورَة pl. قَنَادِير
Shoe (male)	نَعْل pl. نَعْلَة
,, (female)	مُدَيْس pl. مِدْس — مُدْس pl. مُدْسَة
Show, *v. t.*	رُوِّي
,, *v. t.* (to point out)	خَبَّر
Shower (light)... ...	شُهْبُوب pl. شُهَابِيب
,, (heavy)... ...	خُرِيف pl. خُرِيفَات
Sickle	دُس (pronounced as *close*)–داس–pl. of both دِيسَان
Sleeve	كُنَّان pl. كُنَّة—Badawee word قُنَّان pl. قِنَّة
Solid	صُمْط — صُمْط
Soot	سُمُر — سُمُر
Spacious	نَسِيم
Sparrow	صُفْصُوف pl. صَفَاصِيف (the same word is used for a chicken).
Spoon	قَفْشَة pl. قُفَش — كُفْشَة pl. كُفَش
Stare (angrily) ...	بَلَّق بِالعَيْن
Stick, *v. i.* (as a thing in the throat).	شَار
Stick *n.* (walking, with a curved handle).	اَكْفَة pl. اُكَف — عُكْفَة pl. عُكَف
Stifle, *v. t.*	زَنَط aor. يُزَنِّط
Stir, *v. t.* (as fire) ...	حَيَّ
Stout	عُقِير or اُقِير pl. اُقَار
Strike *v. t.*	ضَرَب
,, *v. t.* (with a stick).	لَفَح

Stumble, *v. i.*	اِكْتَبّ — اِعْتَثَر and اِلْتَثَر
,, *n.*	كَبَّة — عَثْرَة and اَثْرَة
Sugar-cane	قَلَم سُكَّر pl. قَلَامَة سُكَّر (the word is also pronounced as if spelt with ك)
Sugar-candy	قُبَات (P. ت for ن)
Sweat, *n.* (from heat) ...	حَرّ
,, *n.* (from fever).	عَرَق and اَرَق
Sweep, *v. t.*	جَتّ
Sweepings	حُمَام
Swing	مُرَاجِحِين pl. مُرَاجَحَانَة
Tame	دَاوَل (د for ذ)
Tassel	رِيش pl. رِيشَة
Tendril	خَيُوط pl. خَيْط
Thick	أَقِير — عَقِير
Throw, *v. t.*	يُقِيس aor. قِيس
Tighten...	سَمَت
Tool	عُدَد pl. عُدَّة also عَدِيد — also اَدَّة pl. اَدَد and اَدِيد
Turbid	مُنْقَلِع — قَلِع
Vagina	اَمْت pl. اَمْيِت — مَقْوَة also مَكْوَة pl. مَكْوَات
Wait	وَقَف — شُوف — (اُوقِفْنِي — شُوفْنِي = wait for me.)
Whisper	فُجْوَة

Widow	تَرْكَة pl. تَرُك
Wonder	إِدْيَه — إِيَه
Zigzag	مَلْقَاح — مَلْحِيس

Children's Language.

Although the Shahee and 'Ománee dialects differ from each other in so many respects, it is remarkable that after making a due allowance for the orthographical charges, a striking similarity is found to exist in the language of children in the two dialects.

Bad	اَخْ	Fire	طِش
Beat, *v. t.* ...	تَخْ	Fish	بَخْ
Bread	بَدِي	Fowl ...	تَيْتَه
Breast	دِيدِي	Goat	اَمْيَاع
Brother	دَادَه	Hot	طِش
Camel	عَنْ عَنْ	Leave (off), *v. t.*	كَخْ
Cat	اَوِيَه	Meat	بَخْ
Clothes	بُوبُو	Mother	مَاعَاه
Come, *v. i.* ...	تَوَه	Old woman ..	حَبُوَه
Cow	اَچُوح	Pain, *n.*	وَاوَه
Dog	وَخْ	Pretty	اَخْ
Donkey	اِشْ	Sleep, *v. i.* ...	هُوَا
Fall, *v. i.* ...	وَه	Water	اَمْبُوَه
Father	بَاَبَاه		

A Note on the Kamzáree Dialect.

Although the Kamázareh as a tribe are included in the Shahooh group, the language they make use of among themselves is so distinctly different from the Shahee dialect of Arabic, as to require here a special though superficial notice. The men in particular are generally conversant with the latter dialect which many of them make use of for inter-tribal communications, but the language they speak among themselves and in their domestic circles, has distinctive features of its own. This is as might be expected from the fact of the Kamázareh being ethnologically quite distinct from the other tribes constituting the general Shahooh group. Whilst the Shahee dialect is essentially based on Arabic, and is in some respects allied to the dialect of 'Omán, the preponderating element in the Kamzáree dialect is of a non-semitic nature.

It would of course be beyond the scope of the present paper to deal with it in any but a very superficial manner, for beside being totally different from the Shahee dialect, it has hardly any connection with Arabic. A few of its conspicuous points and a small vocabulary would easily enable the reader to judge for himself the nature of the language on which it is based.

There is ample evidence in the general features and vocabulary of the dialect, to show that the Kamázareh or at least the main portion of that tribe must have originally come over from the opposite or Persian coast, and this conclusion can be upheld notwithstanding the fact that there exists among them a sub-tribe that claims to have immigrated from al-Bahrein, which is quite possible on the assumption that the latter immigrated at a later date and were numerically so weak, as to become in time thoroughly incorporated with the previous immigrants and to lose all traces of their language. The Kamázareh are divided into three sub-tribes,—Beni 'Alee Zeid, the origin of which it is very difficult to trace, Beni 'Alee Hasan who claim to have descended from 'Abdullah bin Awd al-Mannáee and to have immigrated from Manán'ach in al-Bahrein, and al-Mahádiyeh who admit having originally come from a place called Biyábool near Mináw on the Persian coast. The last one is considered to be the Baloochee branch of the tribe, and appears to be the one which has contributed mainly in forming the dialect.

As regards the origin of the name of the tribe, in the absence of any positive information, it is only fair to suppose that it is derived from the name of the place where the original immigrants settled on their arrival in the Shahooh country, which assumption is also warranted by the fact, that the subsequent additions to the tribe became incorporated with it under the same name.

Although the majority of the words, as may be seen from the list here given, are evidently of Persian origin, the influence of the Baloochee language, which itself is supposed to be derived from the old Persian, must not be overlooked, particularly as the main portion of the Kamázareh came from a tract which may be looked upon as the border-land between the Persian and Makrán coasts.

One of the great peculiarities of the Shahee dialect, namely, the tendency to pronounce the medial and final و as a letter having the pronunciation of ڈ is accentuated in the Kamzaree dialect which seems to have adopted it irrespective of the language from which the word is derived; thus ڈَتَب (for A. رطب = *fresh ripe dates*), and حڈما (for P. خرما = *preserved dates*). This rule, however, does not seem to apply to all words, for in ساوو from Persian (*head*) and نخوت from Arabic (*nose*), the original sound of و is retained, whilst in some words the medial د also takes the sound of ڈ as in دوڈي from Persian (*smoke*).

Another great peculiarity of the dialect is that many of the nouns end in a quiescent و with the sound of *o* as in the English word *go*; thus, بردو (a *wall*), تیڈو (a *road*), کوشو (a *shoe*), &c. Some nouns, however, end in a quiescent ي with the sound of *ai*; thus, دوڈی (*smoke*), جملي (a *camel*), &c., but the quiescent ي is heard oftener at the end of adjectives than nouns; thus: وسني (*asleep*), شرم بوسي (*ashamed*). The cardinal numeral adjectives also end in quiescent ي up to *fifty* after which ڈ takes the place of ي, as will be seen from the following table:—

One	ايكي	Twenty	بيسي
Two	دوهي	Thirty	سيهي
Three	سوهي	Forty	چهيلي
Four	چاري	Fifty	پنچهي
Five	پنجي	Sixty	شُشْتَا
Six	شيشي	Seventy	هفتا
Seven	هفتي	Eighty	هشتا
Eight	هشتي	Ninety	نَوَتَا
Nine	نيهي	Hundred ...	سَتَا
Ten	ديهي	Two hundred ...	دويستَا
Eleven	يازديهي	Three hundred ...	سَتَا
Twelve	دوازديهي	Thousand ...	هَازَرْتَا

The Personal Pronouns are :—

	Singular.	*Plural.*
First P.	مَيْهْ	مَاْ
Second P. ...	تُو	شُمَا
Third P.	اِيَهْ	يِكَانَهْ

The days of the week are :—

Saturday ...	سَبْت	Wednesday ...	چار شمبر
Sunday	وحد	Thursday ...	پانچ شمبر
Monday	دوشمبر	Friday	جُمات
Tuesday	شَشْمبر		

In the following list of words A. stands for Arabic, B. for Baloochee and P. for Persian :—

Abandon	اپاء کاگرد — ویلی ویل = Leave off this paper.
Able	صالح رای سیفرای = Salih is able to lift it.
Ablution	چنغول چول-چودم
Abuse	دوشمن صالح-دشمن دشمن عدو = Salih abused me yesterday.
Accompany ...	حمد رفوه — رفوه صالح = Hamad accompanied Salih
Accurate (correct)	راستی—P.
Afraid	ترسیسي—P.
Always	هرروزي—P.
Ashamed ...	شرم بوسي—P.
Asleep	وسنی—P.
Awake	ماڈ
Bad	بنچي
Bag	کیسي—A.
Basket (small) ...	زنبیلو—P.A.
" (large) ...	هنداور
Bat	حنفشن—A.
Beard	رشو—ریشي—P.
Beautiful	جواني—P.
Belly	شکم—P.
Big	گبپي—P.B.
Bite v.	خاي—P.
Branch	رکنتی
Breakfast ...	ناشتا—P.
Breast	پستاني—P.
Bring (imp.) ...	بیار—P.
Butter	زبد—A.
Butter (clarified).	روگن—P.
Camel	جملي—A.
Cap	کلپی—P.
Cat	گربگو—P. B.
Cheek	خشی—A.
Chest	سینو—P.
Child	بچک—B.
Clean	پاک—P.
Cloud	نم—P.
Colour	رنگ—P.

Come (imp.) ...	بيو—P.
Date (fresh fruit.)	اڈتب—A.
" (preserved fruit)	حڈما—P.
Date-palm ...	مگو—P.
Dirt	چڈم—P.
Dog	سوگو—P.
Donkey	خڈ—P.
Door	دورو—P.
Drink v. ...	خور—P.
Dry	اشکي—P.
Ear	گوشو—P.
Eat v.	خور—P.
Egg	خايک—B. P.
Empty	ريڑگ—P.
Eye	چمو—P.
Eye-brow ...	حبجب—A.
Finger	لنگت—P.
Flower	پوکو
Fool	دنبی—P.
Foot	پاو—P.
Forehead ..	سندوه
Fowl	مروي—P.
Fox	ريواو—P.
Hair	موه—P.

Hand	دست—P.
Head	ساوو—P.
Heel	اکووب—A.
Hole	خبقة—A.
Inside	اندڈ—P.
Knife	گاردو—P.
Lip	لو—P.
Man	مردکو—P.
Many	خياي—P.
Mouth	ماي—P.
Moon	ميتاو—P.
Mustache ...	شربن—A.
Nail (finger) ...	نخنو—P.
Neck	گردن—P.
Nose	نخرت—A.
Nostril	خبقة—A.
Pot (earthen) ...	دوگو—P.
" (Metallic) ...	گزانی—P.
Razor	سترگو—P.
Red	سرخو-سرخن—P.
Road	تيڈو
Sail	وزارو—A.
Shave (v.) ...	سان—P.
Ship	جهاز—P.

Shirt	خانی
Shoe	کوشو—P.
Shoulder ...	کامر—P.
Skin	پوستو—P.
Slave (male) ...	زنگو—P.
" (female) ...	زنگو زنگو—P.
Sleep (*n.*) ...	خوو—P.
Smoke (*n.*) ...	دوڈی—P.
Snake	ماروو—P.
Steamer	جهاز دوڈینو—P.
Stone	بڈو—P.
Stout	ستوبي—P.
Strong	سخي—P.
Sun	اننافو—P.
Thigh	فخت—A.
Thorn	خارو
To-day	ايه روزو—P.
To-morrow ...	فوا صباح—P. & A.
Tongue	زوان—P.
Tooth	دنانو-pl-دنان—P.
Tree	شدريقو—A.
Understand ...	دانی—P.
Vessel (sailing, small).	دادرو
Waist-wrapper ...	جامخ—P.
Wall	بودو
Water	هاو—P.
Wave	بومو
Well	چوو
Went	رفت—P.
White	سپيد—P.
Whole (all) ...	همو—P.
Wind	كولو
Window	دوشو—P.
Wise	دانا—P.
Woman	زنكو—P.
Year	سالو—P.
Yesterday ...	دوشين — B.

Art. X.—*The Coins of the Gujarāt Saltanat.*

By Rev. Geo. P. Taylor, M.A., D.D.

[Communicated. May 1902.]

I.—Historical Setting.
II.—Chronological List of the Sulṭāns of Gujarāt (with notes).
III.—Genealogical Table of the Sulṭāns of Gujarāt (with notes).
IV.—Literature on the Coinage of the Gujarāt Salṭanat.
V.—Cabinets of the Coins of the Gujarāt Salṭanat.
VI.—Mint-towns.
VII.—Weights and Standards.
VIII.—"Cumulative" Coin-legends.
IX.—Catalogue of the Coins on Plates I—VI.

I.—Historical Setting.

Authorities for the History of the Gujarāt Salṭanat, A.H. 806-980; A.D. 1403-1573.

1. The Tārikh i Firishta by Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh, surnamed Firishta, circa A.D. 1606-1611; translated by Lieut.-Col. John Briggs, 4 vols., A.D. 1829.

2. The Mir'āt i Sikandarī by Sikandar bin Muḥammad, A.D. 1611; translated in Sir E. Clive Bayley's History of Gujarāt, A.D. 1886.*

3. The Mir'āt i Aḥmadī by 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, A.D. 1756-1761;

(a) translated in James Bird's History of Gujarāt, A. D. 1835,

(b) also translated in Sir E. Clive Bayley's History of Gujarāt, A.D. 1886.

4. The Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I., Part I., A.D. 1896, containing the History of Gujarāt, Musalmān Period, by Colonel J. W. Watson.

Throughout this article the following abbreviations will be employed:—

Br.-F.=Briggs's Firishta; Ba.-S=Bayley's Mir'āt i Sikandarī; Bi.-A.=Bird's Mir'āt i Aḥmadī; Ba.-A=Bayley's Mir'āt i Aḥmadī;

*A copy of the recently published complete translation of the Mir'āt i Sikandarī by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridī reached me too late to be of service in the preparation of this article.

W.-B.G. = Watson's History of Gujarāt in the Bombay Gazetteer.

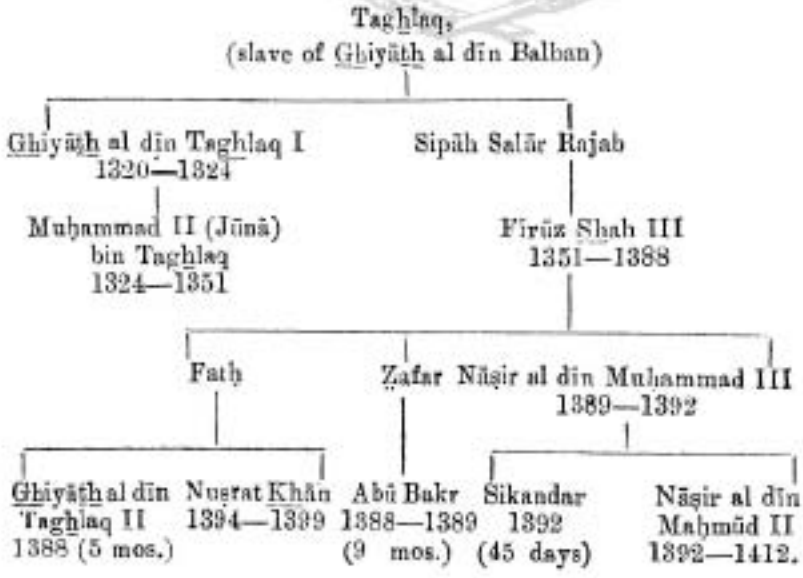
A flavour of romance attaches to the history that has come down to us of the father of the founder of the Gujarāt Salṭanat. In the days of the eccentric Sulṭān of Dehlī, Muḥammad bin Taghlaq (A.H. 725-752 : A.D. 1324-1351), his cousin Fīrūz, while on a hunting expedition in the Kheḍā district of Gujarāt, wandered from his attendants and lost his way. Wearied with the chase, he turned his horse at eventide in the direction of the village of Thāsrū,* and on the stranger's arrival there the village headmen, two brothers of the Tānka family of Rājpūts, Sādhū and Sadhāran by name, cordially invited him to partake of their hospitality. Soon an ample board was spread, and Sādhū's sister, a maiden "peerless in beauty and loveliness," filling a goblet, presented it to the unknown guest. He received the vessel from her hand with a pleasure he was at no pains to conceal. After he had quaffed three cups, "the rosebud of his disposition unfolded," and now the talk grew confidential. The stranger ere long revealed himself to be the Sulṭān's cousin and his acknowledged heir. Sādhū straightway gave his sister, "more lovely than a hūrī of light," in nikāh marriage to the prince, and thereafter the two brothers, linking their fortunes with his, accompanied him to Dehlī, the capital of the kingdom. It was not long before both of them, in the phrase of Sikandar bin Muḥammad, "obtained the honour of Islām," and on this change of his faith Sadhāran received the title of Wajī' al Mulk, "the Support of the State." With the proselyte's proverbial zeal, the brothers became disciples of a much revered Muslim saint,† and soon gained a high reputation for piety. Of Ẓafar Khān, the more famous son of Wajī' al Mulk, it is related that this saint, in return for a timely kindness, promised him prophetically the whole country of Gujarāt, and later, giving him a handful of dates, said, "Ẓafar Khān, thy seed like unto these in number shall rule over Gujarāt." The historian adds, "Some say there were twelve, some thirteen dates, others say eleven: God knows which story is true."

* Some historians are of opinion that the scene of this incident lay not at Thāsrā in Gujarāt, but at Thānesar in the Sirhind division of the Panjāb.

†This saint was known as Quṭb al aqṭāb Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm i Jahāniyān, 'the pole-star of pole-stars, His Highness the Lord of Mortals.' As the quṭb al aqṭāb, he was held to have attained that supreme stage of sanctity wherein is reflected the heart of the Prophet himself.

The death of the Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Taghlaq was in keeping with a life marked by projects magnificent in conception but abortive, at times ludicrously abortive, in achievement. In 1351 he set off from Gujarāt in order to chastise Lower Sindh for harbouring insurgents. Though accompanied by an army "as numerous as a swarm of ants or locusts," he did not live to annihilate the refractory Sūmra Rājpūts of Thatta, but himself died on the banks of the Indus from fever induced by a surfeit of fish. The Sulṭān had left no son,* but Fīrūz, his cousin and legatee, on the third day ascended the throne, and for the next thirty-seven years swayed, and on the whole beneficently, the destinies, of the Empire. Ẓafar Khān and his brother Shams Khān, as nephews of the queen, were now advanced to high honours, and to them were entrusted the responsible duties pertaining to the office of Chief Butler, 'ōhda i sharābdārī. On the death of Fīrūz Shāh in 1388, a grandson, Ghiyāth al dīn Taghlaq Shāh II, succeeding to the Salṭanat, spent his brief reign of five months in an unbroken round of debauchery. Another grandson, Abū Bakr, next held the throne for some nine months, at the end of which time he was deposed by the late

* The following Genealogical Table shows the relationship of the Taghlaqid Sulṭāns of Dehlī :—



Fīrūz Shāh's son, Nāṣir al dīn Muḥammad Shāh III, who for the three years 1389-1392 managed to retain the sovereign power. It was during the reign of this Sulṭān, Muḥammad III., that Ẓafar Khān was appointed to the viceroyalty of Gujarāt. Ugly rumours had reached the Court that the then viceroy, Mufarrēḥ Sulṭānī, more commonly known by his title of Farḥut al Mulk Rāstī Khān, had been encouraging the Hindū religion, so as to gain the goodwill of the populace, and by their aid establish a kingdom of Gujarāt entirely independent of the paramount power at Dehlī. Accordingly in 1391 the Sulṭān Muḥammad selected Ẓafar Khan, the son, it will be remembered, of Sadhāran, the zealous apostate from Hindūism, for the viceroyalty, in supersession of Mufarrēḥ Khān. The governor-designate had a royal send-off. Firishta records that he was given the title of Muẓaffar Khān and honoured with a dress of instalment. He was further presented with the white canopy and scarlet pavilion "such as are exclusively used by kings"—a fitting presage of Ẓafar's future assumption of regal power. Mufarrēḥ gave battle to Ẓafar at the village of Kāmbhū in the district of Anhilwāḍa Pattan, but the unruly ruler (Nāẓim be-niẓām) was slain, and Ẓafar, to commemorate his victory, founded on the site of the battle the town of Jītpur. Thereafter the whole of Gujarāt acknowledged his authority, and under his strong administration the country prospered.

But very different ran the course of affairs at the seat of the Empire. On the death of Muḥammad III. in 1392, his son Sikandar succeeded to the throne, but suddenly died after a reign of only five and forty days. In the resultant confusion, his brother Nāṣir al dīn Maḥmūd II. was chosen king by one faction of the nobles, and a cousin Nuṣrat Khān by a rival faction. For many years thereafter the kingdom was sore distracted by internal strife. War between the claimants was still proceeding when Tīmūr Lang, the lame Tīmūr (Tamerlane), crossing the Indus, led the hordes of Tartary on that terrible invasion which for a time converted Hindūstān into shambles. It was in 1398 that he marched rapidly upon Dehlī, on his way thither slaughtering in cold blood the hundred thousand captives in his camp; and early in 1399, after defeating Maḥmūd at Fīrūzābād, he entered the capital. For five days the ill-fated city was given over to pillage, the conqueror feasting, while his brutal soldiery in the general and indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants perpetrated indescribable atrocities.

The Sulṭān Maḥmūd II., however, had effected an escape, and eventually, after many wanderings in remote parts of his dominions, arrived a fugitive before the gates of Pattan. Ẓafar Khān at once went out to meet him, and escorted him to the palace with every mark of honour. The Sulṭan had hoped to secure Ẓafar Khān's alliance and march immediately upon Dehlī, where Nuṣrat Khān was still a source of danger. Ẓafar, however, did not think this enterprise advisable, so the Sulṭan, aggrieved, departed for Mālwā. Here, too, he was doomed to disappointment, but, having in the meantime heard that his wazīr Iqbāl Khān had expelled the rival ruler Nuṣrat, Maḥmūd returned to Dehlī in 1402—"a very shadow of a king." His authority extended to only a few districts beyond the city walls, and even that only because his wazīr amiably bestowed on him countenance and protection.

The utter anarchy that now reigned in Hindūstān naturally issued in the dismemberment of the Empire. Embracing twenty-three provinces, all held in full subjection by Muḥammad bin Tagḥlaq in the early part of his reign, it became from the very number of its satrapies essentially incoherent. After the catastrophe of Tīmūr's invasion, several independent kingdoms were carved out of the dominions of Dehlī, and the Empire was thus despoiled of its fairest provinces. How large a number became at this time independent under their several governors, all of whom styled themselves 'kings,' is shown in the following list, quoted in Thomas' "Chronicles of the Paṭhān Kings of Dehlī" from the Tārīkh i Mubārak Shāhī MS.

Ẓafar Khān ...	... Gujarāt.
Khizr Khān...	... Multān, Daibalpūr, Sindh.
Maḥmūd Khān	... Mahobah, Kālpī.
Khwājah i Jahān	... Kanauj, Oudh, Karrah, Dalamau, Sandalah, Bahraich, Bahār, Jaunpūr.
Dilāwar Khān	... Dhār (Mālwā).
Ghālib Khān	... Samānah.
Shams Khān	... Biāna.

Strange to relate, not Ẓafar Khān himself but his son was the first to assume an independent authority over Gujarāt. This son, by name Tātār Khān, had, on his father's departure as viceroy-designate of Gujarāt, been detained in Dehlī, not improbably as a pledge for the father's fidelity. In the disorders that followed upon the death

of Sulṭan Muḥammad III (A. D. 1392), Tātār Khān, as well as others of the more ambitious nobles, aspired to the imperial throne, and thus came into collision with the powerful wazīr Iqbāl Khān. Tātār was, however, worsted in this unequal struggle, and found safety only in flight to Gujarāt, where on his arrival his father accorded him a gracious reception. But Tātār harboured in his heart an ardent desire for revenge on Iqbāl Khān, and frequently sought to win his father over to his own ambitious designs. Ẓafar Khān, however, was not to be moved from the conviction that any attempt on Dehlī would be fraught with disaster. From the various conflicting accounts it is difficult to ascertain what precisely was the subsequent course of events, but the version favoured by several writers is that Tātār, finding his father thus intractable, basely had him seized and placed in confinement in the village of Asāwal, near the site of the future city of Aḥmadābād. He next won over to himself the army and the chief Government officials. Thus secure, he at once assumed royal rank, and, setting up a throne, made himself king with a title variously given as Nāṣir al dunyā wa al din, Muḥammad Shāh or Ghiyāth al dunyā wa al din Muḥammad Shāh. This *coup d'état* would seem to have been struck in the year 1403 (A. H. 806). The imprisoned Ẓafar Khān, however, through one of his confidants, and afterwards by a letter secretly conveyed, prevailed upon his brother, Shams Khān, whom Tātār had appointed wazīr, to devise measures for his release. Accordingly one night, when Tātār with his army, in furtherance of his long-cherished design, was already on the march towards Dehlī, Shams Khān administered poison to his nephew, who thus, little more than two months after his accession to the throne, "drank the draught of death, and went to the city of non-existence." Liberated from his prison, Ẓafar Khān, with the cordial concurrence of the nobles, now resumed the governorship. He did not, however, affect a royal style or dignity, but, on the contrary, he seems to have found the cares of office so burdensome that he desired to demit them to his brother and himself retire into private life. Shams Khān, however, refused the proffered honour, and Ẓafar Khān was then content to nominate as his successor his grandson, Aḥmad Khān, son of the late Sulṭan Muḥammad, a youth then but fourteen years of age. Some three uneventful years passed away before Ẓafar was finally constrained to accept the rôle of an independent sovereign. The circumstances

under which this change was effected, a change so fraught with consequence for Gujarāt, are thus recorded in the Mir'āt i Sikandarī.

"When the striking of coin and supreme authority were no longer exercised by the House of Dehlī, the nobles and officers represented to Ẓafar Khān, at an auspicious time and favourable moment, that the government of the country of Gujarāt could not be maintained without the signs and manifestation of kingly authority. No one was capable of wielding regal power but himself: he was, therefore, indicated by public opinion as the person who ought, for the maintenance of Muḥammadan religion and tradition, to unfold the royal umbrella over his head, and to delight the eyes of those who longed for that beautiful display. In compliance with this requisition in the year H. 810 (A. D. 1407), three years and seven months after the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad, the victorious Ẓafar Khān raised the umbrella of royalty, and took to himself the title of Muẓaffar Shāh at Birpur" (Ha.-S. pp. 83, 84). The *laqab*, or surname, adopted on his acceptance of the throne was Shams al dunyā wa al dīn, 'the Sun of the World and of the Faith.'

The three years of Muẓaffar's reign witnessed no events of general interest, being occupied mainly with a successful expedition against Dhār (Mālwā), and another "against the infidels of Kambh-Kot." To aid his former master, the Sulṭān Maḥmūd, he marched an army towards Dehlī, thus preventing the meditated attack on that city by Sulṭān Ibrāhīm of Jaunpūr.

"As commonly reported and believed," Muẓaffar's death took place under the following tragic circumstances. Some Kolīs near Asāwal having risen in rebellion, Aḥmad Khān was placed in command of an army to quell the insurrection. After completing a single march from Pattan, he convened an assembly of divines, learned in the law, to whom he propounded the question, 'If one person kills the father of another unjustly, ought the son of the murdered man to exact retribution?' All replied in the affirmative, and gave in their answers in writing. Armed with this authoritative decision, Aḥmad suddenly returned with the troops to Pattan, there overpowered his grandfather, and forthwith handed him a cup of poison to drink. The old King in mild remonstrance exclaimed, 'Why so hasty my boy? A little patience, and power would have come to you of itself, for all I

have is intended for you.' After words of advice to punish the evil counsellors who had plotted this nefarious scheme and to abstain from wine, "for such abstinence is proper for kings," the Sulṭan Muẓaffar Shāh raised to his lips and drained the bitter cup of death. Remorse for this unnatural crime is said to have so embittered Aḥmad's after-life that, like our own King Henry I., he was never known to smile again.

It is true that some historians state that in the fourth year of his reign Sulṭan Muẓaffar, falling ill, abdicated in favour of his grandson Aḥmad, but that the disease did not terminate fatally till five months and sixteen days later. The circumstantial and detailed narrative of Sikandar can, however, hardly be a fabrication pure and simple, whereas a Muḥammadan historian, writing of a Muḥammadan king eminent for orthodoxy, would be sore tempted to suppress the record of a deed so infamous. The scrupulous observance of religious ritual that marked the after-years of Aḥmad's life finds perhaps its best explanation in the assumption that, profoundly penitent, he was seeking thus to expiate his terrible crime. In the Jāmi' Masjid of Aḥmadābād is still shown in the Royal Gallery—the Mulūk Khāna — a low dais with its marble surface worn away by Aḥmad's feet, attesting his so frequent prayer-prostrations. Tradition also tells that his home-life was severely simple, his personal expenses being restricted to the sum received from the sale of caps made by his own hands. It is further significant that his after-death title is Khudāyagān i Maghfūr, 'The Great Lord forgiven,' thus betokening that "Allah the Pitiful, moved by the prayer of forty believers, had spread his forgiveness over the crime of Aḥmad's youth." (W.-B. G. p. 240.)

On his grandfather's death Aḥmad succeeded to the throne with the title of Nāṣir al dunyā wa al dīn Abu'l Fatḥ Aḥmad Shāh. Though thus the third Sulṭan of the dynasty, his long and brilliant reign of thirty-three years (A. H. 813-846 ; A.D. 1410-1443), his introduction of an admirable system of civil and military administration, his successful expeditions against Jūnāgaḍh, Chāmpānīr, Īdar, and Mālwā, his building of Aḥmadābād as his capital, all combined in the process of years to invest him with eponymic honours, so that from him the Salṭanat is known to-day by the name of Aḥmad Shāhī. He may with justice be held the virtual founder of that dynasty "which was to maintain in Gujarāt for nearly two hundred years

a sway brilliant in its military enterprises and in the architecture with which it adorned its capital, but precarious, ever disputed at lavish cost in blood and treasure, and never effectually established throughout the province." *

Having now traced in some detail the rise of the Gujarāt Salṭanat, it will suffice for the purpose of this article to indicate little more than the succession of rulers till the close of the dynasty in 1573. Two events, however, in Aḥmad's reign demand special notice by reason of their connexion with the coins of the period, to wit, the founding of the two cities named after the Sulṭān himself, Aḥmadābād and Aḥmadnagar (Īdar). According to the Mir'āt i Aḥmadī it was in the year H. 813 (A. D. 1411) that Aḥmad Shāh, having received "the assent and leave of that Moon of the Faithful and Sun of the Righteous, Shaikh Aḥmad Ganj Bakhsh," began to build and establish the Shahr i Mu'aẓẓam, 'the Great City,' Aḥmadābād, in the immediate vicinity of Asāwal. The Sulṭān had always professed himself partial to the air and soil of that town, but tradition assigns two further reasons for the founding of the city on its present site. Asāwal was the hold of the famous robber chieftain Asā Bhīl, whose daughter's charms and beauty had won the heart of Aḥmad Shāh. Then, too, at this spot, while the King was one day hunting, a hare had turned on the hounds and fiercely assailed them. To commemorate a courage so phenomenal, Aḥmad desired a city should be built, and among the local peasantry the saying still is heard, "When a hare attacked a dog, the king founded the city." It is on record that the four boundaries of the city were lined out by four Aḥmads who had never missed the afternoon prayer (ẓōhr). The first was that Pole-Star of Shaikhs and Holy Men, the Shaikh Aḥmad Khaṭṭu Ganj Bakhsh; the second the king himself; the third another Shaikh Aḥmad; and the fourth a Mullā Aḥmad; these last two being high-born connexions of the Sulṭān. The city walls, some six miles in circumference, formed a semicircle facing the river Sābarmatī and frowning down on it in imposing ramparts, fifty feet high. Sir Theodore Hope has thus graphically pictured the wonderful development of the work then begun. "In three years the city was sufficiently advanced for habitation, but the great buildings rose only by degrees, and for upwards of a century the work of population and adornment was carried on with unremitting energy, till archi-

* Hope and Fergusson's Architecture of Aḥmadābād, p. 26.

tecture could proceed no further, having satisfied the æsthetic and social wants of above two millions of souls. For materials the finest edifices of Anhilwāḍa, Chandrāvatī, and other cities were ruthlessly plundered; but their delicate sculptures appear with few exceptions to have been scornfully thrown into walls and foundations, where they are now constantly found, while for their own works the conquerors resorted to the sand-stone quarries of Aḥmadnagar and Dhrāngadra, or the marble hills of the Ajmīr district. As to style it was the singular fortune of the Muḥammadans to find themselves among a people their equals in conception, their superiors in execution, and whose tastes had been refined by centuries of cultivation. While moulding them, they were moulded by them, and, though insisting on the bold features of their own minaret and pointed arch, they were fain to borrow the pillared hall, the delicate traceries and rich surface ornaments of their despised and prostrate foe."* In Aḥmad's own reign the chief buildings erected were, in addition to the triple gateway and the walls surrounding the city and the inner citadel (Bhadra), the Jāmi' Masjid or Cathedral Mosque, the Sulṭān's private chapel, and the mosques of Haibat Khān, Saiyid 'Ālam, Malik 'Ālam, and Sīdī Saiyid, the last with glorious windows of pierced stone. With so noble a city as his creation, it is not without reason that historians have delighted to link with Aḥmad's name the proud title of Bānī Aḥmadābād, 'Founder of Aḥmadābād.'

The chief of Īdar long proved a troublesome neighbour to Aḥmad Shāh, who on more than one occasion led an army against that State, only to find that its ruler had retired to the safe covert of its hills. To overawe the Rāv Pūnjā, and permanently check his movements, Aḥmad constructed, eighteen miles south-west of Īdar, on the banks of the Hāthmatī River, a fort, and to the city that sprang up round it he gave the name of Aḥmadnagar. So beautiful is the natural scenery of that district—maiden-hair fern still grows in rich profusion beside the river's limpid waters—that no visitor to the spot to-day will feel surprised that Aḥmad made choice of it for a residence, and thought for a time of transferring thither the head-quarters of Government. The date of the founding of Aḥmadnagar is given by Firishta as H. 829, but by Sikandar as H. 830. Frequently have I come across coins from the Aḥmadnagar mint

* Hope and Fergusson's Architecture of Aḥmadābād, pp. 27, 28.

bearing as date of issue the later year (compare Plate I, Nos. 4, 5, 6); but it was a special pleasure to receive a few months ago from my friend Mr. Frāmjī Jāmaspjī Thānāwālā of Bombay the present of a copper coin of Aḥmad's from this mint, dated quite clearly H. 829.

On his death in H. 846, Aḥmad was succeeded on the throne by his son Muḥammad Shāh (II), who, taking the title of Ghiyāth al dunyā wa al dīn, 'Aid of the World and of the Faith,' reigned during the next nine years. Some of the coins struck by this king were, as we shall afterwards see, of an unusual type (Plate I, 8a, 8b), but the events of his reign do not merit special record. The mildness of his disposition, contrasting with his father's forceful character, gained him the appellation of Karīm, 'Merciful'; while his lavish liberality procured him the epithet Zar Bakhsh, 'the Gold-giver.' Sikandar writes, "He gave himself up to pleasure and ease, and had no care for the affairs of Government, or rather the capacity of his understanding did not attain unto the lofty heights of the concerns of State" (Ba.-S. p. 129). When Maḥmūd Khaljī advanced with a large army to annex Gujarāt to his own kingdom of Mālwā, Sulṭān Muḥammad with a craven timidity took to flight, whereupon the Gujarāt officers, "feeling for their character," compassed his destruction. According to one account, at their instance the Sulṭān's queen herself administered poison to him (Br.-F. IV. 36); whereas, according to another, it was his son and successor Jalāl Khān who "dropped the medicine of death into the cup of the Sulṭān's life" (Ba.-S. p. 134).

Jalāl Khān, on his accession to the throne, assumed the title and style of Quṭb al dunyā wa al dīn Aḥmad Shāh II, 'the Pole-star of the world and of the Faith.' Over this reign also, extending from H. 855 to 863, we need not linger. The Mālwā Sulṭān was defeated near Kapaḍwanj, and later on in the reign tribute was exacted from the Rāṇā of Chitor. His personal valour gained this Aḥmad the appellation of Ghāzī, or Champion of the Faith, but he was of a violent and capricious temper, and frequently abandoned himself to disgraceful debauches. When angry, or under the influence of liquor, he was absolutely reckless as to the shedding of blood. A terrible tragedy attended his sudden death. A rumour spread that his wife had poisoned him at the instance of her father, who hoped thus to clear a path for himself to the throne. The Sulṭān's mother,

giving credence to this story, handed the unsuspecting queen over to the vengeance of her eunuchs, who literally tore her in pieces, and the nobles of the court killed her father. Ere long, however, ample evidence was forthcoming to establish the absolute innocence of the murdered father and daughter.

The next occupant of the throne was Dā'ūd Shāh, uncle of the preceding king, and brother of *his* predecessor, Muḥammad II. He had hardly assumed the sovereign power when he ennobled one of the common sweepers of the household. This and "other acts of imbecility" led to his deposition after a reign of only seven days. He sought refuge in the friendly shelter of a monastery, and there spent the short remainder of his life.

His successor, Maḥmūd Shah, was by far the most celebrated of all the kings of this dynasty, and the prosperity of the kingdom culminated during his glorious reign of over half a century (A. H. 863-917, A. D.1458-1511). As in the history of the Salṭanat it is his figure that bulks largest, and round him most of glory gathers, so also in the numismatic record of the dynasty, it is his coins that are of all the most abundant and distinctly the most beautiful. In the Aḥmadābād bāzār more silver and copper coins of his reign are met with to-day than those of all the other Gujarāt Sulṭāns together, and of the entire series his are almost the only Maḥmūdis that can be justly termed effective expressions of the engraver's art. The Muḥammadan historians verge on rhapsody in their high eulogies of Maḥmud and all his works. "He added glory and lustre to the Kingdom of Gujarāt, and was the best of all the Gujarāt Kings, including all who preceded and all who succeeded him, and whether for abounding justice and generosity, for success in religious war, and for the diffusion of the laws of Islām and of Musalmāns, for soundness of judgment, alike in boyhood, in manhood and in old age, for power, for valour, and victory—he was a pattern of excellence" (Ba.-S. p. 161). To this day the glory of his name lives enshrined in native tradition throughout the whole of India as a pious Musalmān and model sovereign. He was eminently successful not in military operations alone, but also in civil administration, and sought to secure to his subjects the sweets of peace. The Mir'āt i Aḥmadī records that he "built several magnificent caravansarais and lodging-houses for travellers, and founded several colleges and mosques. . . . . All the fruit-trees in the open country, as

well as those in the city, towns, and villages, were planted in the reign of this Sulṭān" (Bi.-A. p. 205). With all his many excellencies, however, Maḥmūd had at least one quality which must have rendered him as a companion disgusting—no milder adjective will do. He was a huge glutton. His daily allowance of food was one Gujarātī *maṇ* in weight, *i.e.*, 41 lbs. On his retiring to rest, a confection of rice would be placed on either side of his bed, so that, awaking at whatever hour, he might stretch forth his hand and eat. His "little breakfast" consisted of a hundred and fifty plantains, with a cup of honey and another of butter. Uneasy in his consciousness of an appetite transgressing all decent bounds, he often used to say, 'If God had not raised Maḥmūd to the throne of Gujarāt, who would have satisfied his hunger?' Nor, according to the stories of early European travellers, was his diet limited to rice and plantains and honey and butter. "Every day he eats poison," so wrote Ludovico di Varthema* in 1510, and then he proceeds to record how this poison had so saturated Maḥmūd's system that his spittle was fatal to any upon whom His Majesty might choose to eject it. Duarte Barbosa, who visited Gujarāt shortly after Maḥmūd's death, states that the Sulṭān was brought up from a child, and nourished, with poison. "This king began to eat it in such a small quantity that it could not do him any harm, and from that he went on increasing this kind of food in such manner that he could eat a great quantity of it; for which cause he became so poisonous that if a fly settled on his hand, it swelled and immediately fell dead."† From such travellers' tales as these Maḥmūd gained in Europe an unenviable notoriety as the Blue Beard of Indian History, and it is to him that Butler referred in the well-known lines from Hudibras,

> "The Prince of Cambay's daily food
> Is asp and basilisk and toad" (Part II., Canto I).

This "Prince of Cambay" was but thirteen years of age when called to the throne, and even thus early he showed his mettle in the fearless suppression of a conspiracy designed to effect the downfall of the chief minister 'Imād al mulk. Quiver on back and bow in

* The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema, Hakluyt Society Reprint, page 109.

† A Description of the Coasts of East India and Malabar, by Duarte Barbosa, Hakluyt Society Reprint, page 57.

hand, the young king, attended by only three hundred horsemen, marched from his palace in the Bhadra to oppose the rebel force, assembled in far superior numbers. Having first secured the various approaches to the palace, he gave orders that his elephants, some five hundred in number, should charge all at once. Panic seized the enemy. Their soldiers cast away their arms, and slunk into hiding in the neighbouring houses, while the amīrs fled precipitately from the city. A detailed account of the reign of Maḥmūd, or of his successes in the Deccan and Kāṯhiāwāḍ and Sindh would here be out of place. We need for our present purpose only narrate his founding of the two mint-towns of Muṣṭafābād and Muḥammadābād.

In H. 871 (A. D. 1466) Maḥmūd made an expedition against the Maṇḍalik Rājā, or petty king, of Girnār, a district in the south-west of Kāṯhiāwāḍ. On this occasion the Rā'o tendered his submission, whereupon Maḥmūd withdrew his troops to Gujarāt. The next year, however, information was received that the Rā'o Maṇḍalik had visited a "temple of idolatry," taking with him all the insignia of royalty. Maḥmūd, accordingly, determined to humble the pride of this infidel ruler. His capital was forthwith invested, and its inhabitants were reduced to the utmost straits. In H. 874 the fort of Girnār, considered one of the strongest in all India, surrendered to this Gujarāt Sulṭān, and the Rājā accepted the faith of Islām. Firishta adds that Maḥmūd, "being desirous that the tenets of Islām should be propagated throughout the country of Girnār, caused a city to be built, which he called Muṣṭafābād, for the purpose of establishing an honorable residence for the venerable personages of the Muḥammadan religion deputed to disseminate its principles. Maḥmūd Shāh also took up his residence in that city" (Br.-F. IV. 56).

Fifteen years elapsed before the founding of the second mint-town, Muḥammadābād, in H. 889 (A. D. 1484). During a season of scarcity one of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's captains, raiding in Chāmpānīr territory, was attacked, defeated, and slain by Rāwal Jayasingh. Thereupon Maḥmūd, refusing all arbitrament except 'the sword and the dagger,' marched with a large army against Chāmpānīr by way of Baroda. The siege of the hill-fort was protracted for more than a year, but Maḥmūd, in token of his fixed resolution not to leave till the fort should be taken, laid in his military lines the foundations of a beautiful mosque. At length finding resistance unavailing, the Rāwal consigned to the flames the women of his household and all

his valuables, and then sallied forth in a fierce charge. Wounded, he fell into the hands of the Sulṭān, but, unlike the Maṇḍalik Rājā, he declined to embrace Islām, and bravely paid the forfeit of his life. On the fall of the fort, Maḥmūd changed the name of the city to Muḥammadābād. This name is correctly given in the Mir'āt i Sikandarī (Ba.-S. p. 211) and in the Mō'āṣir (Blochmann's translation of the Ain-i Akbari, I. 507, note). Firishtā, however, states, "During the time the king was detained by the sick and wounded at Chāmpānīr, he laid the foundation of the city of Maḥmūdābād." (Br.-F. IV. 70); but in at least nine subsequent references to this same place Firishta himself calls it Muḥammadābād-Chāmpānīr.* Discussion on this point, however, is practically foreclosed by the evidence of the beautiful coin No. 34 on Plate III., the margin of which reads not Maḥmūdābād, but very clearly Muḥammadābād 'urf Chāmpānīr. Maḥmūd did found a city named after himself Maḥmūdābād, but this was situated not in the vicinity of Chāmpānīr, but on the bank of the River Wātrak, eighteen miles south-east of Aḥmadābād. It is the city which in A. D. 1546 the Sulṭān Maḥmūd III., on removing from Aḥmadābād, chose for his residence, and where he "laid out a magnificent palace, which he called the 'Deer Park,' the like of which was never seen upon the earth" (Ba.-S. p. 443). The original name Maḥmūdābād is now corrupted to Meḥmūdābād or Meḥmadābād. This city does not seem to have ever possessed a mint, and should not be confused with the mint town Muḥammadābād Chāmpānīr. In the latter "many great buildings were raised and gardens laid out, and, by the skill of a native of Khurāsān, well-fitted with fountains and waterfalls. Its fruits, especially its mangoes, were famous, and its sandal trees grew so freely that their timber was used in house-building. Mechanics and craftsmen thronged its streets, Chāmpānīr sword-blades became noted for their sharpness, and Chāmpānīr silks for their bright colours. Though he by no means deserted Aḥmadābād, Maḥmūd III. continued to the close of his reign to consider Muḥammadābād Chāmpānīr his capital" (*Bombay Gazetteer*, III. 305). In 1535, however, this city was pillaged by the Emperor Humāyūn, and soon thereafter the court and capital were transferred back to Aḥmadābād. The almost simultaneous loss of the Gujarāt ascendency over Mālwā precipitated

* Br.-F. IV. 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 80, 82, 87, 128.

the city's decay. Its subsequent decline was indeed so rapid that only some eighty years later it was held to afford a classical illustration of the truth of the verse, 'All on earth fades, and God does as He wills.'

The subjection of the "two forts" (in Gujarātī બે ગઢ, be gaḍh) of Girnār and Chāmpānīr is held by some historians to supply the key to Maḥmūd's etymologically perplexing title of Begaḍā (બેગડો.) Another suggested derivation is that the term Bīgarha (بيگره), meaning, so it is said, 'a bullock whose horns stretch out right and left like the arms of a person about to embrace,' was applied to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, inasmuch as the said Sulṭān "has mustachios under his nose so long that he ties them over his head as a woman would tie her tresses."[1]

Maḥmūd Shah died in 1511, just a hundred (solar) years after the founding of Aḥmadābād. It had been a century of large growth and prosperity, thanks mainly to the strong administrations of Aḥmad and Maḥmūd, whose combined reigns covered no less than eighty-five years. But now began that period of national decline which was to issue in the final subjugation of the province by the imperial troops of Akbar (A. D. 1573). Maḥmūd Begaḍā's son, Khalīl Khān, succeeded to the throne under the name of Muẓaffar II. For piety and learning, liberality and bravery, he was held unequalled in his age, and on account of his many merciful acts he was entitled Muẓaffar the Clement. Notwithstanding his many admirable traits, he was as a king fatally weak, and incapable of controlling his nobles. Their influence, thus unchecked, grew into a power which was eventually to subvert the dynasty. Lacking the sternness and energy that those rough times demanded, Muẓaffar's clemency often interposed to save the guilty from merited punishment, and "such conduct was, on the whole, the cause of disturbances" (Bi.-A. p. 229). Troubles in Mālwā and wars with the Īdar chief occupied much of the fifteen years of his reign (A. H. 917-932, A. D. 1511-1525), but these need not detain us. In connexion with this king's last illness, Sikandar relates several anecdotes illustrating a singularly unselfish and amiable disposition. A sore famine was afflicting the land, so Muẓaffar lifte up his hands in prayer to God, and said, "O Lord, if for any fault of mine my people are afflicted, take me from this world, and

[1] The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema, Hakluyt Society Reprint, page 109.

leave my people unharmed, and relieve them from this drought." For the Sulṭān was tender-hearted, and could not bear the sight of the poor and wretched. Moreover, since the prayers of a Sulṭān are entitled to acceptance, so the arrow of his prayers reached its mark, and the rain of mercy fell from the heavens. One day he was listening to the commentary of a reader of the Qōr'ān, and observed, "I read more of the Qōr'ān now, in the days of my sovereignty, than I did before I came to the throne. This morning I have heard half of the reader's commentary: I trust to hear the other half in heaven." He died on a Friday, the Muslim Sabbath. Hearing that morning the call to prayer, he said, 'I have not strength to go to the masjid myself,' but he sent one of his attendants. After a short time he performed his ablutions, and said the prayers: then he put up humble and earnest supplications for pardon. After that he stretched himself out on the couch, repeated the Confession of Faith three times, and rendered up his soul to heaven, leaving behind him a good and righteous name (Ba.-S., pp. 279-281).

Muẓaffar's eldest son, Sikandar, ascended the throne on his father's death, but, slighting the older ministers of the crown, and showering honours on the companions of his youthful follies, he soon became extremely unpopular. The defeat of his troops by the Rāṇā of Chitor served to intensify the general odium against him, 'Imād al mulk, a great favourite of the late king, being informed that Sikandar had designs upon his life, determined to be beforehand with him, and, forthwith entering into a conspiracy, caused the Sulṭān to be assassinated in his bedchamber.

After Sikandar's reign of less than seven weeks, his brother, Naṣīr Khān, a child of six, was raised to the throne under the title of Maḥmūd Shāh II., this being effected through the influence of 'Imād al mulk. The complete ascendency now obtained by this minister excited the envy of the rest of the nobles, who sent secret messages to the late Sulṭān Muẓaffar's second son, Bahādur Khān, then at Jaunpūr, apprising him of the turn events had taken, and promising him, if he would assert his claim to the throne, their hearty assistance. This prince accepted the invitation to return, and, meeting with but little opposition on the way, advanced to Aḥmadābād. Imād al mulk was at once seized, and ignominiously executed at

Chāmpānīr, and a few months later by Bahādur's order his infant brother Maḥmūd II was poisoned.

The eleven years of Sulṭān Bahādur's reign (A. H. 932-943, A.D. 1526—1536) were years full of stirring incidents, for during them he entered into conflict not only with the rulers of Mālwā, Jhālāwār, and the Deccan, but also with Humāyūn, who at Delhi was already carving out for his descendants the great Mughal Empire, and with the Portuguese, then so formidable as a naval power. Humāyūn, inflicting upon Bahādur defeat after defeat, drove him from Mandāsar to Māndū, thence to Muḥammadābād-Chāmpānīr, and thence to Cambay, all which towns were successively given up to plunder by the conquerors. Thus the Sulṭān Bahādur, who had but recently compelled obedience from the Kings of the Deccan, Khāndesh, and Birār, who had overthrown the powerful rule of Maḥmūd Khaljī of Mālwā, and had stormed the strong fortress of Chitor, found himself in the short space of six months a fugitive craving protection from the Portuguese at Dīu. His overthrow had been complete and final had only the Emperor Humāyūn been able to follow up his victories and march against Soraṭh. Fortunately for the Sulṭān, however, Shīr Shāh, the governor of Bengal, revolted at this juncture, and it thus became imperative for the Emperor to return to his own capital. After his departure from Gujarāt, Bahādur took heart again, and with the aid of allies collected a large army. In the hard-contested battle of Kanij, five miles north-west of Maḥmūdābād, the imperial troops that Humāyūn had left behind were defeated and ultimately expelled the country. Thus both Gujarāt and Mālwā were rid of the Mughals, who for some nine months had occupied these provinces, and the Sulṭān Bahādur Shāh regained his kingdom. The Portuguese, in return for the help they had given Bahādur, were now granted permission to build a factory at Dīu. Instead of a factory, however, they erected a fort. Bahādur, accordingly, proceeded in person to the island of Dīu, and in the subsequent negotiations with the Portuguese Governor, Nuno da Cunha, there can be little doubt that both sides meditated treachery. In response to an invitation, the Sulṭān, accompanied only by a small guard, visited the Governor in his vessel, then lying at anchor in the harbour. On his arrival every mark of honour was accorded him. Round the Sulṭān's head the captain waved as *largesse* "plates upon plates of gold and shield upon shield of jewels, and then

conducted him to a royal seat, using a great show of politeness to cover his designs. The Sulṭān, also, was weaving a plot, but Fate was not in accord with his plans" (Ba.-S., p. 397). At the moment of departure Bahādur was about to step into a barge to return to the shore when the boat drew off, and the King fell into the water. Faria e Souza's brief record of the final tragedy is as follows:— "Tristan de Payva de Santarem, coming up, reached out to the King an oar to bring him aboard his vessel, when a soldier struck him across the face with a halbert, and so others, till he was killed. He was a little while above water, and then sank, and neither his nor Emanuel de Souza his body could be found, though Nuno da Cunha caused them to be diligently looked after, to give them the due funeral honours".[1]

His early death, for he was but thirty-one, under such tragic circumstances, won for Bahādur a sympathy he little merited. In disposition he was rash and impetuous, cruel and vindictive, and his inglorious administration of the country was due not so much to weakness or want of ability as to his sloth and sensuality.

On Bahādur's death, his sister's son, Mīrān Muḥammad Farrukhī of Khāndesh, was, in compliance with the express wish of the late king, invited to accept the throne of Gujarāt. He, however, on learning of his uncle's murder, was overwhelmed with grief. Abandoning his wonted pleasures, he spent his days in fasting and his nights in prayer. Now and again with many a sigh he would exclaim, 'I consume! I consume!' and but six weeks after his accession he departed this life.

The next occupant of the throne of Gujarāt was a child of eleven, the Sulṭān Maḥmūd III, who also was a nephew of the late Sulṭān Bahādur, a son of his brother Laṭīf. The eighteen years of his reign (A. H. 943-961; A. D. 1536-1553) were altogether uneventful, being marked only by the petty intrigues of ministers, each seeking his own selfish ends. For some five years the king, being still a minor, was under the strict surveillance of a noble, named Daryā Khān, who was *de facto* ruler of the province. When Maḥmūd, impatient of further restraint, threw off his yoke, Daryā

[1] Quoted in Br.-F. IV., p. 138, from Faria e Souza's History of the Portuguese in Asia.

Khān brought forward a boy, whom he declared to be a scion of the royal house, and, seating him on the throne under the title of Sulṭān Muẓaffar III, caused coins to be struck and the public prayers to be read in his name. This rebellion, however, was but short-lived, the popular suffrage being in favour of Maḥmūd. It will be remembered that it was this monarch who beautified with the wonderful 'Deer Park' the city of Maḥmūdābād (Meḥmadābād), and who here took up his abode. Here, too, he met his death at the hand of "a certain villainous evil-doer," who bore "the ill-omened name of Burhān." Having invited some holy men for the reading of the Qōr'ān, the Sulṭān had entertained them as his guests, and distributed amongst them money and clothes, after which, wearied with this service, he retired to his chamber for rest. Thirsty, he called for some sharbat, whereupon Burhān, his cup-bearer, brought him a poisoned narcotic. After taking the draught, Maḥmūd suddenly became unwell, but in the second watch of the night dozed off to sleep. Then that villain, "accursed in this world and in the next," fearing lest the poison had failed to take effect, drew a Dārinī dagger, and stabbed the Sulṭān to death.

In the hope of securing for himself the throne of Gujarāt, Burhān had hatched a deep-laid plot. The late Sulṭān had recruited a force of twelve hundred men, known as the Bāgh-mār, "Tiger-slayers." Burhān now sent for their leaders, with whom he had been at pains to ingratiate himself, and, concealing them in an ante-chamber, told them it was the Sulṭān's order that they should kill whoever might enter. He then summoned the chief minister and other nobles, on the pretext that the Sulṭān desired to consult them on State business of urgency. Some thirteen of the highest functionaries responded to the summons, and on their arrival were all assassinated as they passed one by one into the room. Then, rifling the Sulṭān's jewel-chamber, Burhān distributed lapfuls of precious gems to his vile companions, and, binding on his own neck a richly bejewelled collar, "seated himself, like a dog, on the royal chair." When at dawn rumour of the foul murders spread through the city, some of the surviving nobles on their way to the palace met a procession heralding Burhān as the new Sulṭān. As it was passing, Burhān himself, noticing that Shirwān Khān had, as a mark of courtesy, alighted from his horse, cried out, 'Let Shirwān Khān come near; he is on my side, and desires to pay his obeisance.'

Hearing these words, Shirwān fired with rage, did draw near, and with his sword dealing the villain a mighty blow across the loins cut him in twain. Of the 'tiger-slayers' accompanying him, some fled, but "some were sent after that evil one to Hell" (Ba.-S., p. 452).

Incredible as it seems, the Hindūs in their passionate hatred of Maḥmūd regarded his murderer Burhān in the light of a saviour of the people, and are said to have made after Burhān's death a stone image of him, to which they paid divine honours. This hatred on the part of the Hindūs was not without a cause, for the Sulṭān had visited them with bitter persecutions. Many of the Rājpūts and Kolīs he had caused to be branded, and had compelled them to wear, as a token of subjection, a red rag on the right sleeve. They were forbidden to ride within the walls of the city of Aḥmadābād, and the celebration of the Holī and Diwālī was proscribed.

In the confusion consequent upon the massacre of Maḥmūd and so many of his nobles, the court and people turned, as though instinctively, towards one of the amīrs, by name E'timād Khān, who for the next twenty years fulfilled the rôle of "King-maker." Originally a Hindū servant of the Sulṭān Maḥmūd, he had embraced Islām, and his master ultimately reposed in him such absolute confidence as to place the ḥaram under his charge. On his now being questioned whether any of the Sulṭān's wives were expecting a child, he replied in the negative, but he added that a boy, a blood-relation of the murdered Sulṭān, was living at Aḥmadābād. The messenger sent thither found the child bringing home some grain for his pet pigeons. Picking up the boy, he drove off at full speed towards Maḥmūdābād, and to the expostulating nurse sententiously replied, 'I am going to take him to a place where all the world will to-morrow crowd round his house, and where he will not find one friend.'

Enthroned in the year H. 961 (A. D. 1553) with the title of Ghiyāth al dunyā wa al dīn Aḥmad Shāh (III), he was nominal ruler of Gujarāt till H. 968. Firishta, indeed, gives H. 969 as the last year of Aḥmad's reign (Br.-F. IV. 155), but the coin No. 71 on Plate VI proves that already in H. 968 Muẓaffar (III) was king.

Early in Aḥmad's reign a party headed by Ikhtiyār al mulk espoused the cause of another aspirant to the throne, "a person

named Shāhū, the Sulṭān's paternal uncle" (Bi.-A., p. 275); but at a battle fought near Maḥmūdābād this Shāhū and his supporters were defeated. Mutual strife and discord prevailed amongst the nobles and served to hasten on the disintegration of the kingdom. Ē'timād Khān on some slight pretext fled to Mubārak Shāh of Khāndesh, who, championing his cause, gladly led an army against Gujarāt. The invader was, however, content to return on the cession to him of Sulṭānpūr and Nandarbār, which districts thus became permanently alienated from the Salṭanat. On a later occasion one of the nobles, in order to gain possession of the city of Sūrat, called in the assistance of the Portuguese, to whom, in recognition of the services then rendered, Daman and Sanjān were granted. Thus two more provinces were lost to the kingdom.

After remaining for five years in tutelage, Aḥmad sought to take the reins of power into his own hands, but Ē'timād was too powerful a minister to be superseded, and Aḥmad, who had meanwhile left for Maḥmūdābād to consult with one of his principal courtiers, was brought back to the capital. Outwardly he was reconciled to Ē'timād, but his animosity against the masterful wazīr could not be long concealed. Once in his impatience he cut down a plantain tree, and then exclaimed, 'Would God it had been Ē'timād Khān!' Shortly thereafter the king's dead body was found, lying exposed on the sands of the Sābarmatī River, close by the houses of the Bhadra. One account has it that he met his death in a love-intrigue at night, but the more probable story is that of the Mir'āt i Aḥmadī, which records in detail how the Sulṭān was assassinated at the instigation of his designing minister.

At this crisis it was to him that the nobles again looked to nominate a successor to the throne, and Ē'timād, again equal to the occasion, produced a child named Nathū (or, according to Firishta, Ḥabīb or Ḥabū, Br.-F. IV. 155), who, he now swore, was a son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. The mother, when pregnant, had, so he asserted, been handed over to him for the purpose of procuring an abortion, but, the child being five months old, he had not carried out the order. The nobles accepting, if not believing, this new version of the story, raised the boy of twelve to the throne under the title of Shams al dunyā wa al dīn Muẓaffar Shāh (III).

The Tārīkh i Soraṭh mentions that during this reign—it was probably in the year H. 978 (A. D. 1570)—Satrasāl bin Vibhājī, the Jām of Navānagar in the west of Kāṭhiāwāḍ, received permission from the Gujarāt Sulṭān to issue coined money. It was, however, stipulated that Muẓaffar's name should appear on these new coins, and that they should be called Maḥmūdīs after Muẓaffar's father, the late Sulṭān Maḥmūd. "The permission was obtained in the following way. On "a certain occasion the Jām presented a rupee to the Sulṭān with a "Korī (the newly-struck silver coin) as nazrānah, and said, 'In the "'same way as the dignity of rājās is augmented by giving their "'daughters to His Majesty the Sulṭān, so I wed my Kuṁvarī (Guj-"'arātī, કુંવરી a maiden) to this rupee, in the hope that her honour "'will increase.' The Sulṭān, pleased with the conceit, issued the "permission for coining this money, and ordered it to be called "Kuṁvarī in the Hindū language. And by the mispronunciation of "the vulgar it is now called Korī"[1]

The latter name, as being in homely vernacular, has at the present day quite superseded the Persian name of Maḥmūdī. The Koris issued by the Navānagar State are known as Jāmshāis, those of the Jūnāgaḍh State as Diwānshāis, and those of the Porbandar State as Rānāshāis. All three kinds have continued to be minted till within the last few years.[2]

During his minority Muẓaffar was but a puppet-king, the kingdom being definitely partitioned out amongst some half dozen of his nobles. Incessant feuds resulted. At this juncture another disturbing element appeared upon the scene. Certain Mirzās, five in number, sons of Sulṭān Ḥusain of Khurāsān, having escaped from the fort in which by the order of the Emperor Akbar they had been confined, sought an asylum with the powerful amīr Changīz Khān of Broach. On the complicated intrigues that ensued it is unnecessary here to dwell. Suffice it to say, confusion now became worse confounded, and every man's hand was raised against his neighbour. Party

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[1] Burgess' translation of the Tārīkh i Soraṭh, pp. 246, 247.

[2] 100 Jāmshāi Koris equal 28-4-4 Imperial rupees;
100 Diwānshāi Koris equal 27-2-2 Imperial rupees,
and 100 Rānāshāi Koris equal 31-7-11 Imperial rupees (Kāṭhiāwāḍ Gazetteer, pp. 201, 202).

fought against party, and new parties were ever forming. In the midst of all this anarchy Ē'timād Khān resolved once again to be 'King-maker.' Accordingly through one of his agents he sent a message to the Emperor Akbar, representing the state of affairs, and entreating him to invade Gujarāt and annex it to his dominions. Akbar, glad of any pretext for driving the Mirzās from their place of refuge, readily responded to Ē'timād Khān's proposal. If '*Divide et impera*' be the secret of imperial extension, Akbar's work was practically accomplished for him even before the July of 1572 (A. H. 980) when with his army he set out for Aḥmadābād. The Kingdom of Gujarāt was already broken up into many incoherent fragments, and Akbar had but to step in and assume supreme control. On the invading army's arrival at Dīsā, intelligence was received that the road to Aḥmadābād was clear, the siege of that city by Shīr Khān Fūlādī, one of the chief insurgents, having been abandoned. Officers sent ahead to secure the person of Sulṭān Muẓaffar found him hiding in a field of grain, and brought him to their camp a prisoner. Thereupon the Gujarātī nobles one after another tendered their submission to the Emperor, and orders were forthwith issued that coins should be struck and the Khuṭba read in the name of Akbar Pādshāh. Not six months had elapsed since his departure from Ajmīr, nor had he in the meantime risked the issue of a single battle, yet now the fair province of Gujarāt — the Garden of India — lay at his feet, acknowledging him as Lord Paramount. True, the country had not yet been definitely conquered, much less finally pacified. Akbar, who had early returned to Agra, was in the following year to make his wonderful march from Fatḥpūr back to Aḥmadābād — six hundred miles in nine days — and within the following eleven days was to inflict a crushing defeat on the enemy, relieve the beleaguered garrison, settle the future government of the province, and leave again for Agra. Still later on, severe fighting was to take place in different parts of the country, at Nūndod and Īdar and Sīrohi and Nandarbār, also in the Soraṭh district at Navānagar and Mangrol and Kodinār; but at no time did the imperial troops suffer more than temporary checks. From the annexation of the province in 1573 right on till 1758, the year of the final capture of Aḥmadābād by the Marāṭlās, Gujarāt remained under the government of officers appointed by the Mughal Emperors of Dehlī. The days of the Gujarāt Salṭanat had ended.

One episode, the last bright flicker of the dying flame, remains to be recorded. The Emperor Akbar, having in H. 980 taken Muẓaffar Shāh with him to Agra, granted him in jāgīr the sarkārs of Sārangpūr and Ujjain in Mālwā, districts producing a handsome revenue. On Munʿim Khān Khānān's departure for Bengal, he was accompanied by Muẓaffar, who soon thereafter received his daughter in marriage. Ere long, however, Muẓaffar, falling under suspicion, was imprisoned by his father-in-law, but eventually in H. 991 he managed to escape and fled direct to Gujarāt. While in retirement with his mother's relatives at the village of Khīrī in the Sardhār district of Soraṯh, he received an invitation from certain disaffected officers of the but recently recalled viceroy, Shihāb al dīn, urging that he should strike for the throne. Shihāb al dīn himself repudiated these conspirators, and ultimately with his remaining troops joined the army of Ēʿtimād Khān, the new viceroy. Meanwhile, however, Muẓaffar marched at the head of some four thousand horse on Aḥmadābād. A friendly faction in that city gave him access, and, as part of the city wall was broken down, he effected an immediate entrance. The united imperial forces now advanced against him, but Muẓaffar, engaging them without delay, inflicted a total defeat and captured all their baggage. Thus once again, after an interval of eleven years, Muẓaffar seated himself on the throne of Gujarāt, and in token of his new-found sovereignty issued from the Aḥmadābād mint coins struck in his own name. But this resumption of regal power was not of long duration. When the news of Muẓaffar's successes reached the Emperor at the end of H. 991 (A. D. 1583), he at once conferred the government of Gujarāt on Mirzā Abd al Raḥīm Khān, who some six years before had held the viceroyalty of that province. Hearing of the advance of this new viceroy, Muẓaffar, who had gone to Broach to take over its surrendered fort, at once returned to Aḥmadābād, and encamped his army close to the suburb of ʿOthmānpūr, on the right bank of the Sābarmatī. Mirzā Khān halted his troops near Sarkhej, awaiting hourly expected reinforcements from Mālwā. Obviously it was to Sulṭān Muẓaffar's advantage not to allow of delay, and accordingly advancing he engaged Mirzā Khān's army in a pitched battle on the 26th of January, 1584. At first fortune seemed to favour Muẓaffar, but later in the day the imperial elephants threw the enemy's ranks into confusion, and the Sulṭān, giving up all as lost, fled to Maḥmūdābād and thence to Cambay. In honour of this decisive victory, Mirāz

Khān, now ennobled with the title of Khān Khānān, built on the battle-site near Sarkhej a palace and in a garden summer-houses. A few traces of these buildings are still to be seen at the village known to-day as Fatḥ Wāḍi, or Victory Garden.

For eight more years Muẓaffar bravely strove to maintain the unequal contest, wandering from place to place and seeking the aid of friendly nobles. His cause was espoused for a time by the chiefs of Rājpīpla, Morvī, and Jūnāgaḍh. In H. 1000 (A. D. 1591) he had taken refuge with the pirate chieftain Sewā Wādhel of Bet, who gallantly gave his life in the defence of his guest Muẓaffar. The royal fugitive forthwith crossed over into Cutch, and accordingly the Gujarāt viceroy, Mirzā 'Azīz Kokaltash, struck across country towards Morvī. Here the Jāḍejā Bhārmal I, the then Rā'o, on coming to pay his respects to the viceroy, was base enough to barter the person of his suppliant sovereign for the district of Morvī, proffered him as a bribe.[1] In fulfilment of his atrocious stipulation, the Rā'o led a small detachment of the imperial troops to the spot where Muẓaffar lay in concealment, and the ex-king thus fell into the enemy's hands. That whole night he was marched under strict guard towards the viceroy's camp, but at daybreak, on reaching Dhrol, a town some twenty-five miles east of Jāmnagar, he alighted from his horse, and, withdrawing behind a tree, cut his throat with a razor. Thus miserably perished the unfortunate Muẓaffar, last but not least of the Sulṭāns of Gujarāt.

II.—Chronological List of the Kings of the Gujarāt Salṭanat.

No.	Name.	Year of Birth.	Reign.	Length of Reign.
1	Muḥammad I. ...		A. H. 806 / A. D. 1403	2 months.
2	Muẓaffar I.	A. H. 743 / A. D. 1342	A. H. 810—813 / A. D. 1407—1410	3 years 8 months.

[1] "To mark his sense of the infamy of the Jāḍejā and the honour of the pirate Wādhel, the Emperor erected two *pāliyās* at the gates of Dehlī, issuing an edict that whoever passed that of the Wādhel should crown it with chaplets of flowers, while on that of the Jāḍejā the passer should bestow a blow with his slipper." Tod's "Western India," p. 438.

No.	Name.	Year of Birth.	Reign.	Length of Reign.
3	Aḥmad I.	A. H. 793 / A. D. 1390	A. H. 813—846 / A.D.1410—1442	32 years 6 months.
4	Muḥammad II. ...		A. H. 846—855 / A.D. 1442—1451	8 years 9 months.
5	Quṭb al din Aḥmad II.	cir. A. H. 835 / A.D.1431	A. H. 855—863 / A.D.1451—1458	8 years 6 months.
6	Dā'ūd		A. H. 863 / A. D. 1458	7 days.
7	Maḥmūd I.	A. H. 819 / A. D. 1445	A. H. 863—917 / A.D.1458—1511	54 years 1 month.
8	Muẓaffar II. ...	A. H. 880 / A. D. 1475	A. H. 917—932 / A.D.1511—1525	14 years 9 months.
9	Sikandar		A. H. 932 / A.D. 1525	1 month 16 days.
10	Maḥmūd II	cir. A.H. 926 / A.D.1519	A. H. 932 / A. D. 1525	4 months.
11	Bahādur	A. H. 912 / A. D. 1506	A. H. 932—943 / A.D.1526—1536	11 years 3 months.
12	Muḥammad III. ...		A. H. 943 / A. D. 1536	1 month 12 days.
13	Maḥmūd III... ...	A. H. 932 / A. D. 1525	A. H. 943—961 / A.D.1536—1553	18 years 3 months.
14	Aḥmad III.	cir. A.H. 919 / A.D.1542	A. H. 961—968 / A.D.1553—1560	7 years 5 months.
15	Muẓaffar III... ...	cir. A. H. 955 / A.D.1548	A. H. 968—980 / A.D.1560—1573 and A. H. 991—992 / A.D.1583—1584	12 years 2 months. 5 months.

Notes on the Chronological List of the Kings of the Gujarāt Salṭanat.

1. The dates entered in the "List" have been determined after weighing the available evidence, but absolute correctness is difficult of attainment, as the authorities themselves are frequently at variance. The following are the chief discrepancies :—

(*a*) According to the Tārīkh i Alfī, Muẓaffar I. died not in H. 813 but in H. 814. It states that in the former year Muẓaffar

abdicated his throne in favour of his grandson Aḥmad I., but that his death did not take place till five months and sixteen days after his abdication. During this interval the Khuṭba was read and coins were struck in Aḥmad's name (Ba.-S. page 87 note*).

(*b*) According to Firishta, Aḥmad I. was born not in H. 793 but in H. 794 (Br.-F. IV. 3).

(*c*) According to the Mir'āt i Sikandarī, Aḥmad I. died not in H. 846 but in H. 845. Copper coins of this Sulṭān are, however, in my possession bearing the date H. 846, which year tallies with the statement in the Ṭabaqāt i Akbarī that Aḥmad's successor, Muḥammad I., ascended the throne on "3rd Rabī' al ākhir, 846."

(*d*) According to the Mir'āt i Aḥmadī, Dā'ud reigned not for seven days only but for one month and seven days (Bi.-A. p. 202).

(*e*) According to Firishta, Muẓaffar II. was born not in H. 880 but in H. 875.

(*f*) According to the Mir'āt i Aḥmadī, Sikandar reigned for *two* months and sixteen days (Bi.-A. p. 232), and according to Firishta for *three* months and seventeen days (Br.-F. IV. 100).

(*g*) According to Firishta and the Ṭabaqāt i Akbarī, Maḥmūd III. ascended the throne not in H. 943 but in H. 944. The correct date is probably the end of H. 943.

(*h*) According to Firishta, Aḥmad III. died not in H. 968 but in H. 969. Silver coins, however, of Muẓaffar III., the successor of Aḥmad III., are known, dated H. 968 (see Plate VI., No. 71), agreeing thus with the Mir'āt i Aḥmadī which assigns to that year both the death of Aḥmad III. and the accession of Muẓaffar III. (Bi.-A. pp. 283, 287).

2. Of the fifteen Sulṭāns, the coins of nine are illustrated on the accompanying plates. Nos. 1-6 are of Aḥmad I.'s reign,

Nos. 7-10a of Muḥammad II.'s, Nos. 11-14 of Aḥmad II.'s,

Nos. 15-43 of Maḥmūd I.'s, Nos. 44-50 of Muẓaffar II.'s,

Nos. 51-57 of Bahādur's, Nos. 58-66 of Maḥmūd III.'s,

Nos. 67-70a of Aḥmad III.'s, Nos. 71-78 of Muẓaffar III.'s first reign, and Nos. 79 and 80 of his second reign.

I have never come across a single coin of any of the remaining six kings. Of these six Muẓaffar I. reigned for three years and eight months, but the aggregate length of the reigns of the other five (Muḥammad I., Dā'ūd, Sikandar, Maḥmūd II., and Muḥammad (III.) was less than one year. The histories are silent as to any coin having been struck by Dā'ūd or Sikandar, or Maḥmūd II.: but distinct evidence is to hand that Muḥammad I., Muẓaffar I., and Muḥammad III. did, all three, issue coins in their own names.

(a) Of Tātār Khān, Firishta records: "He dignified his uncle "Shams Khān with the title of Nuṣrat Khān, and causing "himself to be proclaimed king, coined money under the "name of Muḥammad Shāh Gujarātī" (Br.-F. IV. 9).

(b) The Mir'āt i Aḥmadī states: "Ẓafar Khān, having assumed "the title of Muẓaffar Shāh, struck coins in his own "name, and appointed his grandson Aḥmad Shāh to "succeed him as his heir" (Bi.-A. pp. 183, 184).

(c) The following is Firishta's reference to a currency issued in the name of Muḥammad III.: "The Gujarāt officers, "convening a meeting, resolved on inviting Mīrān "Muḥammad Khān of Khāndesh, nephew of Bahādur "Shāh, who was then in Mālwā, to ascend the throne; "and, without any further hesitation, coins were struck "and public prayers read in his name" (Br.-F. IV. 142).

3. It is worthy of special note that the Mir'āt i Aḥmadī has an express statement to the effect that during a rebellion in the reign of Maḥmūd III., coins were issued in the name of a Sulṭan Muẓaffar. The passage reads as follows:—"One day had elapsed before Daryā "Khān became acquainted with the Sulṭān's flight, and he was now "at a loss how to proceed. As he was in possession of the treasure "he elevated to the throne a grandson of Sulṭān Aḥmad II., and "having entitled him Sulṭān Muẓaffar (III.), caused the currency to be "struck, and the oration at the mosque to be pronounced in his "name" (Bi.-A. pp. 258, 259).

No specimen of these coins is now known.

4. Was there a Pretender "Muhammad" Sulṭān who caused coin to be struck in his own name in H. 963 (A. D. 1555—1556)?

(a) Mr. E. E. Oliver in his article on "the Coins of the Muḥam-"madan Kings of Gujarāt" in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1889), assigns, though doubtfully No. 28 of his collection to this 'Muḥammad Shah (!)

Pretender." If, however, that coin be, as seems almost certain, identical with the billon coins Nos. 15*a* and 15*b* given on the accompanying Plate II., its legends read as follow:—

Obverse: Nāṣir al dunyā wa al dīn Abu'l Fatḥ Maḥmūd Shāh;

Reverse: Akh Quṭb Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh al Sulṭān אדר Maḥmūd Shāh, Helper of the World and of the Faith, Father of Victory, Brother of Quṭb Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, the Sulṭān, 863.

This coin was thus struck by Maḥmūd I (Begaḍā) in the first year of his reign, H. 863 (A. D. 1458-1459), and has no connexion whatsoever with a Pretender, later by exactly a century (H. 963).

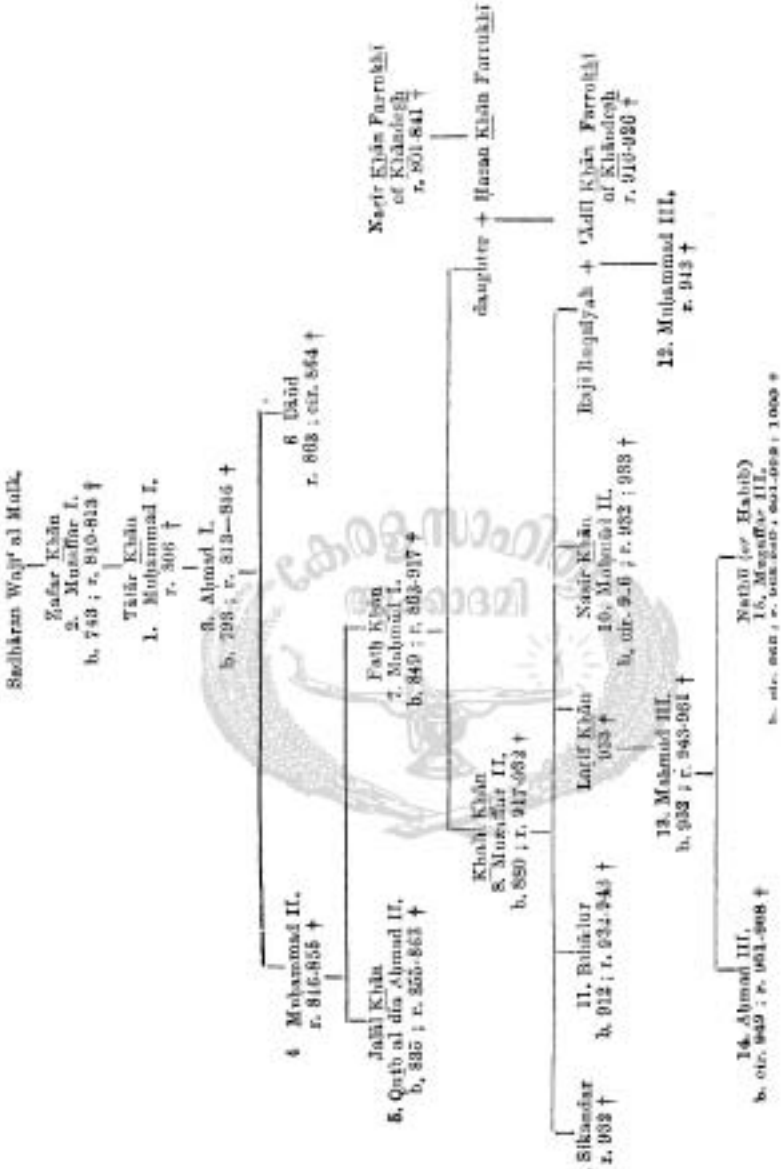
(*b*) In the British Museum Catalogue, three copper coins, Nos. 437, 438 and 439, are doubtfully assigned to a "Muḥammad Shāh, Pretender (?)."

1. Of these, No. 439 is a square coin, the *only* square coin of the Gujarāt series in the British Museum Collection. Thomas, on page 353 of his "Chronicles of the Paṭhān Kings," refers to "square coins, A. H. 856?" struck by Muḥammad II. But that Sulṭān died in H. 855, thus in the year preceding the issue of this coin. I have myself never seen a square coin of the Gujarāt Sulṭanat.

2. The reverse of all the three coins is very unlike that of any of the Gujarāt coins of the Salṭanat period. Save these three, I know of none with a double parallel line as diameter, none with "several ornaments," and none with the Hijrī year entered quite in the *upper* portion of the reverse field. The "type" is foreign to Gujarāt.

For these reasons I am of opinion that Nos. 437, 438 and 439 of the British Museum Catalogue are not coins of the Gujarāt Salṭanat at all. Further, none of the extant histories makes reference to a Pretender Muḥammad Shāh asserting claim to the throne of Gujarāt in H. 963: and, apart from the above three doubtful coins, there is, so far as I can learn, no evidence whatsoever in proof of the existence of the hypothetical Pretender. It is true that in the early part of the reign of Aḥmad III—thus about H. 963—the "person named Shāhū" did head a rebellion: but no evidence is to hand that he assumed the name of Sulṭān Muḥammad, or that in this name he caused coins to be struck. Thus to identify him with the Pretender Muḥammad is certainly unsafe.

III.—Genealogical Table of the Kings of the Gujarāt Salṭanat.



Notes on the Genealogical Table of the Kings of the Gujarāt Salṭanat.

1. Grave doubt attaches to the pedigree as given in this "Table" of Aḥmad III. and Muẓaffar III.

(*a*) According to the Mir'āt i Aḥmadī, Aḥmad III. was "son of "Laṭīf Khān, who was grandson of Shukār Khān, the son "of Sulṭān Aḥmad I." (Bi.-A. p. 273).

The Mir'āt i Sikandarī calls this Aḥmad (III) merely "a relative of the Sulṭān Maḥmūd III." (Ba.-S. p. 454); and Colonel Watson in his History styles him vaguely "a descendant of the stock of Aḥmad Shāh" (W.-B. G. p. 259).

(*b*) The following are the terms of the reference in the Mir'āti Aḥmadī to the parentage of Muẓaffar III:—"Accord-"ing to the faith of most historians, Ē'timād Khān, who "had all the power of government in his hands, seeing "that there were none of the late Sulṭān's relations fit "for government, produced a young boy named Nathū; "and, having in open assembly taken an oath that such "was the son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd III., he explained that "his mother, when pregnant, had been delivered over to "him for the purpose of procuring an abortion; but that "this child had been brought forth, as, five months of her "pregnancy having passed, no abortion could take place. "He said, moreover, that he had brought him up in "secret, and that there was no heir to the Government "excepting him. Every one, assenting to this, and "supporting his claim to the throne, entitled him "Muẓaffar Shāh." (Bi.-A. pp. 287-288).

Abu'l Fazl states that the child Nathū "did not belong to the line of kings," but that the Amīrs "had to believe" Ē'timād's story (Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbarī I. 385, 386).

Firishta gives the birth-name of this Muẓaffar (III) as "Hubboo, a familiar contraction of Hubeeb," meaning "affectionate" (Br.-F. IV. 155).

2. On many of the coins struck in their several reigns, Maḥmūd (I) is called bin Muḥammad, Muẓaffar (II) bin Maḥmūd, Bahādur bin Muẓaffar, Maḥmūd (III) bin Laṭīf, Aḥmad (III) bin Maḥmūd, and Muẓaffar (III) bin Maḥmūd. On the other hand it would seem that, with the sole exception of a silver piece of H. 828, on none of the coins issued by Aḥmad (I), or Muḥammad (II), or Quṭb al dīn Aḥmad (II) was the name of the father of the reigning Sulṭān indicated.

3. (*a*) Of coins bearing inscriptions of a genealogical character, far and away the most remarkable and interesting in my collection is the silver piece presented to me last year (1901) by my kind friend, H. Nelson Wright, Esq., I.C.S., of Allahābād. It is pictured on Plate IV., No. 51. Struck in H. 933 by the Sulṭān Bahādur, its obverse and reverse, read consecutively, trace his pedigree back to Muẓaffar (I), the founder of the dynasty. Bahādur Shāh is thus termed "bin Muẓaffar Shāh bin Maḥmūd Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh bin Aḥmad Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh, bin Muẓaffar Shāh."

(*b*) On the silver coin of H. 828 represented on page 352 of Thomas's "Chronicles," Aḥmad (I)'s much shorter pedigree back to Muẓaffar (I) is thus given:—Aḥmad Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh bin Muẓaffar Shāh.

(*c*) On the billon coin of Maḥmūd (I), struck in H. 863 (Plate II, Nos. 15*a*, 15*b*), his relationship to the two preceding Sulṭāns is indicated as follows:—

Akh Quṭb Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh,
Brother of Quṭb Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh.

IV. *Literature on the Coinage of the Gujarāt Salṭanat.*

But little has hitherto been published on the coins of the Gujarāt Salṭanat. The chief modern contributions to the literature on this subject are the following five:—

1. "The Chronicles of the Paṭhān kings of Dehlī" by Edward Thomas (1871), in which pages 350-353 are devoted to "the Muḥammadan kings of Gujarāt." A chronological list of the Sulṭāns is given, in which, strange to say, the name of Muḥammad I. (Tātār Khān) does not appear. In all forty-eight coins are briefly specified. Two of

these are illustrated by beautifully clear woodcuts, namely, a silver coin of Aḥmad Shāh, dated H. 828, and a gold coin of Maḥmud bin Laṭīf of H. 960. One could wish that pictures had also been given of the "square coins, A. H. 856?" and especially of the "Maḥmūd II. Silver," inasmuch as, in the absence of further evidence, the specification of these coins is open to grave doubt.

2. The chapters on the Coins of Gujarāt, pages lvii-lxi and 131-143, in the "Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum," Vol. II., Muḥammadan States, by Stanley Lane-Poole (1885). The introductory portion is helpful for the information given regarding the legends on the Gujarāt coins. Especially noteworthy is Dr. Rieu's decipherment of the distich on the obverse and reverse of the large copper coins struck during the reign of Muḥammad II. See Plate I. Nos. 8a. 8b. Forty-one coins are catalogued, ten of them being also photographed. The two undated coins, numbered 435 and 436, are incorrectly assigned to the Aḥmad Shāh who reigned from H. 961 till H. 968. Their legends are clearly identical with those of coin No. 11 in this article, and the coins themselves were thus doubtless struck during the reign of the earlier Aḥmad (Quṭb al dīn), A. H. 855-863. The three coins, Nos. 437, 438, 439, which Lane-Poole assigns with some hesitation to "Muḥammad Shāh Pretender (?)" are probably foreign to Gujarāt.

3. An admirable article entitled "Coins of the Muḥammadan kings of Gujarāt," contributed by E. E. Oliver to the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," Vol. lviii., Part I., No. 1—1889. The four pages of historical introduction are followed by "a genealogical tree of the "Gujarāt Kings, and a table showing the contemporary "rulers in Mālwā, Jaunpūr, Khāndesh, the Deccan, and "Dehlī, taken from Lane-Poole's very handy graphic "scheme of the Muḥammadan dynasties of India." Three plates supply rather roughly executed woodcuts of thirty-four coins, each of which is fully described, though not

without occasional misleetions. The coins numbered 6 and 7 are not of the Aḥmadābād but of the Muḥammadābād 'urf Chāmpānīr Mint. Nos. 11, 12, and 13 are Bahmanī coins, and Nos. 16 and 17 are almost certainly not of Gujarāt. No. 27, which is of precisely the same type as No. 13 of Plate I. of the present article, is a coin of Quṭb al dīn Aḥmad Shāh, not of the later Aḥmad (III.). No. 28, whose true date is H. 863, not H. 963, was struck not by "Muḥammad Shāh (?) Pretender," but by Maḥmūd Shāh I. Cf. Nos. 15a and 15b on Plate II of this article. Nos. 29 and 30, being Jānushāhī Koris of Navānagar, are incorrectly assigned to Muẓaffar, the last Sulṭān of Gujarāt.

4. The "Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum," Part I., by Chas. J. Rodgers (1894). This portion of the Calcutta Museum Catalogue contains on pages 130—134 a chronological list of the kings of Gujarāt, and a description of twenty-two coins, three of which are represented by photo-etching. Here again two of Quṭb al dīn Aḥmad Shāh's coins are assigned to the later Aḥmad Shāh. The three undated coins, 7214-7216, I am inclined to attribute to Maḥmūd bin Laṭīf rather than to Maḥmud II, and No. 8684 to Muẓaffar III. rather than to "Muḥammad Shāh (Interloper)."

5. "The Catalogue of the Coins collected by Chas. J. Rodgers and purchased by the Government of the Punjāb," Part II. (1894). Of this catalogue pages 132-134 contain a description of sixteen copper coins of the Gujarāt Salṭanat. No. 15, the same as No. 437 of the British Museum Catalogue, assigned to Muḥammad Shāh Pretender, should probably be relegated to some non-Gujarātī series, perhaps to that of Mālwā.

V. *Cabinets of the Coins of the Gujarāt Salṭanat.*

In writing the present article, I have depended not only upon my own cabinet of coins, but upon the aggregate resulting from combining all the collections of which catalogues have been published. Of

the different cabinets thus laid under contribution, the following table indicates the contents:—

Cabinet.	Gold.	Silver.	Billon.	Copper.	Total.
Thomas	6	12	1	29	48
British Museum	8	6	0	27	41
Oliver	0	14	0	20	34
Calcutta Museum	2	1	0	19	22
Lāhor Museum	0	0	0	16	16
Taylor	0	113	11	299	423
Resultant Aggregate	9	116	12	303	440

The resultant collection contains no coin of the following years:—H. 860, 866, 871, 875, 876, 877, 878, 953, and 975: thus in all between H. 828 (seemingly the first year when dated coins were issued in Gujarāt) and H. 980, nine years are unrepresented by any coin in any of the metals.

The sixteen gold coins in the above Cabinets are as follow:—

	Muzaffar II.	Maḥmūd III.	Muzaffar III.
British Museum ...	H. 920, 929	946, 947, 949, 950, 956, 960	
Thomas	929	946, 947, 950, 960	977
Calcutta Museum ...		947, 960	
Resultant Aggregate ..	H. 920, 929	946, 947, 949, 950, 956, 960	977

The twelve billon coins are five of the reign of Quṭb al dīn Aḥmad II (85x, 861, 862, and two undated) and seven of the reign of Maḥmūd I. (863, 863, 864, 865, 867, 869, and 870).

In the aggregate collection the first dated coin in gold is of the year H. 920, in silver of H. 828 (followed, *longo intervallo*, by one of H. 884), in billon of H. 85x, and in copper of H. 829.

VI. *Mint-towns.*

Of the coins struck in Gujarāt during the reign of Aḥmad I., a large number have in the obverse margins an inscription recording Aḥmadnagar (Īdar) as their place of mintage. Subsequent to Aḥmad's death, comparatively few coins bear any mint-name, and of those in which it is present nearly all are of the reign of Maḥmūd I. There are only four cities in Gujarāt, of which we can confidently affirm that during the period of the Salṭanat mints were established in them, and were for at least a few years in active operation. These four are the two cities founded by Aḥmad—Aḥmadābād and Aḥmadnagar—and the two founded by Maḥmūd—Muṣṭafābād and Muḥammadābād (Chāmpānīr). It is doubtful whether a fifth mint was opened at Khānpūr, a small town on the River Mahi. We proceed to treat of each of these five :—

1. Aḥmdābād : احمد اباد, founded A. H. 813; A. D. 1411.
   Epithets : *a.* شهر معظم Shahr mu'aẓẓam, the great city.
   b. دارالضرب Dār al Ḍarb, the seat of the mint.

So far as I am aware, no silver coin of the Gujarāt Salṭanat struck during the period of its independence bears Aḥmadābād as the name of its mint-town. Nos. 4, 6, and 7 in Oliver's article are, indeed, assigned by him to that city, but the representations of those coins given in his Plate I. show that certainly two of the three, and in all probability the third also, issued not from the Aḥmadābād mint, but from that at Muḥammadābād.

The only copper coins that seem to bear the mint-name Shahr mu'aẓẓam Aḥmadābād are a few struck by Muẓaffar III. in the years H. 977, 978. One of these is shown as No. 75 of Plate VI. of the present article. After comparing six, all of the same type, in my collection I incline to accept their marginal legend as reading شهر معظم احمد اباد.

Just possibly also the name Aḥmadābād may occupy the upper margin of the obverse of the copper coin struck in H. 970 and shown on Plate VI., No. 73.

The second epithet of Aḥmadābād, Dār al Ḍarb, is present on several of the coins that Akbar caused to be struck at the Aḥmadābād

mint after his conquest of Gujarāt in H. 980.* Muzaffar III., during the few months of his second reign in H. 991, evidently followed the example thus set by the Mughal Emperor, so that the few surviving coins of H. 991, whether in silver or in copper, bearing the Sulṭān Muzaffar's name, all specify their place of mintage under its full designation of دار الضرب احمدآباد. See Plate VI., Nos. 79 and 80.

It is extremely improbable that during the entire period of the Gujarāt Saltanat, the activity of the mint at its capital city should have been confined to the years 970, 977, 978, and 991—so improbable, indeed, is this supposition that one may safely hazard the conjecture that the Gujarāt coins bearing no mint name (and these are the large majority) were all struck at the Aḥmadābād mint. This being known as the first mint in Gujarāt, first both in time and in importance, it was not deemed necessary to record the name of the city on the coins that issued from it. On the other hand, the comparatively very few coins struck at any minor mint in Gujarāt would naturally bear, if only for purposes of differentiation, the distinctive name of the mint-town.

2. Aḥmadnagar (Idar): احمدنگر, founded A.H. 829; A.D. 1425.
   Epithet (doubtful): شهر مهانور Shahr Mahānūr, the city of great light.

What precisely was the honorific epithet assigned to the city of Aḥmadnagar is difficult of determination from its coins. They clearly bear on their obverse margins the words احمدنگر شهر, followed by a term which on some of the specimens to hand resembles مهانور. But the combination شهرمهانور is certainly a strange one to be adopted as the title for a mint-town. I confess I am not satisfied as to the correctness of this reading more especially as on several of the coins it seems doubtful whether the letters as there given admit of being read as Mahānūr. Compare Plate I., Nos. 4, 5, and 6.

From the founding of Aḥmadnagar in H. 829 right on till Aḥmad Shāh's death in H. 846, each year witnessed an abundant issue of copper coins from the Aḥmadnagar mint. Indeed it would seem that every dated copper coin of Aḥmad I. was struck at that mint, whereas not a single copper coin, dated or otherwise, appears

* On other coins of Akbar, Aḥmadābād is styled دار الخلافه, the Seat of the Caliphate, or دار السلطنت, the Seat of the Empire, and on a rupee of Rafi' al Darjāt زینت البلاد the Beauty of Towns.

to have issued from it subsequent to Aḥmad's death. Thus the period of activity of the mint at Aḥmadnagar coincides with the last seventeen years of the reign of Aḥmad I.

3. Muṣṭafābād : مصطفي باد, founded A. H. 874 ; A. D. 1469.

Epithet : شهر اعظم Shahr a'ẓam, the very great city.

My collection contains only one silver coin certainly bearing the mint-name Muṣṭafābād—an excellent specimen, dated H. 884. Unfortunately it came into my possession too late to admit of its being photographed for Plate II. of this article. It is a small coin, ·6 inch in diameter, and weighing only 63 grains. Its obverse closely resembles that of No. 25, and its reverse (save for the date) is identical with that of No. 22.

The pretty little silver piece of the year H. 894, No. 29 on Plate III., I assign, but with some hesitancy, to Muṣṭafābād. Two of the margins contain the words شهر اعظم, but whether the remaining two give the reading مصطفي باد is not equally clear.

No. 36 on Plate III. is also a somewhat puzzling silver coin, but this too I assign provisionally to the Muṣṭafābād mint. Its date, given on the reverse, is H. 905.

The copper coins that issued from this mint during the last quarter of the ninth century (Hijrī) must have been fairly numerous, every year (except 881) from 879 till 892 being represented in my cabinet. The latest of the series is dated seemingly H. 906. Five of these are shown on Plate II., Nos. 21-25, though No. 22 is open to question, the upper margin (obverse) not being decipherable with absolute certainty. The variety of designs in these Muṣṭafābād coins of Maḥmūd I. is noteworthy. In No. 21 the mint with its epithet Shahr a'ẓam occupies the margin circumscribing a circular area : in Nos. 22 (?) and 25 the mint-name is still relegated to the margin, but now we have the four margins that bound a square area : while lastly in Nos. 23 and 24, which exhibit no margin at all, the place of mintage is recorded in full as an integral part of the obverse legend. The two coins of H. 971, numbered 447 and 448, in the British Museum Catalogue, Muḥammadan States, doubtfully assigned to Muṣṭafābād, are, it seems, of the same type as that shown on Plate VI. as No. 78.

4. Muḥammadābād : محمد اباد, founded A. H. 889 ; A. D. 1484.

Epithet : شهر مكرم Shahr mukarram, the illustrious city.

This name, it will be remembered, was given to the city of Chāmpānīr on its capitulation to Maḥmūd I. in 1484 at the close of a protracted siege. Chāmpānīr—Chāmpā's city—is supposed to have derived its name from Chāmpā, the Hindū founder of the town, which dates as far back as the eighth century of the Christian era. And it is by this name of Chāmpānīr alone that the city, now a desolate ruin, "except for a few Bhīl and Nāikda squatters," is known to-day. The coins struck at its mint record the name generally in its doubled form محمدآباد عرف چانپانیر Muḥammadābād 'urf Chāmpānīr, but occasionally, it would seem, the "*alias* Chāmpānīr" was dropped and the new name Muḥammadābād alone retained. Compare Plate III., Nos. 34 and 39, and contrast with No. 33. Whether the full, or the shortened, designation was on the die from which the imperfect coins Nos. 31 and 41 were struck is difficult to say, but, from the general resemblance between these and No. 34, it seems probable that the lost margins did contain the words عرف چانپا نیر The city's remarkable prosperity was reflected on its coins, for these are quite the most florid and the most elaborately designed of all in the series of the Gujarāt Salṭanat. In silver the issue must have been considerable—my cabinet contains some thirteen specimens—but I have never found a single copper coin bearing the name of this mint. If the exquisite workmanship of the silver coins is suggestive of the phenomenal prosperity that early attended the new Muḥammadābād, so also its short-lived glory is betokened in the fact that the activity of the mint was restricted to but a few years, all comprised within the reign of Maḥmūd I. The earliest of its coins in my collection is dated H. 895, the latest H. 904, and we shall probably not be far wrong in assuming that the whole period during which the mint was working does not cover more than five and twenty years, say H. 890—915.

In one year subsequent to this period coins were again struck at the Chāmpānīr mint, but these can scarcely be classed among the coins of the Gujarāt Salṭanat. In H. 942 the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn swooped down upon the province, and gained possession of this important frontier-city. In commemoration of his victory, he forthwith caused coins to be struck both in silver and in copper. The silver ones bear Humāyūn's name, which is wanting on the copper: also on the silver the mint-town is given as simply Champānīr (with the first vowel short), while in the copper is added the

epithet Shahr mukarram. On neither the silver nor the copper, however, do we find the name Muḥammadābād, which even thus early would seem to have passed into desuetude. A unique copper coin in the Lāhor Museum is of especial interest as briefly recording the conquest of Champānīr. Its obverse reads فتح چنپانیر بتاریخ ۹۴۲ and the reverse simply ضرب شهر مکرم

In another coin of the same year, H. 942, Chāmpānīr is styled شهر الزمان, the City of the Age. See British Museum Catalogue of coins of the Mughal Emperors of India, No. 1232.

5. Regarding the existence of mints at Aḥmadābād, Aḥmadnagar, Muṣṭafābād and Muḥammadābād-Chāmpānīr, no manner of doubt can be entertained, but whether there was at any time a fifth mint at Khānpūr, خانپور, is a debatable question. On the Coin No. 44, Plate IV., the upper part of the obverse inscription clearly reads Al Sulṭān Muẓaffar Shāh: but what of the lower part? The date is certainly 921, and on two other coins of the same type now in my possession is also certainly 922. The decipherment of the words immediately above the date has proved very baffling to me: but quite the best of various suggested readings is the one submitted by my friend, Mr. Nelson Wright, I. C. S. He reads the words as ضربت خانپور, Ḍarbat Khānpūr, 'Struck at Khānpūr', and unquestionably the coins of H. 922, even better than the H. 921 coin shown on Plate IV., bear out this reading. Accepting it, we should on the evidence of these three coins add Khānpūr to the list of the mint-towns in Gujarāt, and should assign as the minimum period of the mint's activity the years H. 921 and 922. Khānpūr, or, to give it its full name, Khānpūr Wānkānīr, is a town on the left bank of the River Mahi, and about midway between Baroda to the south and Dākor to the north. Here it was that in H. 855 Maḥmūd (I.) Khaljī, Sulṭān of Mālwā, encamped his army of invasion after plundering the city of Baroda. Subsequently, however, he marched northwards to Kapaḍwanj, where Quṭb-al-dīn, the newly-chosen Sulṭān of Gujarāt, inflicted on him a severe defeat. Khānpūr again figures, though not prominently, in the intrigues that attended the accession of Bahādur Shāh in H. 932: and, late in the same reign, the Sulṭān, while at this place, appointed two of his most trusted officers to lead a strong army against the country of Bāgar, East of Īdar. I have failed, however, to discover a single reference to this Khānpūr in the histories of the reign of Muẓaffar II.

(A.H. 917-932), and am unable to suggest any reason for his having caused coins to be struck in his name at that mint.

Lane-Poole has assigned, though doubtfully, a Gujarātī copper coin of H. 971 to the mint-town Shādīābād.* This reading must, I feel sure, be abandoned. Shādīābād is not in Gujarāt at all: but the name does occur on several of the coins of the neighbouring kingdom of Mālwā. Firishtā explicitly records as follows the origin of this epithet:—"Two days after the death of Sooltan Hooshung, "Ghizny Khan was crowned at Mando, and, assuming the title of "Sooltan Mahomed Ghoory, ordered that his capital might "henceforth be called Shadiabad Mando, or 'the City of Joy'; and "public prayers were read and coin struck in his name."†

The following table gives the years of the *dated* coins in my collection that record their mints:—

Mint.	Silver.	Copper.
Aḥmadnagar	None.	Each year from 829 till 846.
Muṣṭafābād	884, 894 ?, 905 ?	879, 880, each year from 882 till 892, 906 ?
Muḥammadābād (with or without the 'urf Chāmpānīr).	895, 896, 897, 898, 900, 902, 903, 904.	None.
Khānpūr ??	921, 922	None.
Aḥmadābād	991...	970 ? 977 ? 978 ? and one coin undated but doubtless struck in 991.

Of the first four mints in this table, not one seems to have been active for more than a very limited period, and I feel sure that all coins that do not themselves record their place of mintage may safely be assigned to the mint at Aḥmadābād. In this connexion it is instructive to note that in Akbar's time at least this city, the erewhile capital of the Gujarāt Salṭanat, bore the title of Dār al Darb, 'the Seat of the Mint'.

* British Museum Catalogue of Indian coins, Muḥammadan States, No. 446. This coin is not improbably the same as No. 78 on Plate VI. of the present article.

† Br.-F., IV., 191.

VII.—Weights and Standards.

As to the existence of any square coins of the Gujarāt Salṭanat I am very sceptical. If any such were issued, their number was extremely small. Certainly the typical coins of the period were, with more or less precision, round in shape. The following lists, based upon measurements and weighments of copper coins, all of the reign of Aḥmad I, demonstrate the futility of the attempt to classify them according to the length of their diameters. These lists show not only that coins of the same diameter may vary widely in their weights, but also that comparatively light coins may have a large, and comparatively heavy coins a small, diameter.

Diameter of	·8	inch:	weight in grains		146, 143.
,,	·75	,,	,,	,,	146, 142, 140, 138.
,,	·7	,,	,,	,,	145, 70, 69, 68, 67, 56.
,,	·65	,,	,,	,,	142, 140, 138, 73, 72, 71, 69, 67, 66, 64, 61.
,,	·6	,,	,,	,,	70, 61, 57, 55.
,,	·55	,,	,,	,,	70, 69, 34, 26.
,,	·5	,,	,,	,,	35, 33, 31, 30.
,,	·45	,,	,,	,,	34.
,,	·4	,,	,,	,,	32.

Diameter of	·55	inch:	weight in grains		26.
,,	·5	,,	,,	,,	30.
,,	·45	,,	,,	,,	34.
,,	·4	,,	,,	,,	32.

Diameter of	·7	inch:	weight in grains		56.
,,	·65	,,	,,	,,	61.
,,	·6	,,	,,	,,	70.
,,	·55	,,	,,	,,	70.

Diameter of	·75	inch:	weight in grains		138.
,,	·7	,,	,,	,,	145.
	·65	,,	,,	,,	142.

The fact is the "make" of these coins is quite too rough, and their thickness too arbitrary, to admit of their classification by size. It is, I am convinced, only by a comparison of the *weights* of the coins that we may hope to arrive at an approximately correct classification.

Regarding the gold coins, indeed, no difficulty presents itself. In all only nine varieties have hitherto been catalogued, and of these seven weigh 185 grains each, one 179, and one 177. Clearly all the nine are thus of one and the same denomination.

But when we pass on to the consideration of the silver and copper coins of Gujarāt, it becomes no easy matter to determine the different denominations current at one period or another, and the standard weight of each. So far as I am aware, no mint-records have survived to the present day, and of the coins themselves that have come down to us many are such poor specimens, so worn and battered through the vicissitudes of four hundred years, that one can at times do no more than hazard a guess as to their original weight. Certainly a large margin must be allowed for loss, but no data are available for determining the percentage of the total weight that may fairly be deducted over against such loss. Some proportion, however, must be postulated, and it has seemed to me that for the lighter copper coins we shall be within the mark if we assume that the loss through wear may equal one-seventh of the original full weight. The proportionate loss in the heavier copper coins and in all the silver, which were certainly in less circulation than the copper, would probably be not quite so large, and I have accordingly assumed that for these coins the loss by wear would not exceed one-tenth. Accepting these assumptions, a copper coin of originally, say, 49 grains in weight may be supposed to weigh now anything between 49 and 42 grains, and a copper, or silver, coin of originally, say, 150 grains may weigh anything between 150 and 135 grains.

Further, it is every way probable that some unit of weight was adopted such that the original weights of the coins of different denominations, when issuing from the mint, should be certain integral multiples of that unit. A careful study of the weights of the different coins in my collection inclines me to the opinion that both for silver and for copper this unit was 7·4 grains, or precisely four *ratis*, on the basis of Mr. Maskelyne's estimate of the weight of a *rati*. Of

this unit the following multiples are represented in the silver coins of the Gujarāt Salṭanat : —

5, 10, 15, 20; 6, 12, 24; 8, 16, 32;

and in copper the multiples are

4, 8; 5, 10, 20, 30, 45; 6, 12, 24;

thus evidencing ten different denominations both in silver and in copper. It does not seem, however, that coins of all these denominations were current simultaneously. The long reign of Maḥmūd I supplies us seven denominations of silver coins and the same number of copper; but in no other reign were coins struck of so many denominations. In the two following tables the silver and the copper coins of the Gujarāt Salṭanat are classified by weight. In these tables any two numbers connected by a hyphen indicate the superior and inferior limits of weight expressed in grains, and a subscribed number in brackets represents the number of coins known to me between these limits. Thus $\frac{111\text{-}107}{(13)}$ means 13 coins ranging in weight from 111 to 107 grains. For the rest, the tables are self-explanatory.

Unit = 7·4 grains ...	5 units.	6 units.	8 units.	10 units.	12 units.	15 units.	16 units.	20 units.	24 units.	32 units.	Multiples of units.	No. of denominations
SILVER	37 to 31·7 grains.	44·4 to 38·1 grains.	59·2 to 50·7 grains.	74 to 63·4 grains.	88·8 to 76·1 grains.	111 to 109 grains.	118·4 to 106·6 grains.	148 to 133 grains.	177·6 to 160 grains.	236·8 to 213·2 grains.	8. 16. 32. 5. 10. 15. 20. 6. 12. 24.	10
Aḥmad I									175-172 (2)		24.	1
Muḥammad II ...												Nil.
Quṭb al dīn Aḥmad II.								146-137 (5)*			20.	1
Maḥmūd I	33 (1)	44-43 (3)	57 (1)	66-63 (11)	88-80 (31)			146-138 (8)	176-160 (6)		8. 5. 10. 20. 6. 12. 24.	7
Muẓaffar II					81 (1)	111-104 (16)					15. 12.	2
Bahādur	34 (1)					111 (1)					5. 15.	2
Maḥmūd III			57-54 (3)	65 (1)		109-101 (8)	117-110 (7)	137 (1)			8. 16. 10. 15. 20.	5
Aḥmad III			53 (1)				110-107 (4)		168-164 (2)	222 (1)	8. 16. 32. 24.	4
Muẓaffar III	34 (1)			74-67 (12)		104 (1)	114-110 (4)		174-170 (2)		16. 5. 10. 15. 24.	5

* These five coins are of billon.

Unit = 7·4 grains ...	4 units.	5 units.	6 units.	8 units.	10 units.	12 units.	20 units.	24 units.	30 units.	45 units.	Multiples of units.	No. of denominations.
Copper	29·6 to 26·4 grains.	37 to 34·7 grains.	44·4 to 38·1 grains.	59·2 to 50·7 grains.	74 to 63·4 grains.	88·8 to 76·1 grains.	148 to 133 grains.	177·6 to 160 grains.	222 to 200 grains.	333 to 300 grains.	4, 8. 5, 10, 20, 30, 45. 6, 12, 24.	10
Aḥmad I	26 (1)	35-31 (7)		57-55 (3)	73-64 (18)		146-135 (15)				4, 8. 5, 10, 20.	5
Muḥammad II ...		32 (1)			72-64 (9)		143-136 (3)		215-210 (15)		5, 10, 20, 30.	4
Quṭb al dīn Aḥmad II					70-67 (3)		145-137 (11)		210 (1)		10, 20, 30.	3
Maḥmūd I			41 (1)		70-65 (6)	85-80 (8)	147-135 (16)	176-162 (16)	220-205 (40)	318 (1)	10, 20, 30, 45. 6, 12, 24.	7
Muẓaffar II					72-67 (4)	83 (1)	139 (1)	176-164 (11)	218-215 (2)		10, 20, 30 12, 24.	5
Bahādur				53 (1)		85-77 (3)	146-135 (5)	172-165 (5)	217-205 (14)		8, 20, 30. 10, 24.	5
Maḥmūd III				52 (1)	73-65 (7)	87 (1)	147-141 (10)		216-200 (4)		8, 10, 20, 30, 12.	5
Aḥmad III					74-64 (5)	86-81 (8)	145-136 (7)	176-163 (13)	219-214 (6)		10, 20, 30, 12, 24.	5
Muẓaffar III					67 (1)	86-80 (5)	146-135 (8)	177-162 (13)	214 (2)		10, 20, 30. 12, 24.	5

That there should be so many as ten different denominations of silver coins, and the same number of copper is of itself a sufficiently formidable objection to the classification here tabulated; but what more than all else imparts to me in this connexion a certain sense of defeat is the fact that there still remain over a few coins that cannot be assigned a place in any of the above classes. Some indeed of the much worn copper specimens would find admission if the proportions of one-seventh and one-tenth, which we conjectured might perhaps represent the loss by wear, were slightly increased; but even after subtracting these we have a small irreducible residuum of coins that are, with only one exception, in good condition, yet all of eccentric weight. Three such are of silver. One undated, but of Muẓaffar II's reign, is but slightly worn, and weighs 92 grains: so that its proper place would be in a 13-unit class. The second is the unique, and every way extraordinary coin of Bahādur, dated H. 933, and shown on Plate IV, No. 51. In fairly good condition, it now weighs 130 grains, and is thus suggestive of an 18-unit class. The third, also in good condition, would fall into the same class, as its weight is 131 grains. This coin was struck by Maḥmūd III in H. 960.

The "irreducibles" in copper are the following four:—

Bahādur, H. 943, much worn, yet weighing 257 grains.

Maḥmūd III, H. 944, a good specimen, 237 grains in weight (Plate V, No. 58).

Maḥmūd III, H. 947, weighing in its present fair condition 151 grains.

Maḥmūd III, H. 948, a coin not of pure copper, but of mixed metal, weighing 132 grains (Plate V, No. 61).

These four coins suggest classes of 40 (or 38), 33, 22 and 18 units respectively.

From the above discussion it would seem safe to draw the following as approximately correct general conclusions—any more precise statement being as yet unwarranted:

(*a*) Of silver coins there are at least six different classes, the weights ranging between 60-30, 90-60, 120-100, 150-130, 180-160, and 240-220 grains.

(*b*) In copper also the denominations were at least six, represented by the weights 60-25, 90-60, 150-130, 180-160 220-200 and 330-300 grains.

VIII.— "Cumulative" Legends.

The legends on the different coins issued during the reign of any one Sulṭān are not all identical. Occasionally, indeed, one lights upon coins bearing distinctly exceptional legends, and each such coin naturally calls for special notice and detailed description. Leaving these, however, for the time being out of consideration, it will be found that on some of the coins of a given king, certain wonted phrases or titles are shown, and others on others. Now it has seemed to me that by merely massing, or combining, all this more or less normal legend-material, we shall obtain what we may call the 'resultant' or 'cumulative' coin-legend for each Sulṭān, which, as presenting a fairly complete register of the more usual coin-terms, may prove of service for purposes of reference. Accordingly, working on these lines, I have built up the following "cumulative" legends, distinctive of each of the nine Sulṭāns of Gujarāt whose coins have survived to the present day.

1. Aḥmad I., A. H. 813—846.

Obverse: احمد شاه السلطان

Reverse: السلطان الاعظم ناصرالدنيا والدين ابوالفتح

2. Muḥammad II., 846—855.

Obverse: السلطان محمد شاه ابوالمحامد

Reverse: السلطان غياث الدنيا والدين

3. Quṭb al dīn Aḥmad II., A. H. 855—863.

Obverse: احمد شاه السلطان

Reverse: قطب الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر

Also *Obverse:* قطب الدنيا والدين احمد شاه السلطان

Reverse: الخليفه امير المومنين خلدت خلافته

4. Maḥmūd I., A. H. 863—917.

Obverse: ناصرالدنيا والدين ابوالفتح محمود شاه السلطان

Reverse: الخليفه امير المومنين خلدت خلافته

Also *Obverse:* محمود شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان

Reverse: السلطان الاعظم ناصرالدنيا والدين ابوالفتح

Compare the reverse of the coins of Aḥmad I.

5. Muẓaffar II., A. H. 917—932.

Obverse : مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه

Reverse : شمس الدنيا والدين ابو النصر المؤيد بتائيد الرحمن *

6. Bahādur, A. H. 932—943.

Obverse : بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان

Reverse : قطب الدنيا والدين ابو الفضل

7. Maḥmūd III., A. H. 943—961.

Obverse : محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه السلطان

Reverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح الواثق بالله المنان †

8. Aḥmad III., A. H. 961—968

Obverse : احمد شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان عهد [year]

Reverse : غياث الدنيا والدين ابو الحامد المعتصم بالله الرحمن ‡

9. Muẓaffar III., A. H. 968—980.

Obverse : مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان

Reverse : شمس الدنيا والدين ابو النصر المؤيد بتائيد الرحمن *

Compare the reverse of the coins of Muẓaffar II.

IX.—Catalogue of Coins on Plates I—VI.

Aḥmad I., A. H. 813—846.

No. 1. Copper : 142 grains : Mint ? Date ?

Obverse : احمد شاه السلطان

with quatrefoil and circle over ح of احمد

Reverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين

No. 2. Copper : 34 grains : Mint ? : Date ?

Obverse : احمد شاه

(with neither quatrefoil nor circle).

Reverse : السلطان (on Plate upside down).

No. 3. Copper : 138 grains : Mint ? : Date ?

Obverse : احمد شاه السلطان

Reverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح

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* المؤيد بتائيد الرحمن = The strengthened by the strengthening of the Merciful

† الواثق بالله المنان = The truster in Allah the Gracious.

‡ المعتصم بالله الرحمن = The attendant on Allah the Merciful.

No. 4. Copper: 69 grains: [Aḥmadnagar]: H. 830.

Obverse: Square area احمد شاه السلطان

upper margin شهر

left margin مهانور (؟)

Reverse: ناصرالدنیا والدین ۸۳۰

No. 5. Copper: 135 grains: Aḥmadnagar: H. 835.

Obverse: As 4, also lower margin احمد

right margin نگر

Reverse: As 4, but year ۸۳۵

No. 6. Copper: 142 grains: Aḥmadnagar: H. 837.

Obverse: Square area as 4, lower and right margins as 5.

Reverse: السلطان الاعظم ناصرالدنیا والدین ۸۳۷

* * * * *

Muḥammad II., A. H. 846—855.

No. 7. Copper: 143 grains: Mint? : H. [8]46.

Obverse: السلطان محمد شاه ابوالحامد —۴۶

Reverse: السلطان غیاث‌الدنیا والدین

No. 8a. Copper: 210 grains: Mint? : H. 850.

Obverse: سکه سلطان غیاث‌الدین محمد شاه باد ۸۵۰

No. 8b. Copper: 217 grains: Mint? : Date?

Reverse: تا بدار الضرب گردون قرص مهر و ماه باد

The legend on the obverse and reverse of No. 8 (a *and* b) forms the couplet,

May the coin of Muḥammad Shāh the Sulṭān, the Aid of the Faith, remain,

So long as in the sphere of the Seat of the Mint the orb of the sun and moon remains.

No. 9. Copper: 69 grains: Mint: H. [8] 52.

Obverse: محمد شاه السلطان ۵۲—

Reverse: غیاث‌الدنیا والدین

No. 10a. Copper: 69 grains: Mint? : H. 853.

Obverse: السلطان محمد شاه ۸۵۳

* * * * *

Quṭb al dīn Aḥmad Shāh II., A. H. 855—863.

No. 11. Copper : 140 grains : Mint ? : H. 856.
Obverse : احمد شاه السلطان ٨٥٦
Reverse : قطب الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر

No. 12. Copper : 140 grains : Mint ? : H. 858.
Obverse : قطب الدنيا والدين احمد شاه السلطان
Reverse : الخليفه امير المومنين خلدت خلافته ٨٥٨

No. 13. Billon : 144 grains : Mint ? : H. 861.
Obverse : As 12.
Reverse : As 12, but year 861.

No. 14. Copper : 70 grains : Mint : H. 85 x or 86 x.
Obverse : احمد شاه السلطان—٨٦—or—٨٥
Reverse : قطب الدنيا والدين

* * * * *

Maḥmūd I., A. H. 863—917.

No. 15a. Billon : 145 grains : Mint ? : H. 863.
Obverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح محمود شاه
Reverse : اخ قطب شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان ٨٦٣

Maḥmūd Shāh, Defender of the World and of the Faith, Father of Victory,
Brother of Quṭb Shāh, son of Muḥammūd Shāh, the Sulṭān.

No. 15b. Billon : 147 grains : Mint ? : H. [8] 63.
Reverse : As 15a, but with top line clearer, and year—٦٣.

No. 16. Billon : 139 grains : Mint ? : H. 863.
Obverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح محمود شاه السلطان
Reverse : As 12, but year ٨٦٣

No. 17. Copper : 145 grains : Mint : H. [8] 64.
Obverse : محمود شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان
Reverse : السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ٦٤—

No. 18. Billon : 140 grains : Mint ? : H. 867.
Obverse : As 17, with addition of year ٨٦٧
Reverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح

No. 19. Copper : 140 grains : Mint ? : H. 827 (for 867).
Obverse : As 18, but year ٨٢٧ (*sic*), doubtless for ٨٦٧
Reverse : As 18.

No. 20a. Copper : 135 grains : Mint ? : H. 868.

Obverse : السلطان محمود شاه ابوالفتح ٨٦٨

No. 21. Copper : 175 grains : Muṣṭafābād : H. 870 or 879.

Obverse : Circular area محمود شاه السلطان

Margin شهر اعظم مصطفی باد (?)

Reverse : As 18, with addition of year ٨٧٠ or ٨٧٩.

No. 22. Copper : 215 grains : perhaps Muṣṭafābād : H. 880.

Obverse : Square area محمود شاه السلطان

left margin شهر

other margins illegible.

Reverse : As 18, with addition of year ٨٨٠

No. 23. Copper : 171 grains : Muṣṭafābād : H. 882.

Obverse : السلطان محمود شاه شهر اعظم مصطفی باد

Reverse : As 18, with addition of year ٨٨٢

No. 24. Copper : 172 grains : Muṣṭafābād : H. 883.

Obverse : As 23.

Reverse : As 18, with addition of year ٨٨٣

No. 25. Copper : 217 grains : Muṣṭafābād : H. 886.

Obverse : Square area محمود شاه السلطان

upper margin مصطفی

other margins illegible.

Reverse : As 17, but year ٨٨٦

No. 26. Silver : 88 grains : Mint ? : H. 890 or 900.

Obverse : square area having peaked sides محمود شاه السلطان

lower margin ٨٩٠ or ٩٠٠

other margins illegible.

Reverse : السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنیا والدین ابوالفتح

No. 27. Silver : 80 grains : Mint ? : H. 891.

Obverse : Circular area محمود شاه السلطان (compare 21)

margin illegible.

Reverse : As 26, with addition of year ٨٩١

No. 28a. Copper : 65 grains : Mint ? : Date ?

Obverse : [محم]ود شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان

No. 29. Silver : 65 grains : Muṣṭafābād ? : H. 894.

Obverse : Square area محمود شاه السلطان

upper margin شهر

left margin اعظم

lower and left margins (doubtfully) مصطفی باد

Outer linear and dotted circles.

Reverse: As 26, with addition of year ٨٩٤ (*sic*).
Outer linear and dotted circles.

No. 30. Copper: 220 grains: Mint ?: H. 896 or 897.

Obverse: Square area محمود شاه السلطان
margins illegible.

Reverse: As 18, with addition of year ٨٩٦ (or ٨٩٧).

No. 31. Silver: 88 grains: Muḥammadābād: H. 900.

Obverse: Square area having peaked sides محمود شاه السلطان
right margin شهر مكرم
upper margin محمد باد
left margin illegible.
lower margin ٩٠٠

Reverse: As 26.

No. 32. Silver: 86 grains: Mint ?: H. 900.

Obverse: Square area محمود شاه السلطان
lower margin ٩٠٠
other margins illegible.
Outer linear and dotted circles.

Reverse: As 26, also outer linear and dotted circles.

No. 33. Silver: 87 grains: Muḥammadābād: H. 902.

Obverse: Square area محمود شاه السلطان
right margin شهر مكرم
upper margin محمد
left margin باد (?)
lower margin سنه ٩٠٢

Reverse: As 26.

No. 34. Silver: 88 grains: Muḥammadābād 'urf Chāmpānīr: H. 903.

Obverse: Square area having peaked sides محمود شاه السلطان
margins—lower, right, upper, left, lower—
ضرب شهر مكرم محمدآباد عرف چانپانير ٩٠٣

Reverse: As 26.

No. 35. Silver: 65 grains: Mint ?: H. 904.

Obverse: Square area محمود شاه السلطان
margins illegible.

Reverse: As 18, with addition of year ٩٠٤

No. 36. Silver : 89 grains : Mustafābād ? : H. 905.

Obverse: Square area محمود شاه السلطان
upper margin شهر
left margin اعظم
lower and right margins (doubtfully) مصطفی باد

Reverse: As 26, with addition of year ۹۰۵
and outer linear and dotted circles.
This coin is evidently closely related to No. 29.

No. 37. Copper : 318 grains : Mint ? : H. 905.

Obverse: Curved diamond area محمود شاه السلطان
margin lower and to right ۹۰۵
other margins illegible.

Reverse: As 26.

No. 38. Silver : 88 grains : Mint ? : H. 912.

Obverse: Square area having peaked sides محمود شاه السلطان
margins illegible.

Reverse: As 26, with addition of year ۹۱۲

No. 39. Silver : 176 grains : Muhammadābād 'urf Chāmpānīr : Date ?

Obverse: Scalloped circular area محمود شاه السلطان
upper and left margins محمدآباد عرف چانپا[نیر]
lower and right margins illegible.

Reverse: As 26.

No. 40. Silver : 160 grains : Mint ? : Date ?

Obverse: Square area محمود شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان
margins illegible.

Reverse: As 26.

No. 41. Silver : 85 grains : Muhammadābād : Date ?

Obverse: Square area having peaked sides محمود شاه السلطان
right margin شهر مکرم
upper margin محمدآباد
other margins illegible.

Reverse: As 26.

No. 42. Copper : 141 grains : Mint ? : Date

Obverse: Square area محمود شاه السلطان
margins illegible.

Reverse: As 18.

No. 43. Copper: 168 grains: Mint?: Date?

Obverse: Circular area محمود شاه السلطان
margin illegible.

Reverse: As 18.

* * * * *

Muẓaffar II, A. H. 917—932.

No. 44. Silver: 110 grains: Khānpūr?: H. 921.

[On the Plate the obverse and reverse of this coin occupy each the other's position.]

Obverse: * In wavy circle السلطان مظفر شاه ضربت خانپور
٩٢١

Reverse: In plain circle المؤيد بتائيد الرحمن شمس الدنيا
والدين ابو النصر

No. 45. Copper: 173 grains: Mint?: H. 925.

Obverse: In square having doubled sides, each peaked:
مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان ٩٢٥

Reverse: As 44 (doubtful).

No. 46. Silver: 110 grains: Mint?: Date 927.

Obverse: In circle مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان ٩٢٧

Reverse: As 44.

No. 47. Silver: 104 grains: Mint?: H. 929.

Obverse: In circle circumscribing a square whose sides are peaked:
خلد الله (?) مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان ٩٢٩

Reverse: As 44, with outer linear and dotted circles.

No. 48. Silver: 106 grains: Mint?: H. 930.

Obverse: As 45, but year ٩٣٠

Reverse: As 44.

No. 49. Copper: 159 grains: Mint?: H. 932.

Obverse: In circle مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان

Reverse: شمس الدنيا و.....ابو [النصر] ٩٣٢

No. 50. Silver: 107 grains: Mint?: Date?

Obverse: In square having peaked sides:
السلطان مظفر شاه خلد الله ملكه

* The legend in the lower half of the obverse of this coin is doubtful. For the provisional reading here given I am indebted to my friend Mr. H. Nelson Wright.

Reverse : As 44.

This coin may be of Muzaffar III., to whom it is assigned in the Brit. Mus. Catal., Muhammadan States, No. 440.)

* * * * *

Bahādur, A. H. 932—943.

No. 51.* Silver : 130 grains : Mint ? : H. 933.

Obverse : قطب الدنيا والدين ابو الفضل بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه

Reverse : بن محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه ۹۳۳

No. 52. Copper : 172 grains : Mint ? : H. 934.

Obverse : In circle بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان

margin illegible.

Reverse : قطب الدنيا والدين ابو الفضل ۹۳۴

No. 53. Copper : 217 grains : Mint ? : H. 938.

Obverse : ..... (?) بهادر بن مظفر شاه السلطان

Reverse : As 52, but year ۹۳۸ near the middle.

No. 54. Copper : 207 grains : Mint ? : H. 938.

Obverse : As 53.

Reverse : As 52, but year ۹۳۸ at bottom.

No. 55. Silver : 34 grains : Mint ? : H. 941.

Obverse : In double circle, each scalloped, بهادر شاه

Reverse : In double circle, each scalloped, السلطان سنه ۹۴۱

No. 56. Copper : 82 grains : Mint ? : H. 943.

Obverse : بهادر شاه بن مظفر السلطان

Reverse : As 52, but year ۹۴۳

No. 57. Silver : 111 grains : Mint : H. [9]41 ?

Obverse : In circle بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان

Reverse : As 52, but date illegible — perhaps [۹]۴۱

* * * * *

Maḥmūd III, A. H. 943—961.

No. 58. Copper : 237 grains : Mint ? : H. 944.

Obverse : Square area محمود شاه السلطان

lower margin ۹۴۴

other margins illegible.

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* This most interesting coin merits especial notice. Both it and No. 55 were presented to me by Mr. H. Nelson Wright of Allahābād.

Reverse : Square area ناصر الدنيا والدين
lower margin شهر(؟)
other margins illegible.

No. 59. Copper : 154 grains : Mint ? : H. 945.
Obverse : محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه السلطان
Reverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح ٩٤٥

No. 60. Mixed coppery metal : 147 grains : Mint ? : H. 945.
Obverse : In circular area محمود بن لطيف شاه السلطان
lower margin ٩٤٥
remainder of margin illegible.
Reverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح

No. 61. Mixed coppery metal : 132 grains : Mint ? : Date 948.
Obverse : In circular area, as 60.
margin illegible.
Reverse : As 59, but year ٩٤٨

No. 62. Copper : 144 grains : Mint ? : H. [9]55.
Obverse : Square area محمود شاه
right margin شهر
other margins illegible.
Reverse : ناصرالدنيا والدين ٥٥—

No. 63. Silver : 113 grains : Mint ? : H. 957.
Obverse : In square having peaked sides.
محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه السلطان ٩٥٧
Reverse : ناصرالدنيا والدين ابوالفتح الواثق بالله المنان

No. 64. Silver : 54 grains : Mint ? : H. 961.
Obverse : In circle محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه السلطان
margin illegible.
Reverse : الواثق بالله المنان [ابوال]فتح ناصر[الدنيا والدين] ٩٦١

No. 65. Silver : 111 grains : Mint ? : H. [95]9?
Obverse : As 64.
Reverse : As 64, but year—9 (doubtful).

No. 66. Mixed bronze-like metal : 141 grains : Mint ? : Date ?
Obverse : In circle, as 60.
margin blank.
Reverse : ناصرالدنيا والدين ابوالفتح

* * * * *

Aḥmad III., A. H. 961—968.

No. 67. Copper: 168 grains: Mint? : H. 961 or 964.

Obverse: Square area احمد شاه السلطان
margins illegible.

Reverse: غياث الدنيا والدين ابو الحامد سنة (؟) ٩٦١ or ٩٦٤

No. 68. Silver: 222 grains: Mint? : H. 963.

Obverse: In square having double sides, each peaked,
احمد شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان عهد ٩٦٣

Reverse: غياث الدنيا والدين ابو الحامد المعتصم
بالله الرحمن

No. 69*a*. Copper: 71 grains: Mint? : H. 963.

Obverse: احمد شاه ٩٦٣

No. 70*a*. Copper: 217 grains: Mint? : Date?

Obverse: Square area احمد شاه
margins illegible.

* * * *

Muẓaffar III., A. H. 968—980, and 991—992.

No. 71. Silver: 110 grains: Mint? : H. 968.

Obverse: In square مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان ٩٦٨

Reverse: شمس الدنيا والدين ابو النصر المؤيد بتائيد
[الرحمن]

No. 72. Silver: 114 grains: Mint? : H. 969.

Obverse: In scalloped circle, as 71, but year ٩٦٩

Reverse: As 71.

No. 73. Copper: 144 grains: Aḥmadābād? : H. 970.

Obverse: Square area مظفر شاه ٩٧٠
margins illegible—perhaps traces of
شهر معظم احمد اباد

Reverse: شمس الدنيا [والدين] ابو النصر

No. 74*a*. Copper: 214 grains: Mint? : H. 971.

Obverse: In circle مظفر شاه ٩٧١

No. 75. Copper: 175 grains: Aḥmadābād: H. 977.

Obverse: Circular area مظفر شاه ٩٧٧
margins illegible, but, from comparison with other
specimens of this type, would seem to read
شهر معظم احمد اباد

Reverse: شمس الدنيا والدين

Some unusual symbols are present in both the upper and the lower portions of the reverse.

No. 76. Silver: 67 grains: Mint ?: H. 978.

Obverse: Square area, peaked sides, مظفر شاه السلطان ٩٧٨ margins illegible.

Reverse: As 71.

No. 77. Copper: 138 grains: Mint ?: Date ?

Obverse السلطان مظفر شاه

Reverse: شمس الدنيا والدين

No. 78. Copper: 148 grains: Mint ?: H. 971.

Obverse: In circle مظفر شاه ٩٧١

Reverse: گردون ضرب باد تا قرص مهر وماه

This reading of the difficult inscription on the reverse has been supplied by Mr. Nelson Wright, I.C.S. If we may take گردون ضرب as a periphrasis for "coin," the legend reads, 'May the coin remain as long as the orb of the sun and moon.' There seems to be some connexion between this inscription and that on 86.

No. 79.* Silver: 174 grains: Aḥmadābād: H. 991.

Obverse: In double linear square with dots between the lines,

السلطان مظفر شاه ابن محمود شاه ٩٩١

lower margin احمداباد

other margins illegible.

Reverse: In double linear square with dots between the lines,

the kalimah لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

upper margin (probably) بصدق ابي بكر

right margin (probably) بعدل عمر

other margins illegible.

No. 80.* Copper: 85 grains: Aḥmadābād: [H. 991].

Obverse: مظفر شاه بن محمود [شاه]

Reverse: دار الضرب احمداباد

* * * * *

* Coins Nos. 79 and 80 were struck during Muzaffar III's second reign, A. H. 991-992.

No. 81. Silver: 72 grains: Mint? : Date?

Obverse: श्रीरायधण مظفر شاه ٩٧٨ or ٩١٨ (for ٩٧٨)

Reverse: As 72, but the legend is very degenerate. A Kaṭār, or Rājpūt dagger, is represented in the lower part of the field of the reverse.

This coin is a Kacch Korī, struck during the reign of Rāyadhaṇ—probably Rāyadhaṇ I. (A.D. 166—1697). The Rā'os of Kacch retained on their coins, along with their own names written in Devanāgarī, the name of Muẓaffar (III.) of Gujarāt and the year 978 both in Persian characters. This type of coin continued to be struck until recent times, but, as the years passed, the figures of the date and the letters of the Persian legend on the reverse became ever more and more degenerate.

No. 82. Copper: 189 grains: [Navānagar]: Date?

Obverse: श्रीजाम مظفر شاه السلطان ١٧٨ (for ٩٧٨).

Reverse: A very degenerate form of the legend on the reverse of Coin No. 72.

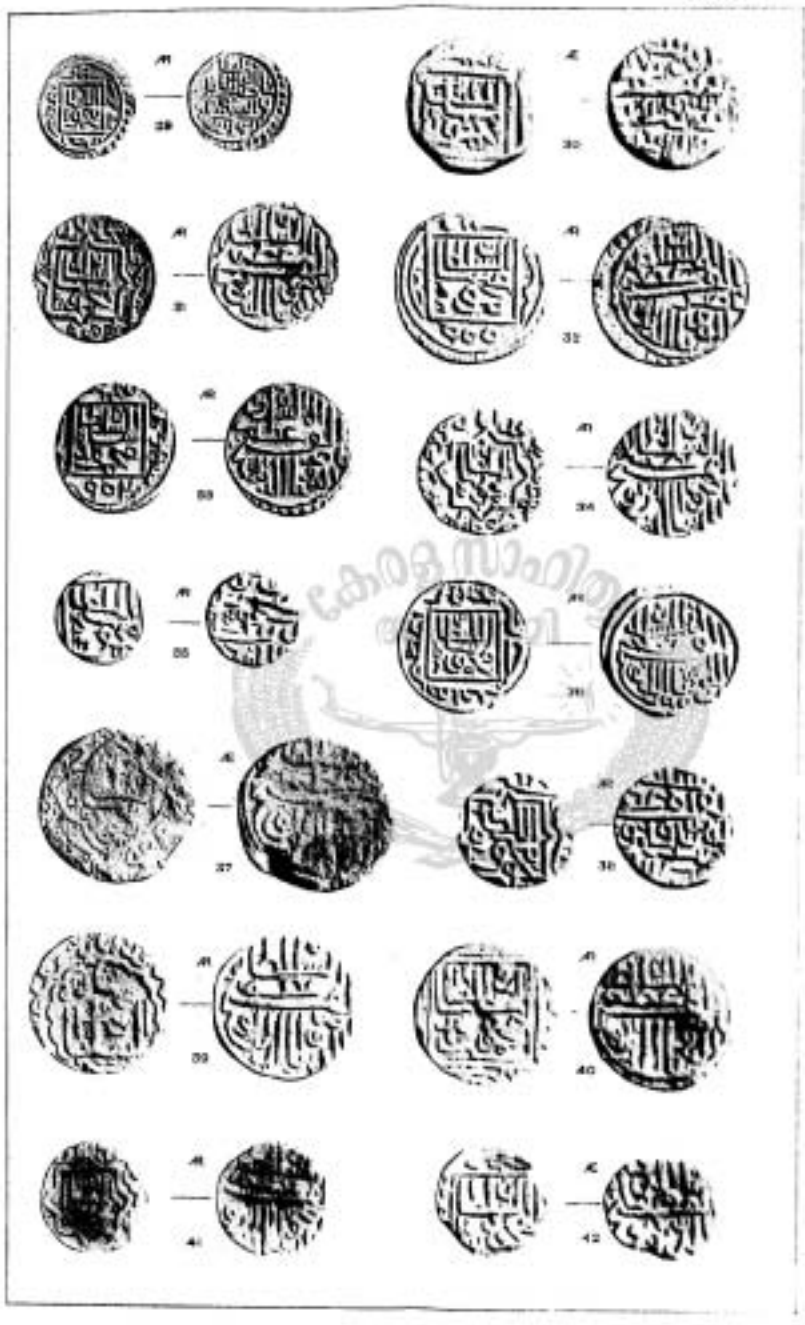
This is copper coin of the Navānagar State, a rough imitation of the coins struck by Muẓaffar III., before Akbar's conquest of Gujarāt.

For the admirable plates that accompany this article I am indebted to my esteemed and learned friend Mr. Henry Cousens, M.R.A.S., Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Western India. With his unfailing kindness he offered to take casts in plaster, and from them photographs, of all coins that I might select for the purpose; and it was this most generous offer of his—an offer entailing much tedious labour on his part—that more than all else encouraged me to undertake the writing of the present article. Never before have photographic plates been prepared representing so complete a set of the coins of the Gujarāt Salṭanat, and by this valuable contribution Mr. Cousens has placed the readers of this Journal under a deep debt of obligation.

G. P. T

COINS OF THE GUJARAT SULTANAT.

COINS OF THE GUJARAT SULTANAT.



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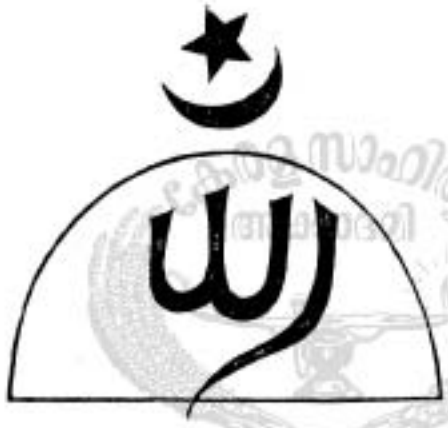
Article XI.

DHAR AND MANDU.



THE LAT NUSJID, DHAR.

Art. XI.—*Dhar and Mandu.* By Ernest Barnes, Capt., I.S.C.

(Communicated, June 1902.)

Preface.

An effort has here been made to collect in one paper such information as is obtainable regarding these places.

For the historical portion of the work I have relied principally on Brigg's Translation of Farishta's History, the Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fuzl, and on Sir John Malcolm's History of Central India. A "History of Mandu" published by "a Bombay Subaltern" in 1844, and "Mandu" an article by Mr. (now Sir) J. M. Campbell, published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1896, have been of invaluable assistance to me.

Much of the information regarding the buildings of Dhar has not, to the best of my belief, appeared in print before, and I am much indebted to Mr. Lele, Superintendent of Education in the Dhar State, and to his Assistant Babaji Nalchekar, in the matter of the Sanskrit inscriptions, also to Moulvie Syed Ahmed and Munshi Abdur Rahman who have rendered me similar help in dealing with the Persian inscriptions given in the text. For the photographs of inscriptions my thanks are due to Mr. Bodas of the Dhar High School, while the sketches have been lent by one who wishes to remain *incognito*.

The Sanskrit inscriptions in Dhar which have recently come to light open up a field of research far beyond the scope of this work. The history of Dhar and Mandu prior to the Mahommedan conquest is shrouded in tradition, but there would seem to be some probability that scattered over the country and indeed in Dhar itself, inscriptions do exist from which it might be possible to elucidate facts connected with this period. To decipher and co-ordinate these inscriptions is obviously a work which requires special knowledge and time; but local officials have now been interested in this matter, and it may be hoped that with assistance from the Durbar, some arrangements will be possible under which such work might be carried on, in a systematic way.

Though now fallen from their high estate the countries of the Bhopawar Agency have had a great past, and not only in Dhar and Mandu, but in Nimar along the Narbada Valley to Bagh and

Barwani many striking evidences of former greatness are to be found. Few things would be more agreeable than to have an active share in bringing to light those forgotten times, but if that should not be possible, I would fain content myself with the hope that the present work, however imperfect, will serve to further stimulate inquiry, and that in the future progress may not depend solely on the chance interest displayed by European officials, but that native gentlemen, many of whom are well-fitted to take up the work, will recognise that it is part of their duty to their country to endeavour to preserve from oblivion the records of the past.

ERNEST BARNES.

DHAR, C. I., *6th October 1902.*

DHAR.

CHAPTER I.

Historical Sketch.

The Emperor Jehangir writes in his diary: "Dhar is one of the oldest cities of India. Raja Bhoj lived in this city one thousand years ago. Dhar was also the capital of the Mahommedan rulers of Malwa. When Sultan Mahammed Tugluk was on his way to the conquest of the Deccan, he built a cutstone fort on a raised site. Its outline is very elegant and beautiful, but the space inside is empty of buildings."

A. D. 567.

A. D. 1325.
A. H. 713.

The ancient name of the city was "Dhará Nagari" (Sanskrit, "the town of blades of swords"), as it appears that this place was originally a school for military training; but it is now known among Mahommedans as "Piran Dhar" owing to the number of tombs of Mahommedan saints that are to be found in its vicinity.

There seems to be little doubt that in the ancient Hindu kingdom of Ujjain, Dhar held the second place. Farishta, in the introductory chapter of his history, says that Vikramajit built the fort of Dhar. By this is evidently meant the earthen ramparts of which traces still remain and which are locally attributed to Raja Bhoj. As to Raja Bhoj, Farishta adds:—"After the death of Vikramajit, Malwa long remained in a state of anarchy, till at length Raja Bhoj setting up pretensions to the throne assumed the reins of Government. Raja Bhoj, also of the tribe of Puar, followed the steps of his predecessor."

A. D. 44.

THE "MEHRAB" IN "RAJA BHOJ'S SCHOOL."

Considerable confusion exists as to this famous character, owing probably to the fact that there were certainly two Rajas of that name and probably more. Dr. Buhler, in his Introduction to the Vikramânka devacharita, puts the probable date of his death at A.D. 1065. In this poem, Bilhana, the author, states that Dhārā was taken by storm during Bhoja's reign by Somesvara I. the Chalukya king (1040—1069), and that Bhoja had to flee. Bhoja is also mentioned by Kalhana in the Raja tarangini as a great patron of poets (A.D. 1062). With the assistance of inscriptions available, it is hoped that it will be possible to increase our knowledge on these points, but as things stand at present, concerning the long period of time from Vikramajit and Bhoj, up to the first Mahommedan invasion, we have no historical record. Farishta speaks of this invasion as having occurred in 1304; he says:

"About this time, *Ain-ul-mulk* Multhani was sent with an army to effect the conquest of Malwa. He was opposed by Koka, Raja of Malwa, with 40,000 Rajput horse and 100,000 foot; in the engagement which ensued Ain-ul-mulk proved victorious and reduced the cities of Ujjain, Mandu, Dhara Nagari (Dhar), and Chanderi." Alla-ud-din Khilji was then King of Delhi. A. D. 1304. A. H. 714.

It would appear that from this time Malwa acknowledged allegiance to the Delhi kings, until the reign of Mahommed II, son of Feroz Tughluk, when *Dilawar Khan Ghori*, a descendant on his mother's side of Sultan Shahab-ud-din Ghori of Damascus, was appointed governor. This prince subsequently established his independence, and at the suggestion of his son Alp Khan (afterwards Sultan Hoshang) assumed "the white canopy and scarlet pavilion of royalty." A. D. 1387. A. H. 789. A. D. 1401. A. H. 804.

Dhar, not Mandu, was the capital both of the Mahommedan province and of the independent kingdom founded by Dilawar Khan, and it was not till after his death and the succession of his son Alp Khan that the pride of place passed to Mandu. A. D. 1405. A. H. 808.

From this time, until the Mahratta invasions, the city of Dhar loses its importance except as a theatre of the continued struggles between the kings of Malwa and Gujarat. It was also, as its many tombs attest, a favourite ground for the Mahommedan propaganda.

A. D. 1690. A. H. 1108. A. D. 1696 A. H. 1114. The first Mahratta invasion of Central India occurred in the year 1690, and for seven years their incursions into this part of Malwa continued. Malcolm in his history notes that in 1696 the Mahrattas ascended the Nalcha Ghât and took Mandu. They also engaged the Mahommedan troops at Dhar, the fort of which they are said to have reduced after a siege of three months. These incursions only ceased on the advance of the celebrated Jai Singh of Jeypur, who according to Mahommedan writers, while acting on behalf of the emperor, maintained a secret understanding with the enemies of Aurangzebe. At the commencement of the 18th century the invaders returned, and Udaji Puar[1] planted his standards at Mandu. This occupation also was but short lived, and it was not till the succession of Bajerao, the 2nd Peishwa, that permanent occupation was thought of.

A. D. 1720. A. H. 1138. A. D. 1731.[2] A. H. 1149.

In that year[2] Bajerao marched with a large army from Poona and occupied Nimar. Dia Bahadur, who was at this time governor of Malwa, foreseeing the danger which threatened, sent continued appeals to Delhi for assistance, but no notice was taken of his requests, and he was left to make head as best he could against the storm. Expecting that the enemy would move by the Bagh-Tanda route, he blocked the passes in the neighbourhood of Bhopawar and marched thither with his army to await them. Meantime Bajerao's army, led by Malhar Rao Holkar and favoured by the Thakurs and Zemindars, crossed the Nerbada at Akbarpur (close to the present ford of Khalghat) and ascending the ghâts by the Bahru Pass through which the Gujri-Dhar road now passes, marched to Dhar. Dia Bahadur hastened back to meet the invaders and a battle was fought at Tirla (6 miles west of Dhar) in which the Mahommedan troops were completely defeated and Dia Bahadur was slain.

A. D. 1732. A. H. 1150. A. D. 1734. A. H. 1152. From this time the Mahommedan supremacy in Malwa ends. Two years later, Anand Rao Puar, the younger brother of Udaji (who had previously been deprived of all power by the Peishwa), was vested with authority to collect the Mahratta share of the revenue of Malwa and Guzerat. He shortly afterwards settled at Dhar, which province with some of the adjoining districts were assigned to him for the support of himself and his adherents. As

[1] The real founder of the present family.

Malcolm writes :—"It is a strange coincidence that the success of the Mahrattas should by making Dhar the capital of Anand Rao and his descendants, restore the sovereignty to a race which had seven centuries before been expelled from the Government of that city and territory."

Anand Rao Puar died in 1749, and was succeeded by his son Yeswant Rao, who accompanied the Peishwa to Hindoostan, and was one of the many distinguished leaders who fell at the battle of Paniput. He was succeeded by his son Kundi Rao, then only two and a half years old, and the management of the family possessions was carried on by the Diwan Madho Rao Urekar. From this time the power of the State declined, and its total ruin seemed inevitable when Raghuba Dada, being compelled to withdraw from Poona, sent his family to take refuge in Dhar. It was while in the fort that Anandi Bai, his principal wife, gave birth to Baji Rao, the last of the Peishwas. Dhar was immediately attacked by the combined force of Raghuba's enemies, and as Kundi Rao had openly espoused his cause, the Puar territory in Malwa was resumed, and was only restored on the surrender of Anandi Bai and her child. Kundi Rao married a daughter of Govind Rao Gaekwar, by whom he had a son Anand Rao, who was born six months after his father's death. Anand Rao remained at Baroda until he was seventeen years old, when he proceeded to Dhar, and although opposed by the Diwan Rung Rao Urekar, he succeeded in establishing himself in power. For the next twenty years the State was subjected to continued raids by the forces of Holkar and Scindhia. The former, Yeswant Rao Holkar, received the rebellious Diwan and, urged on by him, ravaged the country. Finding, however, he could not obtain all he wanted, the Diwan went on to Daulat Rao Scindhia and succeeded in instigating that chief to attack Dhar. In this year Anand Rao died, leaving his distracted territory to his widow Maina Bai. This courageous lady who was pregnant at the time of her husband's death, took up her residence in Mandu, where she gave birth to a son Ramchander Rao Puar. Her cause being strengthened by this event, she continued her struggle, in spite of all difficulties, to maintain the independence of the State. Her son died when he was three years old, but Maina Bai immediately had recourse to adoption, and with the concurrence of both Scindhia and Holkar nominated her sister's son, who

A. D. 1749.
A. H. 1167.
A. D. 1761.
A. H. 1179.
A. D. 1780.
A. H. 1198.
A. D. 1797.
A. H. 1215.
A. D. 1807.
A. H. 1225.
A. D. 1810.
A. H. 1228.

was about the same age as her own child, and seated him on the *gaddi* under the name of Ramchander Puar. The next seven years were a mere struggle for existence, and when the British forces entered Malwa, Dhar itself was the only possession[1] that remained to Ramchander Puar, while the entire revenue of the State did not exceed Rs.35,000. With the advent of the British, however, a rapid change took place. By opportune policy, Scindhia was induced to return the Badnawar pergana and his aid was invoked to recover Bersia which had been occupied by the Pindari Leader Karim Khan. Finally, on the 10th of July 1819, a treaty was concluded with the British, and Dhar was saved from the annihilation which undoubtedly awaited it. Prosperity rapidly returned, and Maina Bai and her Minister Bapu Raghunath, both of whom outlived Ramchander Rao, continued to carry on the administration.

A. D. 1833. A. H. 1251. Ramchander, who had married a granddaughter of Daulat Rao Scindhia, died childless in 1833. His widow adopted as his successor Yeswant Rao Puar of Malthan (Deccan), then about twelve years of age, and the administration was continued by Bapu Raghunath till his death in 1836. Nothing of importance marks the rule of this chief, but he introduced an organised system of government, and left a reputation for great generosity among the people. The fine temple of Kalka Devi to the north-west of the town, which was entirely repaired by him, shows his religious tendencies. He died suddenly in May 1857, having nominated on his death-bed Anand Rao Puar, his half-brother, as his successor. Anand Rao, then a boy of thirteen, was unable to stem in his territory the torrent of mutiny and disaffection which at that time spread over the whole country. His army, mostly composed of Makranis and Pathans, having looted the Agency at Bhopawar, occupied the fort at Dhar until it was captured by the British. In consequence the State was confiscated, but was subsequently restored to Anand Rao, with the exception of the Bairsia Perganna.[2]

A. D. 1836. A. H. 1254.

A. D. 1857. A. H. 1273.

1st Nov. 1857.

A. D. 1860.

British management was maintained, however, till 1864, when ruling powers were given to the chief. During his long rule, the

[1] The Nimar perganas of Dharampuri and Tikri were still nominally in possession of the family, but no revenue was derived from these perganas.

[2] This pergana was transferred to Bhopal as a reward for the services during the mutiny rendered by Sekander Begam.

THE DOORWAY KAMAL MAULA'S SHRINE.

prosperity of Dhar continued to increase, and the revenue rose from about 5 lakhs in 1857 to 9 lakhs in 1896. Anand Rao received several marks of favour at the hands of the Imperial Government. On the occasion of the Delhi assemblage in 1877, he was granted the title of Maharaja as a personal distinction, and was also appointed a Knight Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. In 1883, the decoration of Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire was also conferred upon him. He died childless in July 1898, having previously adopted his nephew Udaji Rao Puar of Malthan. Of Anand Rao the people say: "He was short of stature, but large of heart"; and indeed no truer thing could be said of him; but with all his unlimited hospitality towards Europeans as well as natives, he left his treasury full, and thus enabled the State to tide over with comparative ease the disastrous years which followed his death.

A. D. 1877.

A. D. 1898.

Udaji Rao Puar, whose succession was immediately recognised by the Government of India, is now sixteen years of age, and is being educated at the Daly College at Indore, the management of the State being in the hands of a Superintendent under the direct control of the Political Agent.

A. D. 1902.

CHAPTER II.

Buildings.

The Fort is a rectangular construction of red sandstone, attributed to Sultan Mahmud Tughluk of Delhi. On the third gate there is an inscription to the effect that "in the reign of Aurangzebe this gate was constructed during the administration of Ashur Beg,[1] a man of great resources and courage."

A. D. 1325-13
A. H. 725-752

A. D. 1690.
A. H. 1108.

During the Mahratta invasion the fort played an important part, and it was here that Anandi Bai took refuge and gave birth to Baji Rao, the third Peishwa. A toy well and miniature throne with slide are shown as having been his playthings. Later, at the commencement of the nineteenth century, the forts of Dhar and Mandu were practically the only pieces of territory remaining to the present family, and it was from here that Maina Bai, the courageous Rani of the time, directed her eventually successful struggles to preserve the State for her infant son, Ramchander Rao.

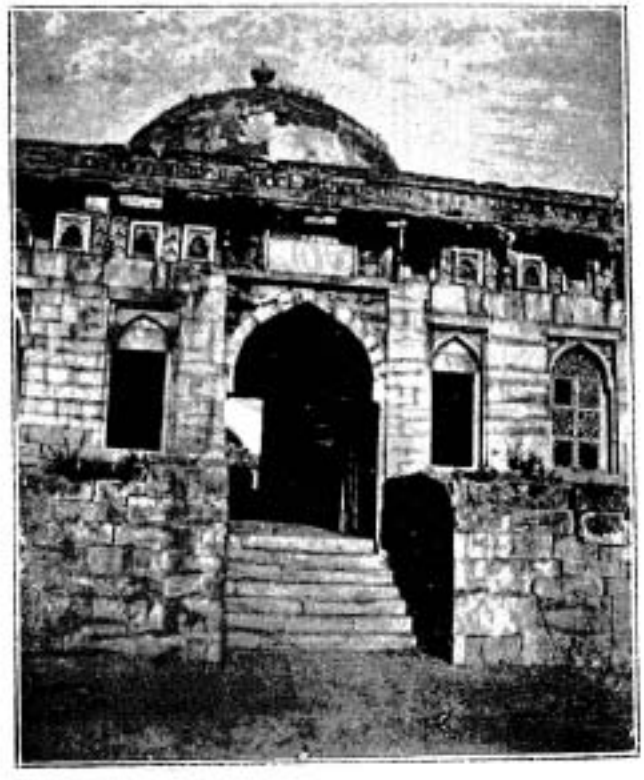
A. D. 1857.
A. H. 1275.

In 1857 the Arabs, Makranis, and Pathans, then in the service of

[1] Foster brother of Shah Jehan.

the State, joined the Amjhera mutineers and looted the Agency at Bhopawar. They then returned to Dhar, and having completely overawed the administration, took possession of the fort, which they held for about three months. An eye-witness describes what happened as follows: "The Diwan, Ramchand Rao (son of Bapuji Raghunath, the able minister of Maina Bai), the Raja being then a minor, informed the British authorities of what had occurred, and although frightened to openly ask for assistance, maintained secret correspondence with them. A force under the command of General Stewart eventually marched from Mhow, and the mutineers, hearing of its advance, took up positions on the high ground to the east covering the approaches to the city. On being attacked, they immediately retired to the fort. The British were without siege guns, and had to wait the arrival of two heavy pieces from Mhow. These guns were placed at the distance of about 300 yards from the south-west corner of the fort, and after battering the wall for thirteen days (using, as rumour goes, 40,000 projectiles), the breach was effected, which is still to be seen. That night the mutineers fled without the knowledge of the British, and the following day the bombardment was renewed. The prisoners who had remained in the fort began to wave their 'dhotis' in sign of surrender, and the British then took possession." It was only at the personal
A. D 1875. request of the late Maharaja, made to H. E. Lord Northbrook when he visited Dhar as Viceroy, that permission was given to rebuild the gap in the rampart. It has been found necessary to postpone the completion of this work owing to existing financial difficulties. The fort, at present, contains the jail and sepoy lines and a gigantic "baori." The palace known as the Karbuza Mahal, on the north-west bastion now in disrepair, apparently dates from the Mandu period.

At the upper entrance gate is a tomb known as that of Data Bandhi Chor. Very briefly the tradition is as follows: — The saint, by name Hazrat Mahbud, said to have been a servant in the fort, at the command of his mother, released all the prisoners. In struggling with the guards his head was severed from his body and fell at the place where this tomb now stands. The headless body continued the fight until it reached a spot about 200 yards to the north, where it fell and was buried. At this spot also a much-frequented shrine exists.



THE LAT MUSJID EASTERN ENTRANCE.

Among the guns stored in the Arsenal, at the entrance of the fort, there are some old pieces of the Mandu period of most primitive character; also a few camel guns. These were brought from Mandu for safe custody at the suggestion of the Political Agent[1] about 1878.

The Lat Masjid.

This mosque owes its erection to Dilawar Khan, first king of Malwa, the material used having evidently been taken from Hindu temples. The northern gateway is of particularly Jain-like style, and is in good preservation. The eastern gate is of a later epoch, and shows much more the influence of Mahomedan architecture. There are two inscriptions; that on the northern doorway is in prose, and to the effect that Ahmed Shah, known as Dilawar Khan, laid the foundation stone in the year A.D. 1405. The second inscription on the eastern entrance is in verse, and may be thus transcribed:— A.D. 1405. A.H. 808.

"Lord of the earth and mighty source of lofty heaven
"The support of the people of this world
"And sun of the zenith of perfection
"In Him all good qualities are entered—
"Of descent noble as the heavens
"Powerful as the angels, and equal to Jesus
"In justice, charity, gravity, war, assembly and magnificence
"The eye of heaven hath not seen
"A person of such lofty thoughts
"The great supporter of Islam
"Ahmed Shah Dawad
"A hero of such noble qualities
"As Ghor may well be proud of.
"The helper and supporter of the religion of the Prophet
"Dilawar Khan, the chosen one of the Great God
"Disciple of Nazir-ud-din Mahommed
"This Asylum and place of protection for all great men
"In the city of Dhar constructed this assembly mosque
"At a happy moment and on an auspicious day
"A mosque like the second Kába of the world
"The praise of which is beyond description
"A mosque which resembles one built by angels
"Or the Kába by which the great world has received pleasure and beauty.

[1] Colonel Lester.

"It was the year 808 Hijri that the construction of the mosque was completed with all splendour."

Eighty feet from the northern gateway lies the square beam of iron by which the mosque is known. Jehangir in his diary speaks of it as follows: —

"Outside this fort (Dhar), there is an assembly mosque which has in front of it fixed in the ground a four-cornered iron pillar about four feet round. When Sultan Bahadur of Gujrat took Malwa, he wished to carry this column to Gujrat. In digging it up, the pillar fell and broke in two, one piece measuring 22 feet and the other 13 feet. As it was lying here uncared for, I (Jehangir) ordered the big piece to be carried to Agra, to be put up in the courtyard of the shrine of Him, whose abode is the heavenly throne (Akbar) to be used as a lamp-post."

Evidently Jehangir's orders were never carried out. The piece fallen *in situ* actually measuring 24 feet is where Jehangir saw it; the second piece, 12 feet long, was removed to the Agency Garden some years ago. The end of this piece is octagonal and suggestive of its having been made for a lamp-post.

On the piece lying near the mosque is a short inscription in Persian as follows:—

A.D. 1591. "In the reign of the most exalted emperor, the reflection of the Almighty, while on his way to the Deccan in the eighth year of Asfandia, 42 Julusi, corresponding to 1000 of the Hijra, the Emperor Akbar passed here with great pomp, and his order for engraving this inscription was carried into effect by Sharif Mahommed."

The "Kamal Maula."

This enclosure comprises the tomb of: —

(*a*) Shaikh Kamal-ud-din Sahib Malvi;

(*b*) The alleged tomb of Mahmud Khilji, third king of Mandu;

(*c*) A mosque; and

(*d*) Several other ruined tombs of no historic importance.

As regards the tomb of Kamil-ud-din, the inscription over the doorway reads thus :—

"This lofty tomb of beauty, this dome which reflects light,

"This is the shrine of the saint

"And people coming from distant places

"Should here prostrate themselves.

THE LAT MUSJID, NORTHERN ENTRANCE.

THE BLUE TILE ON THE WALL, KAMAL MAULA'S TOMB.

"Though the space was small, still the gateway was constructed with beauty

"The small arches over the platform, the threshold and this gateway

"Resemble the new moon.

"For the repose of all great persons

"And for the support of all

"In the happy reign of the emperor of the world

"Mahmūd Shah Khilji

"In the year 861 Hajri this was constructed. A. D. 1457.

"May the place of his life be everlasting.

"On the threshold of the Lord of this world and of Religion

"Mahmūd lay prostrate.

"May his kindness continue upon me

"In the same way as it is extended to all who bow before him."

The origin of the quaint blue tile, with cufic characters, let into the wall above the Mulvi's tomb is a puzzle. There is nothing similar to it to be found in the neighbourhood, and up to the present it has not been possible to trace whence it came. The only mention of it is to be found in a Persian work called "Guljar Abrar," where a translation is given in Persian verse, which we may thus transcribe:

"On this tomb upon a green stone with golden letters it is written that, in this world nothing remains of good men, except their goodness."

Kamāl-ud-din, known as "Malwi," because of his long residence in Malwa, was one of the many disciples of the famous Nizam-ud-din Auliya, who flourished in Delhi at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Sent by his spiritual guide to Malwa, Kamāl became famous as a preacher and "attained the heights of sanctity." The date of his death is unknown, but it must have occurred many years prior to the erection by Mahmūd Khilji of the buildings which adorn his grave. His teacher, Nizam-ud-din, died in A.D. 1325; it is thus hardly possible that Kamāl can have lived beyond A.D. 1400, and he cannot, therefore, have met Mahmūd in the flesh. It would seem probable that these buildings were erected as a thanks-offering to the local saint after Mahmūd's return from his successful campaign against the Rana Kumbhu of Chitor.[1]

[1] Since this was written an inscription has been exhumed from the small graveyard in this enclosure. It is dated, 795 A.H. (1395 A.D.), i.e., prior to the assumption of sovereignty by Dilawar Khan, 1st king of Malwa, and states that in that year in the reign of Mahmud Shah, son of Sultan Firoz Tughluk, the small and ancient mosques of Dhar which had fallen into ruin through the ravages of time were repaired in a beautiful fashion by Khan Falik Dilawar Khan (then Subah of Malwa).

Opposite that of Kamāl-ud-din stands a tomb which, local tradition insists, is that of Mahmūd Khilji himself. Again to quote tradition, the great warrior is said to have expressed the wish that he "should be buried in the place where people removed their shoes in going to visit the tomb of his patron saint Kamāl-ud-din."

Raja Bhoja's School.

The mosque, contiguous to Kamāl-ud-din's tomb, is known among the Hindoo population as "Raja Bhoja ka Madrassa," *i. e.*, Raja Bhoja's School. In its present form, it is contemporaneous with the buildings round it, but, as in the case of the Lât Musjid, all the materials used seem to have been taken from Hindoo buildings. The decoration of the "Mehrab" and the dome are more elaborate than in the Lât Musjid.

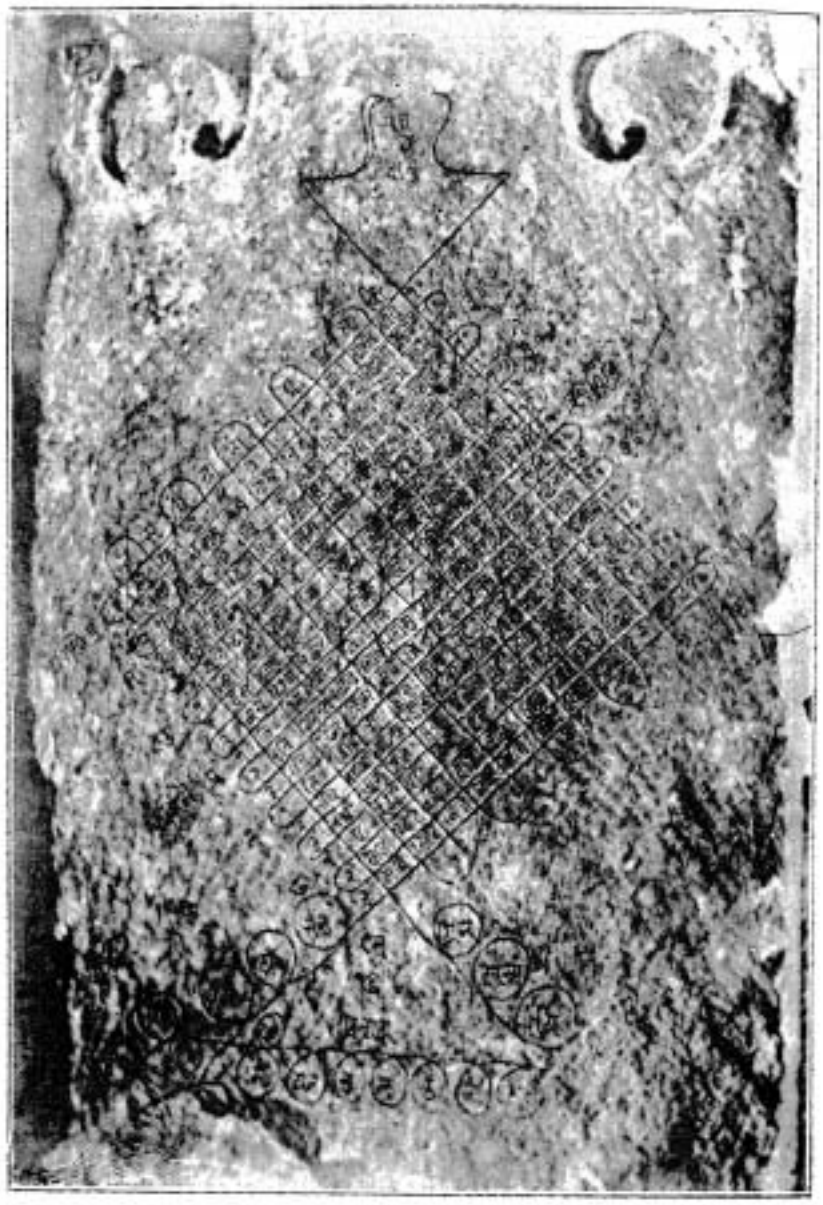
As confirming the local tradition of the existence of Raja Bhoja's school in this neighbourhood, the two *Serpobandhi* pillar inscriptions, photographs of which are given below, are extremely interesting.

The following explanation of them, has kindly been given me by Mr. K. K. Lele, Superintendent of Education in the Dhar State.

"Inscription No. I is made up by the windings of one serpent only. It contains the Sanskrit alphabet in the Nagari characters of the 11th or 12th century A. D., and the chief inflectional terminations of nouns and verbs. The former are given in the body of the serpent, and the latter in the tail. The consonants do not differ very much from those in common use now; but the vowels have quite a different shape. The whole inscription is 2 ft. 3 in. in height and 1 ft. in breadth. There are altogether 53 letters and symbols, and 21 nominal and 18 verbal inflectional terminations. As the alphabet plays the chief part in this inscription, it may be called alphabetical."

"Inscription No. II is bigger in size, 2½ ft. in height and 1½ ft. in breadth, with greater contents. It is made up by the intertwining of two serpents, probably male and female. It contains chiefly the personal terminations of the ten tenses and moods of Sanskrit grammar. There are three numbers in Sanskrit, and two sets of terminations (Parasmaipada and Atmanepada, transitive and intransitive) for each of the tenses and moods: so for the three persons in each there

SERPODANDHA PILLAR INSCRIPTION NO. I.



SERPOBANDHA PILLAR INSCRIPTION NO. 11.

are altogether 18 terminations, 9 of each set, as shown below:—

Parasmai.			Atmane.		
Sing.	du.	pl.	Sing.	du.	pl.
3rd person	...	...	3rd person	...	...
2nd ,,	...	...	2nd ,,	...	...
1st ,,	...	...	1st ,,	...	...

Inscription Serpobandha No. II.

Thus there are altogether $18 \times 10 = 180$ verbal terminations, 90 of each set, given in the table and numbered on the right-hand side. They are given in slanting columns from the left to the right in the spaces left between the zigzag turnings of the serpents. On the left-hand side are marked the names of the two sets of terminations, the three persons: the third or prathama, the second or madhyama, and the first or uttama; and the three numbers by the figures 1, 2 and 3. The names of the tenses are marked on the top of each column by the initial letter of each. In Sanskrit, besides primitive verbal bases, there are several (not fewer than a dozen) derivative bases of verbs, which show causation, desire, intensity, etc. These and other details are indicated in the round knots below the principal table. The inscription is based on the *Ka-tantra* grammar of Sanskrit.

Above the table there are two Sanskrit stanzas of the Anustubha metre of 32 letters divided into 4 feet of 8 letters each. In the first verse occur the names of Udayadittya and Naravarman, and in the second that of Udayadittya alone. Now these Udayadittya and Naravarman were the almost immediate successors of the Raja Bhoja who ruled at Dhar during the first half of the eleventh century of the Christian era.

The probable meaning of the stanzas is as follows: —

"The swords of the king Udayadittya and Naravarman were equally ready for the protection of the varnas (*i.e.*, the four castes) and the letters of the alphabet. This pillar inscription has been put here by king Udayadittya for the gratification of poets and princes."

In addition to these evidences, a considerable portion of the floor of the mosque is paved[1] with black stone slabs, on which can be distinctly seen traces of the inscriptions which once covered them, but which unfortunately have been almost totally defaced by the Mahomedan conquerors. Finally, a recent close inspection has brought to light the fact that the reverse side of two of the great black stone slabs which form the lining of the "Mehrab" are covered with similar inscriptions, which happily by their position have escaped destruction, but of which,

[1] For about 1,200 sq. ft.

owing to that same position, it has only been possible up to the present to take fragmental impressions. These impressions seem to show that the inscriptions are a dramatic composition probably on an historical subject, written in the reign of a successor of Bhoja.[1]

Mausoleum of Abdulla Shah Changal.

This mausoleum lies south-west of the city on the ancient ramparts of the town. The tomb itself is insignificant, but the history connected with it, as detailed in the Persian inscription over the gateway leading up to the tomb, is of interest. It runs as follows :—

"His tomb appears to be wholly a reflection of light

"And the Saint who is buried here was the true lover of God.

"His voice possessed a power as marvellous as that of David

"And by it men and even animals were charmed;

"But what of men, even Angels do homage to his tomb.

"It was in the palmy days of the Hindus that he came to this city

"And Raja Bhoj,[2] then king, was so affected by his marvellous power

"That he embraced the Faith.

A. D. 1296-1316. "Mahmud Shah Khilji repaired the dome over his tomb, which Allah-ud-din Ghori had constructed before him.

A. D. 1454. "He is the first and foremost of the saints, and his tomb was constructed here in 857 A. H.

"He is termed Changal, because all who once visited him remained for ever fascinated by his marvellous power.

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[1] The dimensions of the stone from which impressions have been taken are 5′ 8″ × 5′, and the whole inscription consists on a rough calculation of about 80 lines of 116 syllables each. Owing to the position and then only with great difficulty 40 half-lines have been copied. The inscription is in classical Sanskrit poetry and was written by the Royal Tutor Madan to be reproduced at Dhar at the spring festival. It is written in honor of Arjuna Varma Deo (A.D. 1209—1217) and mention is made of the wars between the Pramanas and the Chalukyas now happily ended by marriage. A glimpse is given of the high states of civilisation and refinement then prevailing in Dhar, which is described as a city of palaces having beautiful pleasure gardens on the hills surrounding the town. The people prided themselves in the glories of Bhoja who had made Dhar the Queen of Malwa. The excellence of the Dhar musicians as well as of its scholars is also mentioned. It appears that some of the facts mentioned in this inscription are confirmed by a copper-plate grant of Arjuna Varma, dated Samvat 1272 (A.D. 1215) which was written by the same author Madan, and a copy of which has been published in the American Oriental Society's Journal (Part VII.).

[2] According to Tod, the dates of the three Bhojas were: A.D. 567, A.D. 665, A.D. 1305. The last was the predecessor of Udayaditya.

SANSCRIT INSCRIPTION ABOVE SERPORANDHA NO. 11.

THE TOMB OF SHAH CHANGAL.

"He has attained the highest degree of piety and virtue known to the Dervishes."

The Hindus naturally scoff at the idea that a Raja Bhoj should have been converted to Mahommedanism, but the inscription given above shows how ancient is the tradition, while the Mahommedan story, which is fully detailed in the "Annals of Malwa," goes on to say that Raja Bhoja on his conversion took the name of Abdullah and was buried on the same spot as his teacher. A series of small tombs in the same enclosure are said to be those of forty missionaries who were massacred at the instance of Raja Bhoj himself, evidently prior to the arrival of Shah Changál! The latter was a native of Medina and, in Malwa, one of the earliest apostles of the new creed.[1]

Besides the above there are some twelve other tombs of known "Pirs" scattered in and about the city, dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One of the most prominent, and whose tomb is visible at a distance of about a mile south from the Shah Changál is that of Hazrat Pir Parahan. It is said of him that one of the elements, namely air, was under his control; the seat on which he used to sit floated in the æther, and on it he moved at will from place to place. Hence his name, Pir Parahan—the flying Saint. Another of historical interest is the shrine of Maulana Ghiyas, who is mentioned by Abul Fazl in conjunction with Shaikh Kamal and others as having been one of the saintly followers of Nizamuddin Auliya.[2] His tomb lies on the Khande Rao hill. He is more specially a patron of learning, and to this day the youth of Dhar frequent his shrine when troubled with the prospect of an examination.

It may here be noted that these Mahomedan shrines of Dhar are equally sacred both to Hindus and Mahomedans.

Kalka Devi.

The only Hindu building of general interest is the temple of Kali, beautifully situated on a hillock overlooking the lotus-covered tank to the north-west of the city.

The building as it now stands is due to Jaswant Rao Puar, grandfather of the present chief, but the shrine itself is of a far remoter period, and is alleged to date from the early Hindu kings. When the Mahommedans invaded Malwa, the image, to avoid its destruction, was removed and hidden in the city, where it is still to be seen in a miserable hut. It is held by the devotees of Kali that with the exception of the famous Durga of Bengal, this is the only image of the goddess which escaped destruction and survived those iconoclastic times.

[1] I have not succeeded in finding any mention of this saint in the Áin-i-Akbari.

[2] Áin-i-Akbari, Vol. III., p. 365, Jarrett's translation.

The modern city.

But little comment is necessary on the modern city. It dates from the commencement of last century when Maina Bai built the palace and the Utawad gate as well as the fine temple of Mahadeo in the centre of the town. Of public buildings there are practically none, with the exception of the High School and the hospital founded by Anand Rao Puar, the late Maharaja.

CHAPTER III.

Nalcha.

Nalcha, sixteen miles from Dhar, is now a small village, the head-quarters of a tahsil of the same name.

It has lost much of its importance since 1820 when it was the head-quarters of Sir John Malcolm and still more, since the time when

A. D. 1617. Jehangir visited it, and in his diary describes it as follows :— "What can be written worthy of the beauty and pleasantness of Nalcha? The neighbourhood is full of mango trees, the whole of the country is one unbroken and restful evergreen. Owing to its beauty, I remained there three days.

"Nalcha is one of the best places in Malwa. It has an extensive growth of vines, and among its mango groves and vineyards wander streamlets of water. I arrived at a time (February) when, contrary to the Northern clime, the vines were in blossom and fruit, and so great was the vintage that the meanest boor could eat grapes to his fill. The poppy was also in flowers, and its fields delighted the eye with their many coloured beauty."

The vines have disappeared, and nothing is sadder than to see the ruin which the recent drought has caused to the mango-groves of which Jehangir speaks. Still much of the natural beauty of the place remains, and one can well understand how Sir John Malcolm chose it as a residence. The house where he lived lies a few hundred yards west of the village, and as he himself records is one of the palaces built by Mahmūd Khilji during the reign of the latter in Mandu.

A. D. 1840. Until about 1840, it was used as a travellers' bungalow, but has since fallen into total disrepair.

A. D. 1411. The picturesque ruins surrounding the tank close to which the road passes, date from the time of Mahmūd Khilji who, it is recorded, built here some beautiful palaces and mosques. From Nalcha to Mandu the road becomes a sort of *Via Appia*. On the rising ground at a short distance from the village the ruins commence which extend without intermission to the hill of Mandu. On the right is a chain of

THE UTAWAD GATE, DHAR.

NALCHA.

hills, nearly every one of which is topped by crumbling relics of the past. Most of the buildings are quadrangular and surmounted by cupolas below which are ruins of ornamental carving with traces of the original blue enamelled ground. Some of the buildings are large with walled enclosures and porticos. As a "Bombay Subaltern" writing in 1844 says: "They form a dreary picture of the mutability of earthly pomp; a cutting satire on the vanities and nothingness of human endeavour; the hardy pipal tree has clung to the walls with destructive and unrelenting embrace, and the wild denizens of the jungle have usurped the halls of kings, the luxurious retreats of indolent Mahomedans, and of the fair inmates of their harem."

On the left, about half way to Mandu, is the "Kakra Koh," a magnificent ravine of great depth, which extending far into the distance breaks through the Vindhian chain into the Nimar plain. Two marks on the rock near where the two sides meet are pointed out as the veritable footprints of Murtaza Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomed. Just opposite, on the other side of the road, and strongly contrasting in its quiet beauty with the grandeur of the ravine, is a small lake surrounded on three sides by hills, its embankments covered with a rich belt of mangos and jamun trees.

The strange bulky tree, which cannot fail to have attracted notice, is the *Adansonia digitata*, the Baobab tree of Senegal known in Malwa as the Khorasani Imli. It abounds in Nalcha and Mandu, but is not to be found in any other part of Malwa,[1] and is exotic in India. Its trunk attains enormous dimensions, and was supposed by its discoverer, the French botanist Adanson, to exceed any other tree in longevity; he found one 30 feet in diameter, and calculated its age at 5,150 years! The wood is extremely light, its specific gravity being only 262, water being 1,000, and is thus but little heavier than cork. The tree is in full leaf only during the rains, the pods ripening about March; the juice is used by the natives as a febrifuge and a basis for sherbet. It seems probable that this tree was introduced into Malwa from Abyssinia during the reign of Mahmūd Khilji, when Mandu was at its zenith and close trade relations with that country existed.

CHAPTER IV.

Mandu—its History.

Before attempting to describe the ruins, it seems desirable to take up the thread of history which connects this place with

[1] Except an occasional stray specimen.

Dhar, and to note as briefly as a period of five hundred years will allow, the events of which Mandu has been the scene.

From time immemorial Mandu must have been a fortress, but, as is the case with Dhar, of its history prior to the Mahomedan conquest very little is known.

Farishta mentions that one Anand Deo Rajput of the tribe of Bais who rose to power after the death of Pertab Chand, constructed the fort of Mandu in Malwa. This Anand Deo lived in the reign of Khusru Parvis, King of Persia, and died after a reign of sixteen years.

A. D. 591-621.

In connection with the foundation of Mandu, Colonel Tod writes as follows:

> "Maheswar . . . appears to have been the first seat of Government of the Pramaras.[1] They subsequently founded Dhara Nagar (Dhar) and Mandu on the crest of the Vindhian hills . . . the inscription in the nail-headed character fixes the date of the last prince of the Pramaras of Chitore at A. D. 714."

A. H. 714.
A. D. 1305.

In A. D. 1304-05 Mandu suffered the same fate as Dhar at the hands of Ain-ul-Mulk Multani, and one century later, on the succession of Alp Khan, known as Sultan Hoshang, became the capital of the independent kingdom of Malwa. It was seven years previous to this date that Alp Khan withdrew to Mandu, annoyed with his father Dilawar Khan for entertaining as his overlord at Dhar, Mahmud Tugluk, the refugee Monarch of Delhi. According to Farishta he stayed there for three years and laid the foundation of the famous fortress, the remains of which still exist. Although Dilawar Khan took up his residence at Dhar, and considered that place as the seat of his government, he frequently visited Mandu and, as available inscriptions show, built the Assembly Mosque near the Jahaz Mahal and the southern gateway of the fort now known as the Tarapur Gate.

A. D. 1388.

2nd King of the Ghori dynasty, A. D. 1405-1432.

On the death of Dilawar Khan, Alp Khan assumed the title of King of Malwa under the name of *Sultan Hoshang Ghori*.

A rumour prevalent at the time that he had poisoned his father (although according to Farishta not generally accepted) was evidently believed by Musaffar Shah of Gujerat, the sworn brother-in-

[1] Modern Puar.

arms of the late king, who immediately collected an army and marched against Hoshang.[1] He reached Dhar without resistance and a battle ensued on the plain in front of the town. The Gujerat chief was wounded and Hoshang was unhorsed, but the troops continued to fight desperately until the scale turned in favour of Gujerat. Hoshang threw himself into the fort of Dhar, wherein he A. D. 1407. was closely besieged, and was finally forced to surrender at discretion. He was taken prisoner to Gujerat, and Nasrat Khan, brother of Muzaffar Shah with a strong detachment, was left in charge of the Government of Malwa. Nasrat, however, failed to gain the goodwill either of the army or of the people and was forced to retire to Gujerat. On his departure, the Malwites appointed Musi Khan, nephew of the late Dilawar Khan, their leader. Hearing this, Hoshang wrote to Muzaffar Shah, pointing out that the unfavourable reports circulated against him were false, and requesting that he might be permitted to recover his usurped dominions. Muzaffar Shah acceded to his request, and deputed his grandson Ahmed to accompany Hoshang to Malwa and reinstate him on his throne.

On arrival at Dhar, which place they soon reduced, Ahmed re- A. D. 1408. turned to Gujerat, and Hoshang continued his advance on Mandu, but failed to make any impression on it until joined by his cousin, *Malik Moghis*. The desertion of this powerful noble so disconcerted Musi Khan, that he abandoned Mandu and fled without further resistance. Two years later, Hoshang, forgetful of all he owed to Muzaffar Shah, and personally to the prince Ahmed, who had now succeeded to the Gujerat throne, marched on Broach for the purpose of aiding Feroz Khan and Haibat Khan[2] in opposing Ahmed's succession. Ahmed Shah, however, prevented the junction of the three armies, and Hoshang returned incontinently to Dhar, but so restless was his disposition, and so inveterate his enmity to the rulers of Gujerat, that he soon afterwards involved himself in a new war. Hearing that Ahmed Shah had marched against the Raja of Jalwara, Hoshang again led his army into Gujerat and laid it waste. Ahmed Shah accordingly returned to meet him, on which occasion again Hoshang fled to Malwa. A third time Hoshang A. D. 1418.

[1] This attack marks the commencement of the series of wars between Malwa and Gujarat, which finally culminated, in A. D. 1535, with the overthrow of the Malwa Kingdom.

[2] Younger sons of Muzaffar Shah.

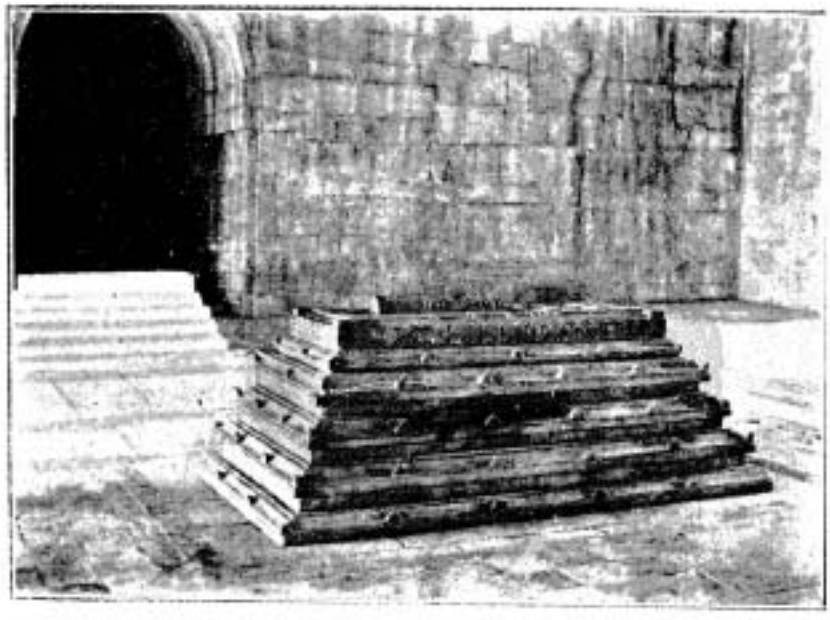
invaded Gujerat during the absence of Ahmed Shah, but retreated on the prince's approach. On this occasion Ahmed Shah followed him up into Malwa and a battle was fought near Ujjain. Hoshang was defeated and fled to Mandu pursued by the Gujerat cavalry, while Ahmed Shah followed as far as Nalcha.

To punish Hoshang, Ahmed twice besieged Mandu, and though he failed each time to take the fort, his retirement had to be purchased, and both as regards success and fair dealing the honours of the campaign remained with the Gujerat chief.

A. D. 1420. In 1420, Hoshang marched on Kherla, a fortress of the Ghondwara kingdom, and having compelled the Raja by treaty to pay a yearly tribute to the king of Malwa, returned laden with booty to Mandu.

A. D. 1421. In 1421, assuming the character of a horse-dealer, and accompanied by a thousand cavalry, he went to Jajnagar, now Jajpur in Orissa. He took with him a number of bay, chestnut and grey horses, such as that Raja was known to admire with the object of bartering these animals and other goods for the famous war elephants of Jajnagar. The pretended merchants having arrived, the Raja intimated his intention first of all to inspect the linen-goods, and then, either to purchase them with money, or barter elephants for them. The goods were accordingly spread on the ground, but owing to the threatening appearance of the weather Hoshang remonstrated, pointing out that the articles would be damaged if rain came on. The Raja's servants, however, insisted, and the goods remained spread out in the open. At length the Raja arrived, and a thunderstorm coming on, the elephants of his cavalcade trampled over the merchandise, which was much damaged. Hoshang, irritated at his loss, without further ado ordered his followers to mount and attack the Raja's escort, many of whom were slain, the Raja himself being taken prisoner. Hoshang then informed him of his rank, and the Raja purchased his liberty with seventy-five elephants; he was also required to escort the warlike merchant to the confines of his country, whence he was permitted to return but not without having handed over a few more of his famous elephants.

On his way back to Malwa, Hoshang heard that Ahmed Shah had invaded the country and was besieging Mandu. He, therefore, seized the fort of Kherla so as to have a position to fall back on



THE SARCOPHAGUS OF HOSHANG AT MANDU.

in case Mandu fell, and thence continuing his march he succeeded in entering the fort by the Tarapur Gate. On this Ahmed Shah raised the siege and retired to Sarangpur. Hoshang having followed by a shorter route, reached there before him, and sent the following hypocritical message to delay his advance:—"The blood of the faithful depends on us; let us restrain then our hands from the mutual destruction of true Believers. I beseech you to desist from warfare and to return to Gujerat. Meanwhile, let hostilities cease, and receive my ambassador, who has power to conclude an eternal peace between us." Ahmed Shah was deceived by these protestations, and Hoshang availed himself of his credulity by making a night attack on the Gujerat camp. His army penetrated to the Royal Tent, and it was only through the gallantry of the Rajput guard that Ahmed Shah made his escape. The latter hovered about the skirts of the camp until day-break, and having rallied a small but resolute band of his followers, led them against the hitherto victorious Malwites. Hoshang fought bravely, and both chiefs were wounded, but the King of Malwa, "on whom the face of victory never smiled," was defeated, and took refuge in the fort of Sarangpur. Ahmed not only recovered all his property, but in addition captured twenty-seven of Hoshang's elephants: he then retired towards Gujarat only to be followed by Hoshang. An action took place, in which Ahmed was again victorious and Hoshang fled a second time to Sarangpur.

Thence he repaired to Mandu to recruit his defeated army, and shortly afterwards besieged the fort of Gagrone, which fell into his hands. He also invested Gwalior, but was compelled to raise the siege and return to Mandu. In 1428 he again suffered defeat, on this occasion at the hands of the Deccanis under Ahmed Shah Bhamani, when his baggage, followers and the ladies of his family remained in the hands of the enemy. His last expedition was against the fort of Kalpi, which he took. From here he returned to Mandu and thence to Hoshangabad, where he died in the month of September. He was in the first instance buried here, but his body was afterwards removed to Mandu in state and entombed in the splendid mausoleum which still exists. By the help of his minister, Malik Mughis Khilji and of his son Mahmud, Malwa during the last ten years of his reign prospered, and the limits of the Kingdom were much extended.

A. D. 1423.

A. D. 1428.

A. D. 1431.

Death of Ho-shang, A. D. 1432.

Third King of the Ghori Dynasty, A. D. 1432-35.

On Hoshang's death, his son Ghazni Khan, with the title of *Sultan Mahommed Ghori*, succeeded to the throne. It was this prince that ordered his capital to be called "Shadiabad,"[1] or the "City of Joy." Malik Mughis, Hoshang's minister, and his son, Mahmûd, were maintained in power. The Sultan, finding that the Nandod Rajputs were raiding a part of Malwa, despatched his chief minister with an army to chastise them, and leaving all public business in the hands of Mahmûd, abandoned himself to drunkenness and dissipation. After a reign of three years, during which the power of Mahmûd continually increased, he was poisoned by one of the private servants at the instance of his minister. The Ghori Dynasty thus came to an end.

A. D. 1435.

4th King of Malwa and 1st of the Khilji dynasty. A.D. 1435-69.

With the reins of power entirely in his hands Mahmûd asked his father to accept the succession, but the latter declined saying that he alone was best able to conduct the affairs of the State. Accordingly on the 16th of May 1435, Sultan Mahmûd Khilji ascended the throne in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and was crowned in Mandu with the tiara of Sultan Hoshang. He raised his father to royal dignity, and delivered over exclusively to him the seals of office of prime minister. Shortly after his accession, a revolt among the nobles was quelled, but Ahmed Shah of Gujerat, taking advantage of the discontent, marched to attack Mandu in support of Massaoud Ghori, son of the late King. This attack was repulsed by Mahmûd and his father, and a fatal disease breaking out in Ahmûd's camp he was compelled to retreat to Gujerat. Meantime Mahmûd, after a siege of eight months, took Chanderi, and marching into Gwalior ravaged that territory.

A. D. 1439.

A. D. 1440.

On his return to Mandu he commenced the repairs of the palace of the late Hoshang and completed the mosque and tomb which that chief had begun. In the following year Mahmud received petitions from the chiefs of Mewat and Delhi stating that Syed Mahomed, King of Delhi, was totally incapable of carrying on the government of the Empire, and inviting him to march to Delhi and ascend the throne. With this invitation, Mahmûd willingly complied, and at once marched towards the capital. Syed Mahomed,

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[1] *Vide* Farishta's History of Malwa. But on the Tarapur Gate, which was completed in A. D. 1406, the name "Shadiabad" and not Mandu is used. *Vide* infra. Chapter V., Translation of inscription on Tarapur Gate.

in alarm, wished to quit Delhi and fly to the Punjab. He was, however, dissuaded from this purpose, and sent his son to repel the invaders. Mahmûd, hearing the King was not with the Delhi forces, deemed it derogatory to proceed in person; so, keeping an escort of cavalry with him, he ordered the rest of his army under his two sons, Ghias-ud-din and Fidwi Khan, to oppose the enemy. In the engagement which ensued, both armies fought with great valour until sunset, when the retreat was sounded on both sides. On that night Sultan Mahmûd dreamed that he saw an unknown person placed on the throne at Mandu, and being much disturbed on this account was deliberating how to act, when a messenger unexpectedly arrived from Syed Mahomed ordering his son to make peace on any terms. An agreement was immediately come to, and Mahmûd with his army retreated to Mandu.

It is stated as a remarkable fact that on that very night an insurrection took place in the city of Mandu, which was put a stop to only by the resolute and timely exertions of Mahmûd's father. It is also stated, and Farishta says this version appears most probable, that "Mahmûd's return was caused by the rumour of an expected attack from Gujerat." He reached Mandu in 1441, and distributed alms among the poor as a thanks-offering for his safe return. It was in this year that he took up his residence in Nalcha and beautified that place with buildings.

He could not, however, remain long at peace, and during the following two years, devoted himself to the conquest of the Rajput Kingdom of Chitore. In this campaign he was partially successful. It was on the occasion of the capture and destruction of one of the forts[1] in the Chambal District that the defeated Rajputs were compelled to eat the calcined parts of their idols mixed with "pan" in order that Mahmûd might say: "They have eaten their own gods." This fort had frequently and successfully withstood the attacks of the kings of Gujerat, and on its capture, Mahmûd caused public thanksgiving to be made, which every person in the camp was required to attend. In the next year, he completely defeated the Rana of Chitore himself, and compelled that chief to take shelter in his fort. He did not, however, press his advantage, but returned to Mandu, where, in celebration of his successes, he built a beauti- A. D. 1442-43.

[1] Kumbalmir.

ful Tower of Victory,[1] seven stories high, in front of the college which he had founded opposite the mosque of Sultan Hoshang.

It was while supporting him in this campaign that his father[2] died at Mandisaur. On hearing the news, Mahmûd immediately repaired to Mandisaur alone, caused the remains of his departed parent to be embalmed and conveyed to Mandu "and became so distracted with grief that he tore his hair and raved like one bereft of his senses."

A. D. 1445. In 1445 he occupied himself with an attack on the districts of Kalpi and Jaunpur, and quartered himself in Fatehabad, "where he built a palace seven stories high." He returned to Mandu in the following year and founded a large hospital[3] and appointed his own physician, Maulana Fazl Ullah, to superintend it. The establishment provided wards and attendants for all patients and "even apartments for maniacs." In 1446 he reduced the strongholds of Mandelgarh and Anandpur, and compelled the Raja of Kotah and Bundi to pay tribute, and in 1450 marched to the assistance of the Raja of Champaner, who had been attacked by Mahomed Shah, son of Ahmed Shah of Gujerat. On this occasion, Mahomed Shah was compelled to retreat to Ahmedabad with the loss of all his camp equipage and military stores. It was at
A. D. 1451. this period that Mahmûd determined to conquer Gujerat. Accordingly, with an army 100,000 strong, he marched against Ahmedabad and encamped at Sirkej. The Gujerat army under Kutub Shah[4] lay at Khampur, six miles distant. In the battle which followed, Mahmûd himself led the centre of his line, while his sons Ghias-ud-din and Fidwi Khan commanded the flanks. The King with a small escort made a dash on the royal pavilion, and actually succeeded in carrying off the crown of Gujerat; but the main body of his army was completely defeated, and he was compelled to retreat to Mandu. "It is worthy of remark," says Farishta, "that Sultan Mahmûd never experienced a defeat before or after during his reign."

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[1] See Chap. V. Unfortunately this Tower, which must have formed one of Mandu's greatest monuments, is now a total ruin.

[2] Malik Moghis.

[3] The site of this building cannot now be located.

[4] Successor of Mahomed Shah.

In 1453 he concluded a treaty of peace with Gujerat, and entered into an alliance with that State, against the Rajputs of Mewar. In this campaign which was varied by a raid into the Deccan, he captured the fortress of Ajmere, and in a combat with the Rana Kumbu of Chitore (although Farishta does not admit it) must have suffered severe defeat, as it was in commemoration of this battle that the Column of Victory still standing in Chitore, was built. A. D. 1453

In 1466 peace was concluded between Malwa and the Deccan, and it was agreed that Kherla should be retained by Malwa and considered the southern limit of the kingdom.

Meantime the fame of Mahmûd's successes had spread far and wide. The Kalifa of Egypt sent him an embassy with a letter in which he was styled "Defender of the Faithful." He was also visited by one Sheik Alla-ud-din, said to be one of the most holy men of the time, and other noted religious personages. In 1467 the King of Bokhara, ancestor of the Moghul Emperors, also honoured him with an embassy. Much flattered by this mark of attention, Sultan Mahmûd loaded the ambassador with honours and presents of every description, amongst these, which included elephants, horses, dancing girls, and slaves "a few mynas and parrots which had been taught the Persian language."

In 1469, after a campaign against the Kichiwara zamindars of Malwa, the great Mahmûd died at the age of sixty-eight, Farishta says of him: May 27, A. D. 1469.

> "He was polite, brave, just, and learned. His tent was his home and his resting-place the field of battle. His leisure hours were devoted to hearing recitations from the histories and memoirs of the courts of different kings of the earth. He prided himself, not without reason, on his intimate knowledge of human nature. His justice was prompt and exact; if a theft was committed, a sum equal to the amount stolen was levied from the police and the injured party thus reimbursed. He ordered the destruction of tigers and other wild beasts, and proclaimed that if after a period of two years a human being was killed by a wild beast, unless in attacking it, he would hold the governor of the district responsible. The promptitude he observed in making his actions accord with his words

was so well understood that for many years after his death wild beasts of any description were scarce throughout the kingdom."

5th King of Malwa and 2nd of the Khilji dynasty. A. D. 1469.

Sultan *Ghias-ud-din*, the eldest son of Mahmûd, ascended the throne on the death of his father. He compensated his brother, Fidwi Khan, with the gift of the government of Rintumbore in perpetuity, and appointed his own son, Abdul Khader, Prime Minister and heir-apparent with the title of Nasir-ud-din.

It was during the reign of this prince that Mandu justified its name of Shadiabad. Shortly after his accession, the king gave a grand entertainment and addressing his officers stated that as during the last thirty years he had been constantly employed in the field, fighting under the banners of his illustrious father, he now yielded up the sword to his son, that he himself might enjoy ease for the rest of his days. He accordingly established within his seraglio all the separate offices of a court, and it is said had at one time 15,000 women within his palace. Amongst these were school-mistresses, musicians, dancers, embroiderers; women to read prayers, and persons of all trades and professions. Five hundred beautiful young Turki girls in men's clothes, uniformly clad and armed with bows and quivers, stood on his right hand. On his left were five hundred Abyssinian females, also uniformly dressed and armed with fire-arms. Each dweller in the city of women received her daily dole of grain and coppers, and besides them were many pensioners, such as mice, parrots and pigeons, which similarly received their daily allowance.

With all these extraordinary fancies, the lord of the city of pleasure was extremely religious. None of the five daily prayers passed unprayed. If he was asleep, the attendants were authorized to use every exertion to prevent his missing the hour of prayer. And Farishta writes: "It is well known that they have even sprinkled water on his face and pulled him out of bed before he would rise, but that on these occasions he was never known to lose his temper."

The following extract from Mr. J. Campbell's paper on Mandu fittingly describes the time:—

"The king's spirit of peace steeped the land, which like its ruler after thirty years of fighting yearned for rest. For fourteen

years neither inward malcontent nor foreign foe broke the calm. When in 1482 Bahlol Lodi advanced from Delhi against Malwa, the talk of Mandu was of Bahlol's approach; but no whisper of it passed into the charmed city of women. At last the son-minister forced his way to the king's presence. At the news of pressing danger, the soldier spirit awoke, and Ghias-ud-din's orders for meeting the invasion were so prompt and well planned that the King of Delhi payed a ransom and withdrew. A second period of rest followed, and ended with Nasar-ud-din once more forcing his way into the Presence.

The son presented his father, now an aged man of eighty, with a cup of sherbet and bade him drink. The king, whose armlet of bezvar stone had already twice made poison harmless, drew the stone from his arm. He thanked the Almighty for granting him unworthy the happiest life that had ever fallen to the lot of man, and prayed that the sin of his death might not be laid to his son's charge. He then drank the poison and died."[1] A. D. 1500

With reference to this crime, it is explained that the younger brother, Allah-ud-din, in view of their father's advanced age, resolved either to depose his elder brother (Nasir-ud-din) after his accession, or to cut him off before his father's death. The contention between the two princes rose to such a height that the elder brother was obliged to fly from Mandu. Having collected a force, however, he returned and besieged the fort, and using the influence which as Prime Minister he had gained during the whole of his father's reign won over certain officers within, who opened the Tarapur gate for his admission. On his entrance, Allah-ud-din fled to his father's palace, and Nasir-ud-din following him closely put him to death as well as all his children and the whole of his family. He then assumed the reins of government, and was formally crowned. A few days afterwards his father was found dead in the Seraglio. A. D. 1499 A. D. 1500.

On his succession to the throne, *Nasir-ud-din* had to deal with a series of domestic feuds. Sher Khan of Chanderi, who was joined by the Governor of Mandisaur and other malcontent nobles, raised the standard of rebellion. In this and the following year, 6th King of Malwa, and 3rd of Khilji dynasty. A. D. 1500-1.

[1] Journal of Bombay Branch of R. A. Society,† Article XI., "Mandu," by J. M. Campbell, Esq., LL.D., etc. Vol. XIX., No. LII.

however, they were defeated and the rebellion quelled. On his return to Mandu, Nasir-ud-din gave himself up to debauchery, and further devoted himself to discover and put to death all the adherents of his brother. His personal servants even did not escape his cruelty. It is said that one day whilst lying in a state of intoxication on the verge of a reservoir he fell into it, and was pulled out by four of his female slaves. On awaking with a violent headache, the women in order to account for his condition mentioned what had occurred, at which he was so enraged that he drew his sword and killed them all with his own hands.

A. D. 1502. In 1502, the king marched to attack the Rajputs of Kichiwara, and on arriving at Akbarpur,[1] built a splendid palace, which was much admired at that time. Having plundered the Kichiwara country, he returned to Mandu, and in the following year proceeded towards Chitore. Here he succeeded in extracting a large present in money from the Rana, and procured as a wife a daughter of one of the Rajput nobles. He also directed a campaign against Ahmed Nizam Shah of the Deccan, who had attacked the Chief of Khandesh, then subordinate to Malwa. The result of these operations was that the Deccan Chief retired to Ahmednagar, while Nasir-ud-din's forces occupied Burhanpur.

A. D. 1512 In 1512, the nobles, wearied and disgusted with the persecutions and cruelty of Nasir-ud-din, persuaded his son, Shahab-ud-din, to assume the government. For this purpose, the latter left Mandu and collected a large force, but was opposed and defeated by the king and thereupon fled to Delhi. Farishta says that shortly after this Sultan Nasir-ud-din was seized with a fever brought on by excess at the town of Bhurtpur, from which illness he died. But another version, which is confirmed by Jehangir's memoirs, has it, that he repeated his former experiences in the reservoir, whence on this occasion no pitying female pulled him out.

A. D. 1512. Prior to his death, he had nominated his third son Mahmûd as his successor.

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[1] It is difficult to locate this place. Campbell identifies it with the village of Akbarpur on the S. bank of the Narbada about 15 miles from Mandu, it is true there are ruins of what was evidently once a fort, but these ruins have no suggestion of magnificence and bear no resemblance to those of Mandu. Moreover the Kichiwara country lies far to the north of Mandu, the Chiefs of Raghugarh being the present descendants of the old Kichiwara Rajputs, who troubled so much the Kings of Malwa.

He was buried at Mandu and the Emperor Jehangir thus describes his visit to his tomb: "It is related that when during his reign Sher Khan Afghan Sur visited Nasir-ud-din's grave, he ordered his attendants to flagellate the parricide's tomb. When I visited the sepulchre, I kicked his grave and ordered those with me to do the same. Not satisfied with this, I ordered his bones to be dug up and burned, and the ashes to be thrown into the Nerbada." A. D. 1540-55.

Mahmûd on his succession assumed the title of *Mahmûd the Second*. As showing the wealth and power to which the Mandu Kings had now attained, Farishta relates that at his coronation no fewer than seven hundred elephants with velvet trappings embroidered in gold formed part of the procession. A revolt on the part of Mahafiz Khan, Commandant of Mandu, made with the object of securing the succession of Nasir-ud-din's second son, prince Sahib Khan, forced Mahmûd to leave his capital. The king, however, succeeded in attracting to his standard many of the nobles of the surrounding districts, chief amongst them being Medni Rai, a Rajput. With his army he returned towards Mandu, and a severe engagement took place, the result of which was eventually decided by the gallant conduct of Medni Rai and his Rajput infantry. Sahib Khan was obliged to take refuge in the fort, and Sultan Mahmûd in consideration of their relationship was ready to offer him terms. These, however, were refused, on which Mahmûd commenced a regular siege, and Sahib Khan and Mohafiz Khan, fearing treachery from within, fled to Gujerat. 7th King of Malwa, 4th of Khilji dynasty, A. D. 1512-30.

During the next few years, Medni Rai, who had acquired complete control over the king, succeeded in removing the Mahomedans from all posts of influence, and in becoming practical arbiter of the State. On one occasion, Mahmûd, recognizing that power was going from his hands, endeavoured to improve the situation by dismissing his entire Rajput army. Medni Rai, however, gained him over, and the Rajputs remained. A second time, apparently irritated beyond endurance by the helplessness of his position, he ordered his attendants to waylay Medni Rai and a certain Rajput officer Saliwahan, and to kill them. They were accordingly attacked, and the latter was killed, but Medni Rai escaped to his house. The Rajputs hearing of the death of Saliwahan attacked the palace, but the king, "who though a A. D. 1513.

fool had not his equal in courage in the hour of danger," beat them back. Eventually Medni Rai was again taken into favour, but being ever after suspicious of his master's intentions, he always attended the palace with an escort of five hundred men. "This measure so greatly disturbed the king's mind," says Farishta, "that one night, leaving the fort of Mandu with one horseman and a few foot-attendants, he did not draw rein till he arrived on the borders of Gujerat." Here he was well received and after collecting an army, Muzaffar, king of Gujerat, accompanied him towards Malwa.

A. D. 1517.

Having arrived at Dhar, which immediately surrendered, the two kings marched to Mandu and laid siege to that fortress. After a close investment, which lasted some months, Mandu was taken by assault, and it is said that 19,000 Rajputs were slain including those who were destroyed in the performance of the *Jawar*, *i.e.*, ceremony involving the sacrifice of their women and children on a funeral pile. While Sultan Mahmûd entered Mandu, Muzaffar withdrew to Dhar, where he received an invitation from Mahmûd as follows: "Mandu is a splendid fort, you should come and see it;" to which Muzaffar replied: "May Mandu bring good fortune to Sultan Mahmûd—he is the master of the fort. For the sake of the Lord I came to his help. On Friday I will go to the fortress, and having read the prayers in Mahmûd's name, I will return." Having thus visited Mandu, where he was magnificently entertained, the generous Muzaffar retired to Gujerat, leaving a force of three thousand men to help to guard the hill. Immediately afterwards Mahmûd marched against Medni Rai, and Rana Sanga of Chitore coming to the assistance of the latter, a great battle was fought. Despite the extraordinary bravery which Mahmûd showed on this occasion, the Malwa army was totally defeated, and the king himself, covered with wounds, was taken prisoner. Rana Sanga treated him with every mark of attention, dressed his wounds, and attended him in person, and after his recovery furnished him with an escort of a thousand Rajput horse and sent him to Mandu, where he reassumed the reins of government.

A. D. 1526.

In 1526, by giving protection to his outlawed brother Chand Khan, and to Razi-ul-mulk, a refugee Gujerat noble, Mahmûd incurred the wrath of Bahadur Shah, who had succeeded his father Muzaffar on the throne of Gujerat.

A WELL IN THE DHAR CITY.

Bahadur apparently did not wish to press matters to extremity, and it was only when it was evident that Mahmûd did not desire a peaceful settlement that he advanced against Mandu. Mahmûd defended the place with 3,000 men, and the defence was gallantly maintained until the Gujeratis having scaled Songarh rushed down the slope and burst into the fort. May 20th. A. D. 1526.

Mahmûd was forced to surrender, and would probably have received kind treatment, but his temper got the better of his judgment, and he abused his conqueror to his face, whereupon he was despatched with his seven sons to the fort of Champaner. On the way the detachment was attacked by 2,000 Bhils and Kolis at Dohad. Asuf Khan, the commander of the escort, imagining that the assault was made with the purpose of effecting Mahmûd's release, ordered him and his sons to be put to death. Thus ended the Khilji dynasty, and until 1534 Mandu remained under Gujerat. A. D. 1526. End of Khilji dynasty.

In that year, Humayun Badshah marched against Gujerat, and having defeated Bahadur Shah at Mandisaur followed him to Mandu. He succeeded in capturing the fort in the same way that Bahadur had surprised Mahmûd's garrison. Sending two hundred men to the back of the fortress, they scaled the south-west heights of Songarh and opened the gate to let in their compatriots. Bahadur apprised by Mallû Khan of what had happened rushed out with four or five attendants, and being joined by some 20 others reached the gate by which Humayun's troops had entered. Cutting their way through these they gained the citadel of Songarh, and while two of Bahadur's chiefs, Suddar Khan and Sultan Alam Lodi, maintained themselves in the citadel, Bahadur himself let his horses down the cliffs by ropes, and after a thousand difficulties made his way to Champaner. On the following day, Saddar Khan and Alam Lodi surrendered to Humayun. A. D. 1534. Conquest of Mandu by Humayun.

In 1535, owing to the revolt in Bengal, Humayun was forced to retire from Gujerat and withdrew to Mandu. Thence, as fortune was still against him, he returned to Agra.

Shortly afterwards, Mallû Khan, one of the officers of the late Khilji dynasty, retook all the country lying between the Nerbada and the town of Bhilsa, and had himself crowned in Mandu under the title of Khadar Shah of Malwa. It was about this time that he received from Sher Shah, then king of Bengal, a letter written

in the form of an order[1] requiring him to co-operate against the king of Delhi. Khadar Shah was so incensed at receiving a document of this kind that he sent a reply written in similar form. When Sher Shah received the answer, he tore off the seal and putting it on the point of his sword said: "God willing, if I ever meet with Khadar Shah, I will put him in mind of his impertinence in putting his seal on the face of a letter to my address." Consequently when that monarch ascended the throne of Delhi he marched against Malwa.

A. D. 1545.

Khadar Shah went to do homage at Sarangpur, where he was well received, though his kingdom was given to Shujaat Khan. Nervous at what would next happen, Khadar Shah fled to Gujerat. Later, however, he returned with a large force and attacked Mandu, the Governor of which was then Hajee Khan. Hearing of his arrival, Shujaat Khan immediately proceeded to Dhar, and attacking Khadar Shah forthwith completely defeated him. During the reign of Sher Shah's successor, Selim Shah, Shujaat was forced to leave Malwa, but was eventually pardoned by Selim and reinstated in his government. He died in 1554 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Malik Bajazeed, who assumed the title of Baz Bahadur.

A. D. 1545-53.

Farishta says: "Among the public works which do credit to Shujaat's memory is the town of Shujaalpur near the city of Ujjain, independent of which are many other memorials of his reign in different parts of Malwa." So far as is known, none of the ruins of Mandu are connected with this chief.

After defeating and killing his brother Daulut Khan, who had control of the Ujjain and Sarangpur districts, and asserting his authority in other parts of Malwa, Bajazeed was crowned at Mandu under the title above mentioned. He then undertook a campaign against the Gonds, but his army having been drawn into an ambush, he was completely defeated and had to make his way alone to Sarangpur. Baz Bahadur was so much affected by this disgraceful defeat that to drive away the memory of it he abandoned himself to pleasure.

A. D. 1555.

At this period the science of music had attained considerable perfection in Malwa, and it is said that Baz Bahadur devoted himself to its cultivation and encouragement. His attachment to

[1] Parwana as opposed to a Kharita.

THE PALACE OF BAZ BAHADUR.

Rup Mati at that time became notorious, and the "Loves of Baz Bahadur and Rup Mati" have been handed down to posterity in song.

The following is one of the stories: Baz Bahadur, the last king of Malwa, a young and gallant prince, passionately fond of music, was one day hunting in the forest bordering the right bank of the Nerbada. Having outridden all his retinue, he was in eager pursuit, when his ear was attracted by the most exquisite flood of melody from a neighbouring glade. He followed the sound and soon reached the spot, where seated 'neath a *bargat*[1] tree a young Hindu maiden was singing to the woods and to the deer and birds which had thronged thither to listen to her voice. He was dazzled by her beauty and enchanted by her unrivalled song. Her conversation riveted his love. He strove to win her heart and hand.

The first was speedily his, but the splendid lot to which he wooed her could not tempt her to dishonour the sacred race from which she sprang. She replied to all his overtures: "When the Nerbada shall flow through Mandu, I will be thy bride, but not till then."

"Mandu is elevated by precipices at least 1,200 feet above the Nerbada; nevertheless, Baz Bahadur determined that the river should obey the voice of love, and climb the mountain height. He assembled the strength of his kingdom, axe in hand, to try the force of art. The river god, dreading to measure his strength against the majesty of love, rose before the astonished people in the form of a giant, whose forehead was lost in the skies. "Desist," he cried, "from thy rash attempt, but receive the well-merited reward of thy love;—repair to Mandu, to a spot which overlooks our flood; search there for our sacred tamarisk and dig wherever it is found; beneath it, thou shalt come to a pure spring which, being tributary to us, is part of our divinity. Thither bear thy bride, to live as she has often sworn to live, upon the borders of her natal river."

"The king obeyed, he found the tamarisk and the spring, he dug the reservoir, he built near it a palace, and constructed a fine aqueduct to lead the waters of the fountain[2] to the baths of the palace."

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[1] Ficus parasitica.

[2] The Rewa Kund—*vide* map.

"Rup Mati's father, who was the Thakur of Dharampuri, having heard these things, the maiden was condemned by him, who fondly loved her, but in whose race the pride of caste is a besetting sin, to drain the poisoned bowl of Durga,—her corpse to be consumed on a funeral pile, and her ashes to be scattered over the sacred waters of the Nerbada. She chants the Song of Death, but when about to drink the bowl, the Prince of Manda rides up, and after a manly combat carries off Rup Mati to Manda to become his queen."

The temple on the bank of the Nerbada is still shown at Dharampuri, on which Rup Mati's Guru nightly lit his lamp to mark for the Hindu maiden the line of the sacred stream.

But to revert to history, Akbar taking advantage of the condition of Malwa under Baz Bahadur, despatched an army with Adham Khan in command to occupy the country. Baz Bahadur heard nothing of the movement until the Moghuls had arrived close to Sarangpur. He immediately collected an army and entering on the field of action "with as little concern as if going into the company of females" he led the attack. Although he personally behaved with the greatest gallantry, his troops deserting him, he was compelled to fly and took refuge with Miran Mobarik of Khandesh in Asirgarh.

Meantime Pir Mahomed, who had succeeded Adham Khan as Governor of Malwa, followed Baz Bahadur into Khandesh, and penetrating as far as Burhanpur, totally devastated the country. On this Miran Mubarik Khan called Fazil Khan of Berar to his aid, and an alliance was formed. The Moghul troops glutted by debauch, refused to fight, and their leader was compelled to retreat towards Malwa. The allied forces immediately followed, and an action was fought on the banks of the Nerbada, in which the Moghuls were totally defeated, and Pir Mahomed himself with many others was drowned in the river. The confederates continued their march to Mandu, where Baz Bahadur again assumed the reins
A. D. 1561. of government. Scarcely had he done so, however, when Akbar despatched a second army under Abdullah Khan Uzbeg to again conquer Malwa. Baz Bahadur on this occasion apparently offered no resistance, but fled to Gondwana, where he remained, except for
A. D. 1570. occasional sallies against the Moghul power until 1570, when he gave himself up to Akbar, and was appointed a commander of 2,000 cavalry. He died some time prior to 1590, and according to the

Âin-i-Akbari "Baz Bahadur and his Rup Mati are buried together. Their tomb stands in the middle of a tank at Ujjain."

In 1573 Abdullah Khan, having evinced symptoms of revolt, Akbar had made a sudden incursion into Malwa. Abdullah retreated to Gujerat, but opposed such a steady resistance to the king that the latter, who was accompanied by a small body of cavalry only, had to retreat to Mandu. Here Farishta records he spent some time in viewing the buildings erected by the Khilji kings, and it was here he married the daughter of Mubarik, King of Khandesh, who came to do him homage. Abul Fazl refers to Mandu at this period as being one of the 28 towns in the Empire where copper coins were minted.

In 1584 Mirza Aziz Koka, foster-brother of Akbar, was Governor of Malwa, and in 1590 was succeeded by Shah-ud-din Ahmed Khan, who died in the same year, and was followed by the Emperor's own son Prince Murād Mirza. It was at this time (A. D. 1592) that Akbar again visited Mandu, when on his way to the Deccan. Mirza Aziz Koka, who had been transferred to Gujerat, having started on a pilgrimage to Mekka without leave, Prince Murād was ordered thither, and Shahrukh Mirza, to whom Akbar had married one of his daughters two years previously, was appointed Governor of Malwa, and held the appointment until 1605.

A. D. 1584.
A. H. 993.

A. D. 1594.
A. H. 1003.

Meantime Mirza Khan, the son of Byrām, known as the Khan Khanān, halted for some time at Mandu while on his way to chastise the Chiefs of the Deccan. Later, Akbar sent his son Daniāl with powerful reinforcements for the same purpose, and in the same year he himself followed and again took up his residence in Mandu. Akbar returned to Agra from the conquest of the Deccan in 1602, and died there three years afterwards.

A. D. 1599.
A. H. 1008.

Although during this time Mandu continued to be nominally one of the four capitals of the Empire, it is evident that with the final overthrow of Baz Bahadur it lost its former lustre. We learn from Jehangir, who visited it twelve years after Akbar's death, and thanks to whose magnificence the ancient fortress again could bear its long-forgotten title of Shadiabad that the buildings had fallen into disrepair so complete that an expenditure of three lakhs was necessary to render them habitable. Of the condition of Mandu at this time one cannot do better than let the Imperial diarist speak for himself.

A. D. 1605.
A. H. 1014.

His entry into Mandu he describes as follows : —

"On Monday, the 23rd of Ispandád, the last month of the Persian year, when one quarter of the day had passed, I mounted my elephant, and, in good fortune and under kindly influences, made my happy entry into the fort of Mandu. About an hour (three *ghadis*) later, I entered the quarters which had been prepared to receive me. During my passage across the hill-top, I scattered Rs.15,000. Before my arrival, Abdul Karim, the Engineer, had been sent by me to repair the buildings of the former kings of Mandu. While my fortunate standards were at Ajmere, Abdul Karim repaired such of the old Mandu buildings as were fit to be repaired, and built others anew. On the whole, he had provided quarters for me, the like of which have probably never been built in any other place. Three lakhs of rupees were spent on these repairs and buildings. I wish it had been possible to construct buildings like these in all cities likely to be visited by royalty."

"This fortress," he continues, "stands on the top of a hill about thirty-six miles (18 kos) in circumference. They say that before the days of Raja Bikramájit, a king was reigning over these parts, whose name was Jaising Deva. In his time, a man went to the forest to cut grass. When he brought the grass back, he found that the blade of his sickle had turned yellow. The grass-cutter in his surprise went to Mándan, an ironsmith. Mándan knew that the sickle was gold. He had heard that in those parts was to be found the philosopher's stone, whose touch turns iron and copper into gold. He told the grass-cutter to lead him to the place where the sickle had turned yellow, and there he found the philosopher's stone. The smith presented this treasure to his king. The king amassed untold wealth, part of which he spent in building Mandu fortress, which he completed in twelve years. At the request of the smith, on most of the stones in the walls a mark was cut in the form of an anvil. Towards the

close of his life, when king Jaising Deva withdrew his heart from the world, he called many Brahmins together on the bank of the Nerbada close to Mandu. He gave each Brahmin a share of his wealth, and to the Brahmin, in whom he had the greatest faith, he gave the philosopher's stone. Enraged at the gift of a paltry stone, the Brahmin threw it into the Nerbada, and there the philosopher's stone still lies." The Emperor continues: "On the 20th of Farwardán, five weeks after my arrival (11th April 1617), in reward for his services in repairing the buildings of Mandu, I conferred on my Engineer, Abdul Karim, the command of 12,000 horse, with the title of Maâmúr Khan."

The sporting instincts of the Emperor were fully gratified, and numerous entries regarding his shooting expeditions occur:—

"On the fourth of the first month of Farwardán (16th March), the watchmen of the chase brought word that they had marked down a lion near the Sagar lake, which is a construction of the ancient rulers of Mandu. I mounted and proceeded towards the lake. When the lion broke cover he attacked and wounded ten or twelve of the *Ahádís* (*garde du corps*) and other men of my retinue. In the end, I brought him down with three gunshots and saved God's creatures from his evil. On the 22nd of the same month (3rd April 1617) the watchmen brought news of a tiger. I mounted forthwith and despatched him with three bullets. On the 7th of Adi'Bihisht (18th April 1617) the watchmen brought word that they had marked down four tigers. At one in the afternoon I started for the place with Núr Jehan Begum. Nur Jehan asked my leave to shoot the tigers with her gun. I said: 'Be it so.' In a trice she killed these four tigers with six bullets. I had never seen such shooting. To shoot from the back of an elephant, from within a closed howdah, and bring down with six bullets four wild beasts, without giving them an opportunity of moving or springing, is wonderful. In acknowledgment of this capital marksmanship, I ordered a thousand Ashrafis

(Rs.4,500) to be scattered over Nur Jehan, and granted her a pair of ruby wristlets worth a lakh of rupees."

The rains at that time were evidently more copious than they have been lately. Rain, it is said, fell for forty days continuously, and Jehangir's description of the break which follows is delightful: "What words of mine can describe the beauty of the grass and of the wild flowers! They clothe each hill and dale, each slope and plain. I know of no place so pleasant in climate and so pretty in scenery as Mandu in the rainy season. This month of July, which is one of the months of the hot season, the sun being in Leo, one cannot sleep within the house without a coverlet, and during the day there is no need for a fan. What I have noticed is but a small part of the many beauties of Mandu. Two things I have seen here which I had seen nowhere in India: one of them is the tree of the wild plantain which grows all over the hill-top; the other is the nest of the mamolah or wagtail. Till now no birdcatcher could tell its nest. It so happened that in the building where I lodged we found a wagtail's nest with two young ones."

Another entry refers to a punitive expedition against a local Hindu Chief:—

"On the first of Tir, the fourth month of the Persian year (15th May 1617), the Hindu Chiefs of the neighbourhood came to pay their respects and present a tribute. The Hindu Chief of Jaitpúr, in the neighbourhood of Mandu, through his evil fortune, did not come to kiss the threshold. For this reason I ordered Fidáikhán to pillage the Jaitpúr country at the head of thirteen officers and four or five hundred matchlockmen. On the approach of Fidáikhán the Chief fled. He is now reported to regret his past conduct, and to intend to come to the Court and make his submission. On the 9th of Júr, the sixth month of the Persian Calendar (late July A. D. 1617), I heard that while raiding the lands of the Chief of Jaitpúr, Ráh-ul-Alh, the brother of Fidáikhán, was slain with a lance in the village where the Chief's wives and children were in hiding. The village was burned, and the women and daughters of the rebel Chief were taken captives."

ANCIENT STONE LANTERN. NALCHA TANK.

Of its social delights he writes as follows :—

"On the evening of Thursday, the 19th of Amárdád, the fifth month of the Persian year (early July, A. D. 1617), I went with the ladies of the palace to see the buildings and palaces on the Ságar Lake which were built by the old kings of Mandu. The 26th of Amárdád (about mid July) was the Shab-i-Barát holiday. I ordered a jubilee or assembly of joy to be held on the occasion in one of the palaces occupied by Núr Jehan Begum in the midst of the big lake. The nobles and others were invited to attend this party which was organized by the Begum, and I ordered the cup and other intoxicants with various fruits and minced meats to be given to all who wished them. It was a wonderful gathering. As evening set in, the lanterns and lamps gleaming along the banks of the lake made an illumination such as never had been seen. The countless lights with which the palaces and buildings were ablaze shining on the lake made the whole surface of the lake appear to be on fire."

During his stay in Mandu, Jehangir received a visit from his eldest son, afterwards the Emperor Shah Jehan, who had returned from his victorious campaign in the Deccan. His last entry regarding Mandu is :—

"On the night of Friday, in the month of Abán, in all happiness and good fortune I marched from Mandu and halted on the bank of the lake of Nalcha." October 24th, 1617.

Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador from King James to the Great Moghul, accompanied Jehangir in his march from Ajmere to Mandu, and has left numerous records of that time.[1]

Shah Jehan spent the rains of 1622 in Mandu, and in 1627 appointed Khan Jehan Lodi as Governor of Malwa. There is no record of Aurangzebe having visited the place, except an inscription on the Alamgir gate to the effect that it was repaired by his order. A. D. 1622. A. H. 1032.

The Mahrattas took Mandu for the first time in 1696, but retired again to the south almost immediately. As already recorded, Udaji Rao Puar[2] occupied the Fort in 1709, and the Mahomedan A. D. 1696. The Mahrattee invasion.

[1] See Roe in Kerr's "Travels" IX.

[2] Ancestor of the present Chief.

supremacy finally came to an end with the Mahratta victory at Tirla in 1734. From that time onwards, Mandu has remained deserted except for a short period at the commencement of the last century, when it sheltered Maina Bai, the famous Rani of Dhar, against the attacks of Sindhia and Holkar, and where she gave birth to her son, Ramchunder Rao Puar. Fifteen years later, Malcolm in his history describes the hill as a resort of religious mendicants. Colonel Briggs, the translator of Farishta, writing in 1827, says :—

A. D. 1805.

> "Perhaps no part of India so abounds with tigers as the once famous city of Mandu. The capital, now deserted by man, is overgrown by forest, and from being the seat of luxury, elegance, and wealth, it has become the abode of wild beasts, and is resorted to by the few Europeans in that quarter for the pleasure of destroying them."

A. D. 1839.

Fergusson, twelve years later, describes the vegetation as tearing the buildings of the city to pieces, and obscuring them so that they could hardly be seen, and in 1844 "A Bombay Subaltern" writes that it was dangerous to venture unarmed among the ruins of the Jahaz Mahal, as it was a favourite retreat for tigers.

A. D. 1844.

The times have changed. No tiger has been seen in Mandu for the last thirty years, and the once famous capital is now the head-quarters of a small Tehsil of the Dhar State.

CHAPTER V.

Mandu — its Buildings.

In the Âin-i-Akbari, Abul Fazl describes Mandu as a large city, the circumference of which is 12 "Kos." He mentions the existence "of Mahmud Khilji's Tower of Victory, and adds that for some period Mandu was the seat of Government, and stately edifices still recall their ancient Lords." "Here are the tombs of the Khilji Sultans * * * Here the tamarind (*Adansonia digitata*) grows as large as a cocoanut and its kernel is extremely white."[1]

Twenty years later (circa, A. D. 1612), Farishta thus describes the place :—

[1] Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. II., Jarrett's translation, p. 196.

THE DELHI GATE.

"This fortification is one of the most extraordinary in the world. It is built on the summit of an isolated mountain, said to be 18 kos (28 miles) in circumference. The place of a regular ditch is supplied by a ravine, formed by nature round the fortification, which is so deep that it seems impossible to take the fort by regular approaches. Within the fort is abundance of water and forage, though there is not sufficient space for the purposes of cultivation. Any army besieging Mandu must confine its operations chiefly to blockading the roads; for it is scarcely possible to invest a place of such extent. Many of the roads from the fort are steep and difficult of access. That leading to the south, known by the name of Tarapur gate, is so rough and steep that cavalry can with difficulty be led up. The road on the north, leading to the Delhi gate, is by far the most easy of access."

It is by this road that we now enter Mandu.

Descending the slope and crossing the neck of land which connects the hill with the main Vindhyan Range, the lower fortifications are entered at the Alamgir gate, which bears the following inscription:— The Alamgir Gate.

"In the time of Alamgir Aurangzeb, the ruler of the world, this gate resembling the skies in altitude was built anew. In the year A. H. 1079 the work of renewal was begun and completed by the endeavour of the exalted Khan Muhammed Beg Khan from the accession of the Emperor of the world, Aurangzeb, this was the eleventh year by way of writing history." A. D. 1668.

The old road leads thence by a stone causeway over the ancient ditch to a second gate known as the Banghi Darwaza, where tradition has it that on the completion of the fort and of this gateway a sweeper was immured alive. The Banghi Gate.

Continuing onwards, the old paved road rises sharply to the edge of the plateau where stands the Delhi gate which, although much ruined, still preserves its elegance and beauty of outline. No inscription is available to show when this gate was built. The Delhi Gate.

It may be convenient to mention here the other gates on the hill.

The "Ghari Darwaza."

Close to the Delhi gate to the east is that now known as the "Ghari Darwaza," *i.e.*, Carriage Gate. The road leading up to it leaves the old paved roadway close to the Alamgir gate, and is the only entrance into Mandu practicable for wheeled traffic. This gate also bears no inscription, and has no architectural interest.

The Rampol Gate.

Continuing round the edge of the hill eastwards we come to the Rampol gate at a short distance from the modern village of Mandu, and about 50 yards from the edge of the cliff. This gate, which has no inscription and is not mentioned in any history, is somewhat difficult to explain, as no roadway leads from it to the valley. It is obviously of very ancient date and would seem to be a relic of the old Hindu city.

The Jehangirpur Gate.

The Jehangirpur gate gives access from Gujri to the eastern portion of the fort. Its construction is ascribed to the time of Jehangir, when a Perganaah of the same name was created. The revenue division still exists in name, but in fact the village of Jehangirpur is deserted, except for a few Bhil huts, and the head-quarters of the Perganaah are now at Gujri, four miles distant in the valley below. The road down the hill is a mere track. There is no inscription on this gate, but the ancient walls on either side are in good preservation.

The Bhagwania Gate.

On the southern face of the hill overlooking Nimar and the Nerbada valley are the Bhagwania and Tarapur gates, named after the two villages at the foot of the hill to which each of them leads. The view from both gates is magnificent, and the Tarapur gate is particularly interesting both on account of its inscriptions and of the historical struggles for the possession of Mandu, of which it has so often been the scene.

A. D. 1519.

The inscription on the Bhagwania Darwaza is dated A. H. 923, taking us back to the reign of Mahmûd II., the last Khilji king of Mandu. It reads thus:—

> "This gate was built under the orders of Mirza Mahommed, son of Mirza Badu Uz-Zaman of Meshed by Mohamed Husein of Meshed in the month of Jamadi-Jussan. A. H. 923."

The Tarapur Gate.

The Tarapur gate has two inscriptions; that on the upper gate shows it was commenced by Dilawar Khan Ghori, the 1st king of Mandu, and completed in the year following his death.

THE SONGARH GATE.

The second inscription, let into the more modern portion of the structure, shows that repairs to the gateway were carried out by one Sahib Mahomed Hussein during Akbar's time. The difference in construction of the upper and lower gates is very striking, the older portion bearing all the evidences of Hindu art and workmanship, while the lower gates are similar in design to the remaining gates of the fort, and all traces of Hindu influence is absent. The following is the translation of the two inscriptions. A. D. 1406. A. H. 809.

On the upper doorway :—

"This gate, of which there is none finer in any other city, was built in the town of Shadiabad by Dilawar Khan, the head of Islam and leader of the community, most great in dignity and kind, ever Victorious and Powerful, Generous and Liberal. This door by the grace of God was completed in A. H. 809." A. D. 1406.

On the main gate :—

"In the reign of Jelal-ud-din Mohamed Akbar Badshah this beggar (fakir) Sahib Mohamed Hussain Imad-ud-din, son of Sultan Ali of Sabswar, repaired this road by the grace of God in the year A. H. 1014." A. D. 1605.

From here a steep paved road, quite impassable for carts, leads down the hillside to Tarapur village and beyond to Dharampuri and the Nerbada river. The village of Tarapur, now a mere agglomeration of Bhil huts, must have been a large place when Mandu was in its prime. An inscription recently found in an old "baori" states that Nazir-ud-din granted land in this village to a certain Mahājān Baia among his following for the construction of a garden and of a well. A. D. 1500-1512.

There are two gates on the N.-W. face of Mandu. That known as the Songarh Gate was rebuilt by Maina Bai, the great Rani of Dhar, at the commencement of the 19th century. There is no access to it from the valley below, and it forms the entrance to the citadel of Mandu, the scene of the famous exploit of Bahadur Shah, when after the capture of the main fort by Humayun he fought his way to the citadel, and thence, while two of his followers defended the gate, let himself down over the edge of the cliff and effected his escape to Gujerat. The Songarh Gate.

Finally, overlooking the wild country to the N.-W. of Mandu is the Lowani gate, whence a very rough and steep paved road,

The Lowani Gate.

similar to that at Tarapur, leads to the Lowani country. This gate is undoubtedly one of the most ancient in Mandu, but it is now in ruins, and there is no inscription to show from what time it dates. On the edge of the cliff is a stone "lat" evidently of Hindu origin, and scattered round close by are numerous fragments of carved pillars and a few defaced images of the Hindu pantheon.

To return now to the Ghari Darwaza by which the traveller will ordinarily enter Mandu. The road leads westwards past the Delhi gate to the beautiful mass of ruined palaces in which the Khilji kings held their court. The wall which enclosed this whole area is in places still standing, and the road enters the enclosure between a much-ruined mosque, a miniature in architectural form of the great Jama Musjid, and the gate now known as the Hatipol, which was probably the main northern entrance to the palace. On each side of this gate is the remains of a life-sized model of an elephant. These figures are built of blocks of red sandstone, and were evidently covered with white marble plaster. They are probably relics of the days of Mahmûd II., when Rajput influence was supreme in Mandu. At present only the legs and lower halves of the bodies remain with a low stone erection in front on which the trunk rested.

The principal buildings within the enclosure are the Hindola Mahal, the Jahaz Mahal, the Toweli Mahal, the Nahar Jhiroka and the Champa Baori, with the so-called Treasury and the ruin now known as Gadhasa's[1] palace, but what is much more probably the *Koshak-jehan-namah*[2] palace, mentioned in Farishta as having been built by Ghias-ud-din. Close to this are two more fine "Baoris," one known as the *Ujal* (bright) and the other as the *Andher* (dark), from the fact that the former is completely open to the light and air, and the latter altogether roofed in.

Much damage has been done by time and nature to these magnificent ruins, but the spirit of the place is there, and one can still reconstruct in imagination the splendour of the time when Ghias-ud-din, quitting the scenes of turmoil of his youth, held here his court, and so that no unsightly thing should strike his eye, ruled that within these walls only the fairest of the fairer sex should dwell.

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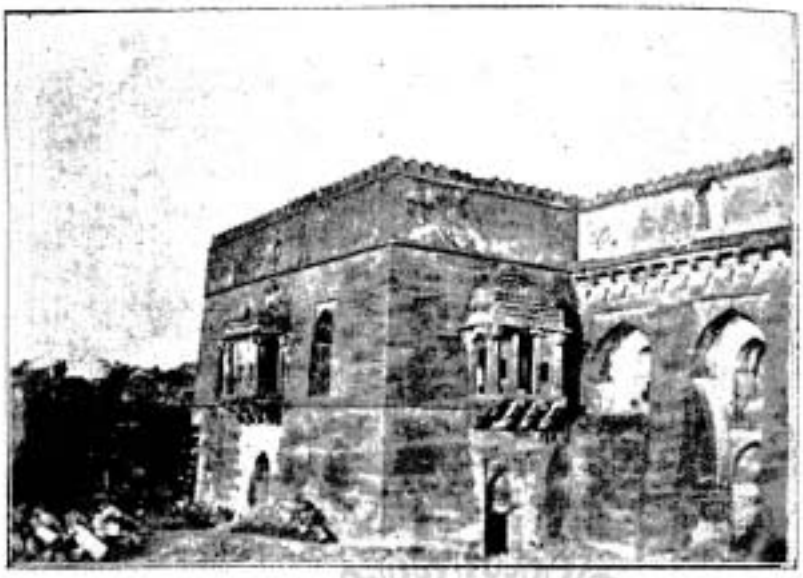
[1] According to tradition, a great Mahajan of the time of the Khiljis.

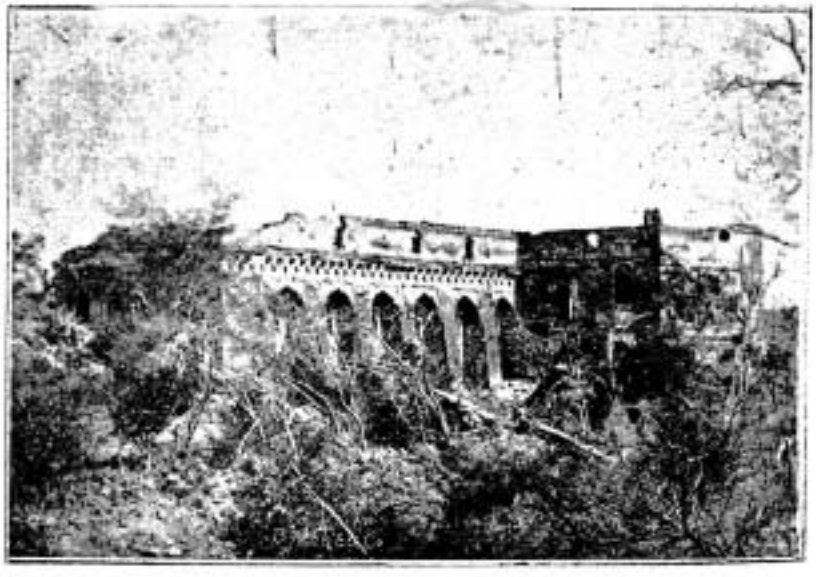
[2] Palace whence all the world is seen.

"THE MASS OF RUINED PALACES."

THE JAHAZ MAHAL.



THE HINDOLA MAHAL FROM THE WEST.



THE HINDOLA MAHAL FROM THE EAST.

The prognostications of those who visited Mandu in the first half of the nineteenth century have happily not been fulfilled. The "larger vaulted halls, of which Fergusson speaks, are still entire, "and the courts are still surrounded by arcades of great beauty."[1]

The Hindola Mahal.

The massive masonry and design of the Hindola Palace, which has withstood better perhaps than the other buildings the ravages of time, is most striking. The sloping buttressed walls, the deep windows, and the long lofty hall suggest some old Chapter house or Refectory, and have a style and grandeur all their own.

The Champa Baori.

Passing through this building and along the northern bank of the lake, we come to the Champa Baori and the tangled mass of ruins above and below ground which surround it. A portion of one of the bathing houses remains intact and shows the care, thought, and elegance that was bestowed in a Mahomedan palace on this important part of the building.

The Jahaz Mahal.

The Jahaz Mahal with its long low façade stands as the centre of this group of palaces. Seen from either side but especially from the west where it overhangs the lake, it is very beautiful, while from the terraced roof a magnificent view of the surrounding country is obtained. The main doorway in the centre of the eastern face is exceedingly well built and in very good preservation. This is probably due to renewal at the hands of Karim Khan, Jehangir's engineer, as it would seem that it was in this palace that the great king made his head-quarters during his stay in Mandu. In the centre of the lake stand the ruins of the palace last occupied by Shah Jehan Begum, who accompanied Jehangir to Mandu. The main gateway is worthy of notice, the arch being of entirely different design to that common in Mandu.

A. D. 1617.
A. H. 1025.

The Nahar Jhiroka.

North of the Hindola and forming part of the walled enclosure is the Nahar Jhiroka. The marble-framed window set in the northern wall with its small platform and cupola has given this building its name. It was seated at this window (jhiroka) that the king used to receive daily in the morning (nahar) the salutations of his court.

Mosque of Dilawar Khan.
A. H. 808.

Outside to the north of the whole enclosure lies the most ancient mosque in Mandu, the inscription which is given below showing it to have been built by Dilawar Khan Ghori in A. D. 1405.

[1] Fergusson, Vol. II., p. 666.

Translation of inscription.

A. D. 1405. "Dilawar Khan, the guardian of religion, who is as an assistant to the Prophet, and supporter of his people. High as the sky in honour and like the angels in aspect. Whose actions are unrivalled, and whose majesty and dignity is great, who is praised by all, who is wealthy, happy, and of good health, over whose actions God watches and is always present to render him aid in his work.

By the grace of the Almighty God and in an auspicious hour. He (Dilawar Khan) laid the foundation of this mosque in the Fort of Mandu in A. H. 808.

It resembles the kaaba whereof a copy stands in the sky.

By the grace of Jesus, Son of the Blessed Virgin Miriam, and of Moses, son of Amran, may he be always blest by God."

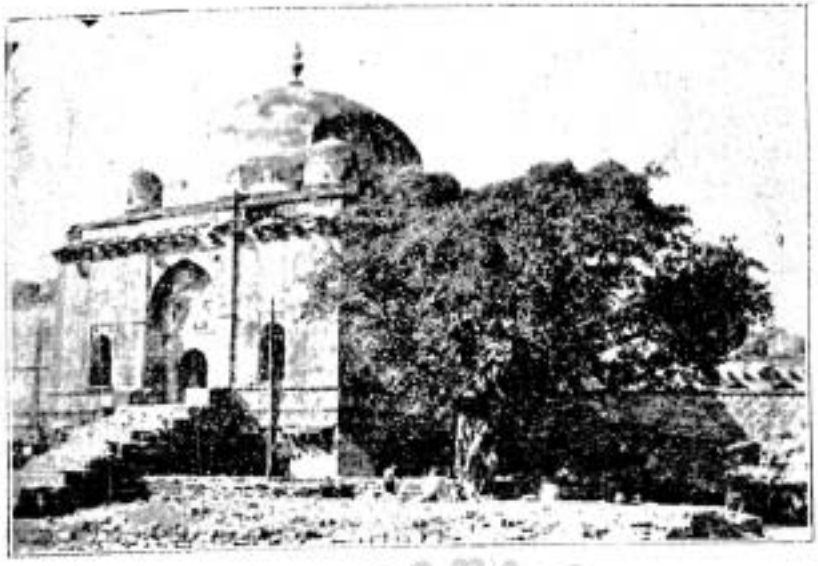
More modest in proportions than the Lat Musjid built by him at Dhar, this building has a ragged simplicity which is decidedly attractive. The low pitch of the whole structure has probably helped to maintain it in fair preservation through more than 500 years. The materials from which it is built are evidently taken from Hindu shrines.

The Taweli Mahal.

Retracing our way back, passed the Jahaz Mahal and out through the gateway by the Taweli Palace, the quarters of Ghias-ud-din's amazon guard, the road leads winding through the jungle to those buildings which were and indeed still are the glory of Mandu. The tomb of Hoshang and the great mosque commenced by that prince and completed by his more illustrious successor Mahmud.

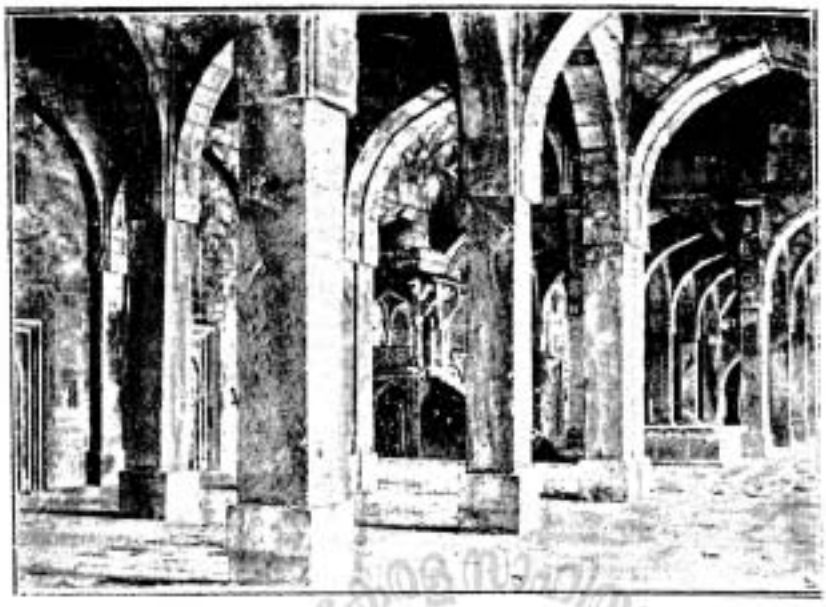
Hoshang's Tomb and Mosque.

"Though the badly fitting joining of the marble slabs of the tomb walls are a notable contrast to the finish of the later Moghul buildings, Hoshang's tomb in its massive simplicity and dim-lighted roughness is a solemn and suitable resting-place for a great Pathan warrior. On the western side of the enclosure which surrounds the tomb, the pillars which near the base are four-sided, pass through an eight-sided and sixteen-sided belt into a round upper shaft. The round shaft ends in a square under capital, each face of which is filled by a group of leafage in outline, the same as the favourite Hindu *Singh-Makh* or horned head. Over the entwined

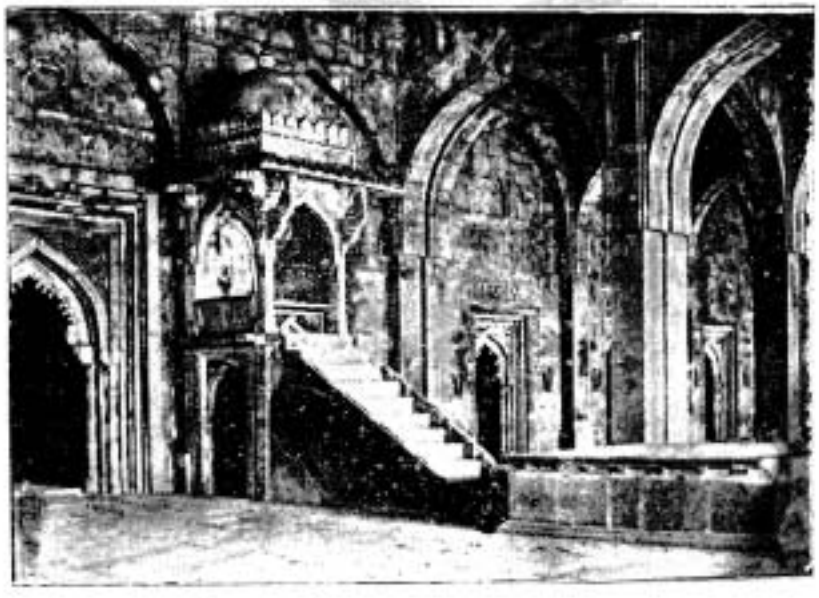


THE ENTRANCE OF THE JUMMA MUSJID.

GENERAL VIEW OF JUMMA MUSJID, MANDU.



INTERIOR JUMMA MUSJID, MANDU.



THE "NIMBAR" IN THE JUMMA MUSJID, MANDU.

leafy horns of this moulding, stone brackets support heavy stone beams, all Hindu in form."[1]

[2] Fergusson considers that these pillars were taken from a Jain building; and certainly the colonnade has the appearance of having been taken bodily from some Jain temple, of which, according to tradition, there were several on the shores of the Sagar lake.

The Great Mosque. A. H. 858.

Hoshang's mosque was completed in A. D. 1454. The entrance porch is a massive domed building projecting from the centre of the east face. Over the marble-lined doorway is the following much damaged Persian inscription :—

"The mosque of exalted construction, the temple of heavenly altitude,

"Whose every pillar is like to those of the 'Kaba'

"And (where) angels like the pigeons of the 'Kaba' make their circles round it, desiring to show it their respect.

"When he came to a full age and had passed through the merciless revolutions of the skies

"Aazam Humayun (*i.e.*, Malik Mughis) said—

"The administration of the country, the construction of buildings and the defeat of our enemies,

"Are things which I leave to you (my son) as parting advice with great earnestness.

"The personification of the goodness of Providence, the Sultan Alla-ud-din (Mahmûd I.)

"The Light of Religion and the satisfier of the wants of the people

"In the year A. H. 858 (A. D. 1454).

"In the words of this parting advice, finished the construction of this building."

The interior of the court in its simple grandeur and expression of power may, according to Fergusson, be taken as one of the very best specimens of Afghan architecture to be found in India. It is almost an exact square enclosed on the east, north and south by

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[1] "Mandu" by J. M. Campbell, Esq., No. LII., Vol. XIX, Journal of the Bombay Branch, R. A. S.

[2] History of Architecture, p. 666, Vol. II.

colonnades, portions of which are sadly ruined. The west face with its three lofty domes and great pointed arches is in fair repair.

Tower of Victory.

A. D. 1442-3.
A. H. 846.

Opposite the Jama Musjid are the ruins of Mahmûd's great Tower of Victory, and beneath it the college erected by the same king. Only a fragment of this tower remains to show that it was faced with white marble slabs inlaid with black stone. But history records that it was seven stories high, and the existing basement gives us an idea of its size. The fates have been hard on Mandu in this particular instance. The tower was built by Mahmûd in commemoration of his victory over the Rana Khumbu of Chittore: it is now an utter ruin while the Rana's great Tower of Victory at Chittore built about twelve years later in token of his victory over this same Mahmûd stands practically intact, and is among the most perfect models of the Hindu architecture of those days. Who shall say that this is not an emblem of the permanence so characteristic of all Hindu life and thought?

To the north-east of the square stand the modern public offices and state-endowed temple of Mandu. Southward the road leads to the Sagar lake, and is lined on either side for a short distance by the mean huts which go to form the modern village. A road branching to the eastward leads to the Lal Bungalow and beyond to what is locally known as the Sath Sao Siri (700 steps), where the walls of the fort leaving the crest of the hill dip down to a ravine some 700 feet in depth, and rise again on the opposite side to the crest close to the Jehangirpur gate.

It has up to the present not been possible to fix the date of construction of the Lal Bungalow, but it is hoped that from a broken inscription in the Tugra character, which was found within the enclosure, it will be possible to "locate" this building. The site of this building, fixed as it is on the edge of a masonry enclosed tank buried in the jungle, is extremely romantic. It was here that the final scene in the history of the Khilji Kings was enacted, when Mahmûd II. surrendered to his conqueror, Bahadur Shah of Gujerat.

A. D. 1526.

The environments of the Sagar lake have suffered much from the recent drought, as many of the "spreading mango trees" along its banks are now mere skeletons. To the east of it and

forming the end of the encamping ground is the smaller Jama Masjid built by Mâlik Mughis in 1432 A. D. The entrance door of which bears the following inscription :—

"With good omens, at a happy time and in a lucky and well-starred year

"On the 4th of the month of Allâh (Ramazân) on the great day of Friday,

"In the year 835 and six months from the Hijrah

"Counted according to the revolution of the moon in the Arabian manner,

"This Islâmi mosque was founded in this world,

"The top of whose dome rubs its head against the green canopy of Heaven.

"The construction of this mosque was due to Mughis-ud-din-wadunya (Mâlik Mughis), the father of Mahmûd I. of Mâl-wa (A. D. 1435—1469), the redresser of temporal and spiritual wrongs.

"Ulugh (brave) Aâzam (great) Humâyun (august) the Khân of the seven climes and of the nine countries.

"By the hands of his enterprise this mosque was founded so great,

"That some call it the house of Peace, others style it the Kaâba.

"This good building was completed on the last of the month of Shawwâl. A. H. 835. A. D. 1432.

"May the merit of this good act be inserted in the scroll of the Khân's actions!

"In this centre may the praises of the sermon read by Mahmûd Shah

"Be everlasting so long as mountains stand on the earth and stars in the firmament."

This mosque must have been a jewel, and makes the ruin which has overtaken it all the more distressing. Here there can be no doubt of the Hindu origin of the material used for the building, and the elegance of outline of the entrance porch even in its ruined state is fascinating. Opposite is what was Mâlik Mughis' palace, and a little beyond that prince's tomb, the black dome of which is "brightened by a belt of brilliant, pale, and deep-blue enamel."

Beyond again on the right is the so-called Dhai-ka-Mahal,[1] and close by, the "Dhai-ki-Choti Bhain-ka-Mahal,"[2] of which there is nowhere historic mention.

The "Bombay Subaltern," writing in 1843, remarks "on our "right, and on the high ground to the south of the Sagar lake "are the walls of the Shikarikot, said to have been built by Baz "Bahadur; in different directions are domed pavilions from which "the great men of those days used to observe the contests of "elephants hawking and any other spectacle that might offer."

To the writer it seems more probable that these buildings were some of the ordinary houses or tombs of the richer classes, more specially as the road which winds below them is lined with the remains of what were evidently houses of a meaner sort used probably by their retainers and servants.[3]

The road continues southwards to the Rewa Kund, Baz Bahadur's palace, and finally to Rup Mati's pavilion—perhaps the most delightful spot in Mandu.

The Rewa Kund.

The Rewa Kund, the pool or spring where to meet Rup Mati's wishes, the Nerbada is said "to have made its appearance on the mountain top" lies to the west of the road immediately opposite to the palace of Baz Bahadur. It is a small masonry-lined tank, and a ruined bathing house is on one side of it.

Baz Bahadur's Palace.

A fine, easy flight of steps leads from its north-east corner up the slope on which the palace of the last independent king of Mandu stands. On the left a portion of the lofty aqueduct by which the holy water of the Kund was introduced into the palace is still standing. On the entrance arch of Baz Bahadur's palace is a Persian inscription which shows that although the latter may have repaired the building it owes its origin to Nazir-ud-dín. It runs thus :—

A. D. 1500, 1512.

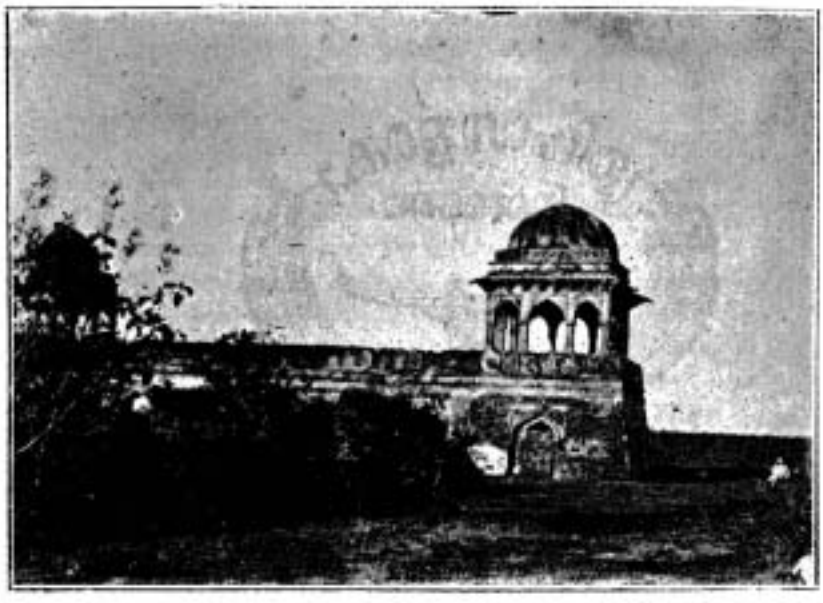
A. D. 1503.

"In the time of the Sultan of Nations, the most just and great, and the most learned and magnificent Sultan Nazir Shah Khilji, written by Yusuph the year A. H. 914."

Much of the marble from this building, especially from the balcony overlooking Mandu, has been mercilessly mutilated by a former generation; but happily some of the sides of the courtyards are intact, as also are the cupolas, which surmount the colonnades.

[1] i.e., the Nurse's Palace.
[2] i.e., the Palace of the nurse's young sister.
[3] The Shikari Kot was probably much nearer Baz Bahadur's Palace. The walls of an enclosure are still visible to the east of this building.

THE DHAI KA MAHAL.



THE PALACE OF RUP MATI.

On the hill immediately overhanging the palace and clear against the sky-line stands "Rup Mati's Chatri." Rup Mati's Pavilion.

"From a ground-floor of heavy masonry and arched gateways, stairs lead to the flat terrace, at the north and south ends of which are massive heavy-eaved pavilions, whose square pillars and pointed arches support lofty deep-grooved domes. The southern pavilion (unhappily now much ruined) on the very edge of the Vindhyan cliff commands a long stretch of the south face of Mandu, with its guardian wall covering the heights and hollows of the hill-top. Twelve hundred feet below spreads the dim hazy Nimar plain, brightened eastwards by the gleaming line of the Nerbada. The north pavilion through the fresh clear air of the hill-top looks over the entire stretch of Mandu from the high shoulder of Songarh in the extreme south-west across rolling tree brightened fields, past the domes, the tangled bush and the broad grey of the Sagar Lake to the five-dome cluster of Hoshang's mosque and tomb, on, across a sea of green tree tops, to the domed roof chambers of the Jahaz and the Toweli palaces, through the Delhi gateway, and beyond the deep cleft of the northern ravine, to the base level and low ranges of the Malwa plateau."[1]

Though it seems ruthless to lessen the romance attached to this building so intimately connected with Rup Mati and her princely lover, it should be noted that on an inner archway of the lower floor is an inscription so damaged as to be only partly decipherable, which shows that at some period this building was used as a Dharamsala for poor and needy travellers who might climb up the hill.

We must now retrace our steps back to the Mandu village, and taking the road which leads south-west reach the edge of the cliff above "Nilkanth." A long flight of steps leads down to the deep shady dell, where a "Mahomedan chamber with great open arched front looks out across a fountained courtyard and sloping scalloped water-table, to the wild western slopes of Mandu."[2]

[1] S. M. Campbell, "Mandu" Journal of Bombay Branch, R. A. Society, No. LII., Vol. XIX.

[2] Campbell's "Mandu."

A. D. 1574. This is the place where Akbar lodged in A. D. 1574, and which Jehangir visited in A. D. 1617. It was built by Shah Budagh Khan during his tenure of office as Commandant of Mandu, and bears the following inscriptions :—

"Call it not waste to spend your life in water and earth (*i.e.*, in building).

"If perchance a man of mind for a moment makes your house his lodging.

"Written by Shah Budagh Khan in the year A. H. 982."

A second inscription on the great southern arch reads thus :—

"This pleasant building was completed in the reign of the great Sultan, most munificent and just Khakan, the Lord of the countries of Arabia and Persia, the Shadow of God on the two earths, the ruler of the sea and of the land, the exalter of the standards of those who war on the side of God. Abu Fatah Yahal-ud-din Mahomed Akbar, the warrior king, may his dominion and his kingdom be everlasting.

A. D. 1574. "Written by Faridin Husein, son of Hat-ul-ward, in the year A. H. 982."

The stones of this inscription have been wrongly placed by some illiterate restorer, the latter portion of the inscription coming first, and the first one last. A third inscription on the right wall, which is dated A. D. 1591-92, runs as follows :—

"In the year A. D. 1000, when on his way to the conquest of the Dekhan, the Slaves of the exalted Lord of the Earth, the holder of the sky-like throne, the Shadow of Allah (the Emperor Akbar), passed by this place."

"That time wastes your home, cease, soul to complain
"Who will not scorn a complainer so vain;
"From the story of others this wisdom derive
"Ere nought of thyself but stories survive."

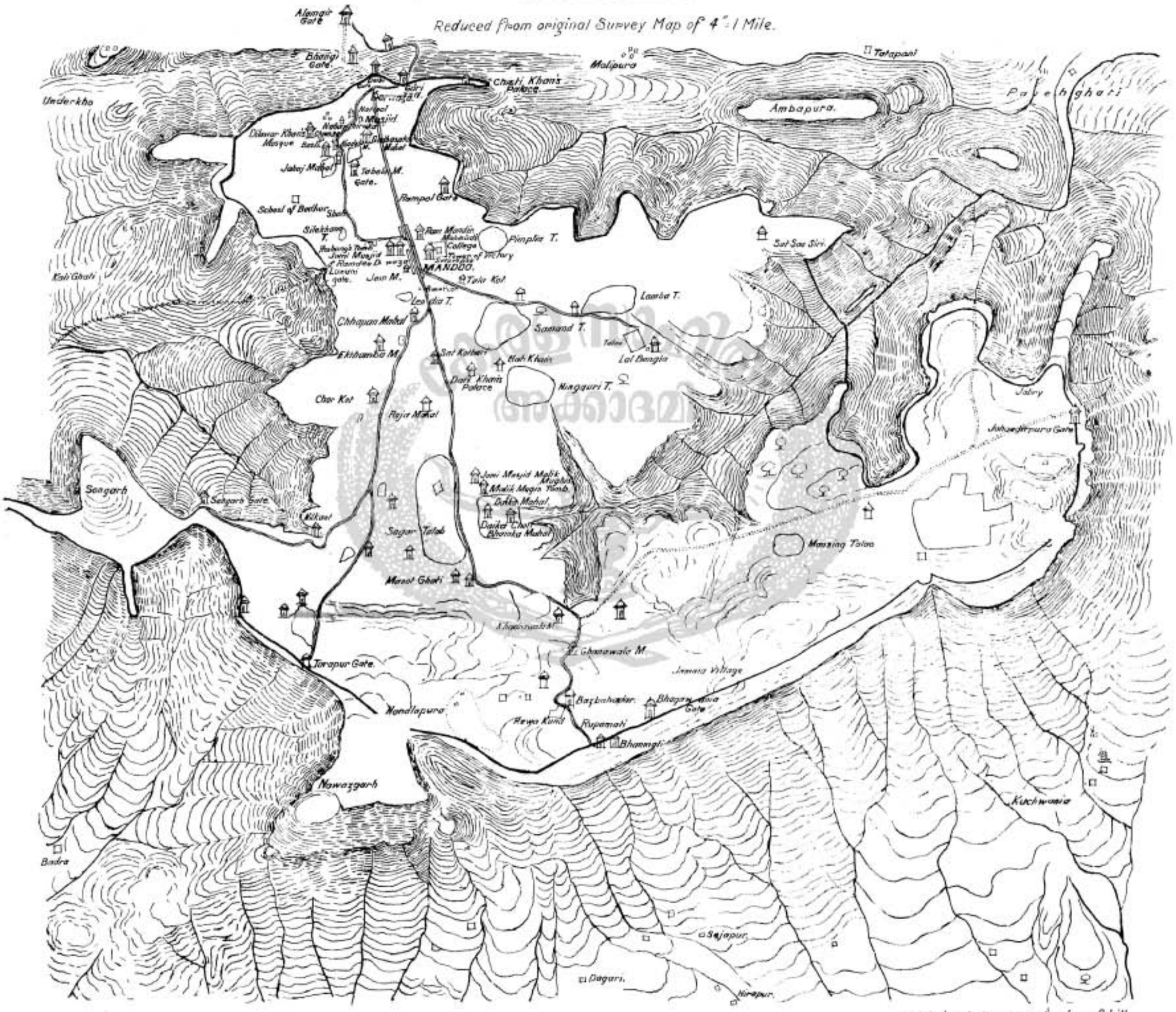
Finally on the left wall is the fourth inscription dated A. D. 1600 :—

"The Shadow of Allah, the Emperor Akbar after the conquest of the Dekhan and Khandesh in the year 1009, set out for Hind.

MAP OF MANDU, DHAR STATE.

SHOWING POSITIONS OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS.

Scale 1·8232 Inches = 1 Mile.



Thick black line round edge of hill shows remains of old fortifications.

B.E. S. Press, Litho: 7-11-08.

"May the name of the writer last for ever!

"At dawn and at eve I have watched an owl sitting

"On the lofty wall-tops of Shirwan Shah's tomb,

"And the owl's plaintive hooting conveyed me this warning,

"Here pomp, wealth, and greatness be dumb."

This spot is now the retreat of a Hindu recluse, and has probably, as its Hindu name implies, reverted to its former use. Its gentle occupant, however, has not improved its artistic appearance, and although this building is the only one in Mandu which has been kept in proper repair externally, its internal arrangement has now little in keeping with the memories of Akbar.

Daria Khan.

A few other buildings call for mention. The tomb of Daria Khan about half-way between the great mosque and the Sagar Lake on the left of the road, still bears portions of the texts from the Koran in coloured enamel tiles with which it was entirely decorated.

Hathi-Khana.

A little beyond in the jungle is a building locally known as the "Hathi-Khana," but evidently a tomb, interesting on account of the four massive pillars which support the dome, and which are unique in their style in Mandu.

Chisti Khan's palace.

The palace known as that of "Chisti Khan," commander of the army in the time of Mahmúd Khilji, is a ruin beautifully situated at the extreme north-east point of the hill. Here, too, is a sadly-damaged relic of what was once a most artistic piece of enamelled wall-decoration. Close by are vaults said to have been the magazines of the great Mahmúd. On the road to the Lal Bungalow, one passes two stone pillars evidently the "Dip stambhas" of a Hindu temple, while buried in the jungle to the west of the Jahaz Mahal is a large building said to have been the school of "Shah Baddar," a reputed sage. On the map attached to this paper, the position of numerous other buildings is shown, but the names given have a purely local significance, and are merely noted in order to assist the traveller when wandering with a local guide among these relics of the past.

ART. XII.—*Epigraphic Notes and Questions.*—By DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A.

[Communicated, June 1902.]

I.—THE FIRST TWO ROCK-EDICTS OF PIYADASI:

1.—*The First Rock Edict.*

Transcript.

1. इय धंमलिपी देवानं प्रियेन
2. प्रियदसिना राञा लेखापिता [।] इध न किं-
3. चि जीवं आरभिता प्रजुहितव्यं [।]
4. न च समाजो कतव्यो [।] बहुकं हि दोसं
5. समाजम्हि पसति देवानं प्रियो प्रियदसि राजा [।]
6. अस्ति पि चु एकचा समाजा साधुमता देवानं
7. प्रियस प्रियदसिनो [।] पुरा महानसम्हि
8. देवानं प्रियस प्रियदसिनो राञो अनुदिवसं ब-
9. हूनि प्राणसतसहस्रानि आरभिसु सूपाथाय [।]
10. से अज यदा अयं धंमलिपी लिखिता ती एव प्रा-
11. णा आरभरे सूपाथाय द्वे मोरा एको मगो [।] सो पि
12. मगो न ध्रुवो [।] एते पि त्री प्राणा पछा न आरभिसरे [।]

Translation.

This edict of righteousness[1] was caused to be written by king Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods.[2] No animal should here (on earth) be immolated and offered as a sacrifice; nor should any convivial gathering[3] be called; for, king Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, sees much evil in a convivial gathering. Certain[4] convivial gatherings were (once) favourably regarded by Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods. Formerly in the kitchen of king Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, many hundreds of thousands of animals were day by day slaughtered for curry.[5] But now when this edict of righteousness was written, only three animals were killed for curry, *viz.*, two peacocks and one deer; but even that deer not regularly. Even these three animals will not be afterwards killed.

Notes.

1. The word *dhaṁmalipi*, which occurs in this as well as in many other edicts, has been translated 'righteousness-edict' by Dr. Kern, simply 'edict' by M. Senart, and 'religious edict' by Dr. Bühler. Strictly speaking, *lipi* means a *lekha*, and consequently *dhaṁmalipi* is a *dharmalekha*, i.e., a writing of righteousness. But I have rendered the word *lipi* by 'edict,' as all these *dhaṁmalipis* were proclamations from king Piyadasi. I agree with Dr. Kern in taking *dhaṁma* to mean righteousness, for, wherever the word is used in the edicts,[1] it denotes no more than good moral acts. And this evidently is corroborated by the definition, which Piyadasi gives of *dhaṁma* in Pillar Edict II.

2. *Devânaṁpriya*:—On Pâṇini's *sûtra* VI. 3. 21. which deals with the genitive *aluk-samâsa*, Kâtyâyana has the *Vârtika*: देवानांप्रिय इति च. From this it is plain that, in the time of the Vârtikakâra, *devânâṁpriya* had come into use, and was looked upon as one word. In his gloss on the *vârtika* भवदादियोग: appended to Pâṇini's *sûtra* V. 3. 14, Patañjali includes *devânâṁ-priya* under this भवदादिगण.[2] This indicates that, like *bhavat* and the other words *dîrghâyus* and *âyushmat* comprised in that *gaṇa*, *devânâṁ-priya* also was employed as an auspicious mode of address or characterisation. In Rock Edict VIII., for *devânaṁ-priya* of some versions, we have the variant *râjâno* of others. The only legitimate conclusion that can be deduced therefrom is that *devânaṁ-priya* corresponds to *râjâno*. Coupling this fact with the inference we have drawn from what Patañjali has said, we find that *devânâṁ-priya* was an auspicious mode of address or characterisation used in the case of kings. In much later times the word came to have the derogatory sense of 'a dullard' in Sanskrit literature. But even so late as the time of the Kâśikâkâra and Kaiyaṭa, we do not find this sense attached to the word *devânâṁ-priya*. The earliest instance of it, so far as I have been able to trace it, is to be met with in the Kâvyaprakâśa: नेऽप्यतात्पर्यज्ञास्तात्पर्यवाचोयुक्तेर्देवानांप्रिया:[3]. Here *devânâṁ-priya* obviously denotes a dunce. Hêmachandra also gives *devânâṁ-priya* in his

[1] The word *dhaṁma* occurring in the bhabra edict only appears to have been used in a sense technical to Buddhism.

[2] Patañjali's Vyâkaraṇa Mahâbhâshya, by Dr. Kielhorn, (Bo. Sk. Series) Vol. II., p. 405.

[3] Kâvyaprakâśa, by Vâmanâchârya Jhalkikar, (Bo. Sk. Series), p. 255.

lexicon as synonymous with *mûḍha* and *jaḍa*. Again, the word has been explained by Bhaṭṭôjî Dîkshita in his *Siddhânta-kaumudî* as equivalent to *mûrkha*.[1] But whatever may have been the sense conveyed by *devânâm-priya* in later times, it was not originally a degraded word, but was employed as an auspicious mode of characterisation with reference to kings.

It was Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji[2], who first drew attention to the fact that *devânaṁ-priya* of some versions of Rock Edict VIII, corresponded to *râjâno* of others. He was also the first to show that *devâṇupiya* (*devâṇuppiya*) of the Jain *sûtras* was a corruption of *devâṇâṁ-priya*. Dr. Hoernle doubts the correctness of this views inasmuch as *devâṇu* in *devâṇuppiya* is an anomalous form of the genitive *devânâṁ* in *devânâṁ-priya*.[3] But it has been stated above that *devânâṁ-priya* is mentioned by Kâtyâyana as an instance of *aluk-samâsa*. We have, therefore, to regard it as one word, and for practical purposes ignore the existence of the genitive case termination, when pronouncing it. In other words, when we hear the word pronounced, we are not to look upon it as two separate words, of which *devânâṁ* is the genitive plural of *dêva*, but to take it as one word, like other *sâmâsika* words, without noticing the case termination that there is in the body of the word. If this is true, it very much weakens the objection referred to above. For, when we say that *devâṇuppiya* is a corruption of *devânâṁ-priya*, we mean that the one word *devâṇuppiya* is a corruption of the one word *devânâṁ-priya*. We cannot thus legitimately split up *devâṇuppiya* and *devânâṁ-priya* each into two words, and then ask ourselves whether *devâṇu* of the one can, by means of the rules of the Prâkṛit dialects, be justified as a more developed form of the genitive *devânâṁ* of the other. Dr. Hoernle's proposal to consider *devâṇuppiya* as equivalent to *devânupriya* is on the contrary, open to objection. For no authority has been adduced to show that *devânupriya* was ever used as a mode of address in the case of kings. And, so long as that authority is not forthcoming, *devâṇuppiya*, which is applied to kings even in the Jain *sûtras* cannot stand for *devânupriya*. But it has been shown above that *devânâṁ-priya* was a mode of characterisation, and was often employed in connection with kings. It is, therefore, safer, on the whole, to

[1] Siddhântakaumudî, No. 979.

[2] Ind. Ant. X. 108 ; see also J. R. A. S., 1901, pp. 577-8 and 930.

[3] Uvâsagadasâo, Appendix III.

understand *devânupiya* as a corruption of *devânâm-priya* than of *devânupriya*, which has no existence in literature.

Although *devânaṁpriya* of some copies of Rock Edict VIII. corresponds to *râjâno* of others, it is not correct to regard the former as synonymous with, or equivalent to, the latter, as Mr. V. A. Smith appears to me to have done.[1] For, *râjâ*, which is conjoined to the name of Piyadasi, together with *devânâṁpriya*, would, in that case, be superfluous. Again, the rendering 'his sacred majesty,' which he has proposed for *devânaṁpriya*, does not commend itself to me, as the phrase 'his sacred majesty' can be applied only to the head of a religious establishment, such *e.g.* as the Pope of Europe or the Śaṅkarâchâryas of India, but can never with propriety be used with reference to a secular king.

I have, therefore, adhered to the rendering of *devânâṁpriya* by 'beloved of the gods.'

3. The word *samâja* seems to have very much exercised the antiquarians. According to most of them, it signifies 'a convivial or festive assembly.' Dr. Pischel,[2] however, proposes the meaning 'battue' for it. Although the first sense is undoubtedly correct, nobody has yet been able to adduce any authority in support of it. That, I think, is now furnished by the reference to the Harivaṁśa given under समाज + कर् in the St. Petersburg Dictionary. It is as follows:—

द्विजाय ब्रह्मदत्ताय ददौ तार्क्ष्यवरध्वजः। सर्वे समाजे च तदा शङ्खचक्रगदाधरः ८१८९.

विसर्जयित्वा तत्क्षत्रं पाण्डवांश्च महाबलः। बिल्वोदकेश्वरस्याथ समाजमकरोत्प्रभुः ८१९०.

मांससूपशताकीर्णं बहुन्नं व्यञ्जनाकुलं। नियुक्तकुशलान्महान्देवो मल्लप्रियस्तदा ८१९१.

Here we are told that Krishṇa held in honour of the god Bilvôdakêśvara a *samâja* (feast), which is said to be "abounding in a hundred (varieties) of meat and curry, full of diverse (kinds) of food, and surcharged with condiments." *Samâja*, therefore, appears to be a public feast, where meat formed one of the principal articles of food served. But this, I think, denotes only one feature of the *samâja*. Another feature of it will be clear from the following verse of the Bhaṭṭikâvya:[3]

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1901, pp. 186 & 577. [2] Gött. Gel. Anz., 1881, p. 1121.
[3] Canto V. II. v. 39 (Nirṇayasâgar edition).

इन्दुं चषकसंक्रान्तमुपाशुङ्क यथामृतम् ।

प्रयुञ्जानः प्रियावाप्तः समाजानुरतो जनः ॥

Here the word *samája* is explained by the commentator Jayamaṅgala, as signifying *pâna-gôshṭhî*. *Samája* thus, on the whole, seems to mean a sort of public merry-making, where meat and wine were copiously served.

When king Piyadasi says that he sees much evil in the holding of a *samája*, he had in mind, I think, both these features of the *samája*, *viz.*, the slaughter of hundreds of animals, and the quaffing of copious wine. But it is the first feature of the *samája*, that, above all, prompted the king to put a stop to this custom, since this edict is entirely concerned with the protection of animal life.

4. The word *ekachá* is formed by applying the termination *tya* to *eka*, and means 'belonging to a particular place, certain.' *Ekachá samája* does not, therefore, mean "some kinds of festive assemblies," as Dr. Bühler supposes, but convivial gatherings belonging to a particular place, *i.e.*, the place where Piyadasi was in the habit of holding them. Further, *sâdhumatá*, I think, does not refer to his present, but to his past, opinion. What Piyadasi means is, that, although he now sees much evil in the celebration of *samájas*, there was a time when they were considered most excellent by him. The ancient kings of India appear to have been in the habit of holding *samájas*. In the Hâthigumphâ inscription at Cuttack, we are told that, Khâravela, king of Kaliṅga, amused his capital-town by celebrating festivals and *samájas* (उसवसमाजकारापनाहि च कीडापयति नगरीं).[1] Similarly, Nâsik cave-inscription No. 18 speaks of Gotamiputra Śâtakarṇi as having caused festivals and *samájas* to be made (छणवसवसमाजकारकस).[2] Quite in consonance with this practice, Piyadasi must have held several *samájas*, but the slaughter of thousands of animals on these occasions appears to have aroused his conscience and impelled him to abolish the institution, whereby so much animal life was sacrificed.

5. Piyadasi here tells us how to serve meat on the occasions of the *samájas* he formerly gave, thousands of animals were slaughtered in his kitchen, and how he has now imposed restrictions on the animals

[1] See "The Hâthigumphâ and three other Inscriptions," &c., by Bhagwanlal Indraji, p. 26.

[2] Arch. Surv. West. Ind., Vol., IV., p. 108, l. 8.

to be slain for his table. *Anudivasaṁ*, no doubt, literally means 'daily,' but it seems here to denote the collective result of the daily slaughter of animals continued for a long period rather than the daily slaughter itself, for the killing of hundreds of thousands of animals every day is an impossibility. The word *sûpa* here is worthy of note. Even to the present day, where English cookery is not imitated, meat is prepared among Hindus in the form of curry.

It will be seen that, if the rendering we have proposed for ll. 4—9 is accepted, the cogent objections, raised by the learned scholar M. Senart [1] to Dr. Bühler's interpretation, are satisfactorily answered. In the first place, the sense we have given of *samâja* is, as required by him, "more precise and circumscribed" than that suggested by Dr. Bühler, and is supported by authorities. Next, if *samâja* signifies, as we have seen, a public entertainment where meat and wine were served in profuse quantities, it is clear how thereby animal life "was compromised," and how, therefore, *na cha samâjo kataviyo* can stand connected with *na . . . . pajûhitaviyaṁ* in an edict "entirely devoted to the protection of animal life." Again, if one translates, with Dr. Bühler, *asti pichu, &c., &c.*, by "there are, however, also some *kinds of* festive assemblies considered most excellent by king Priyadarśin," the rendering becomes liable to M. Senart's objection that, "if Piyadasi had meant to approve of 'certain *samâjas*,' he would have specified to what *samâjas* he referred." But, as we have understood it, Piyadasi's approval pertains, not to any convivial gatherings he holds at present, but to those he formerly gave; in short, he *once* approved of certain *samâjas* which he now disapproves. Thus M. Senart's objection does not apply to our interpretation. Lastly, when for *samâja* was proposed a vague sense, which did not clearly indicate how animal life was thereby "compromised," and when the words *asti pi chu, &c., &c.*, were presumed to refer to certain *samâjas* favourably regarded by Piyadasi at the time when the edict was promulgated, the details given of Piyadasi's kitchen, as M. Senart rightly observes, were rendered perfectly irrelevent and unmeaning. But, according to our view of the matter, these details attain full significance. For we have interpreted the words *asti pichu, &c., &c.*, to allude to the *samâjas*, *i.e.* public banquets, which Piyadasi gave long before he issued this edict; and it is but natural that Piyadasi should describe the hor-

[1] Ind. Ant. XX. 245, note 46

rible slaughter of animals that was carried on in his kitchen, to serve meat on occasions of those *samájas*.

2.—*The Second Rock Edict.*

With regard to this edict I have only three remarks to offer. The first is with respect to Satiyaputa, mentioned by Piyadasi among the kings, ruling on the frontiers of his kingdom. The close correspondence in sound of Satiyaputa and Sâtputê, a surname current among the present Marâṭhâs, is so striking that I am inclined to hold that the Sâtputês had formerly settled in the south on the Western Coast, as the mention of Satiyaputa in the edict points to it, and that they afterwards migrated as far northward as Mahârâshṭra, and were merged into the warrior and other classes.

My second remark refers to the word *sâmanta*, which occurs in connection with Antiochus and the four Greek princes. Dr. Bühler has rendered it by "vassal-kings."[1] And it is this rendering to which I take exception. *Sâmanta* is the reading of all versions except that of Girnâr, which substitutes *sâmipaṁ* for it. This variant is of great importance, inasmuch as it indicates that *sâmanta* must be interpreted in such a way as to correspond to it. *Sâmanta* must, therefore, signify neighbouring or bordering. And, as a matter of fact, this is the sense which Childer's Pâli Dictionary gives for the word *sâmanta*. There can remain, therefore, no doubt that *sâmanta* in the edict is to be translated as 'neighbouring or bordering' and not "vassal-kings," as Dr. Bühler has done.

My third remark is concerned with the sense of the word *chikichhâ*. If we carefully attend to the contents of this edict, it cannot fail to strike us that, when Piyadasi says that he has established two kinds of *chikichhâ*, he makes only a general statement, of which the works of charity he mentions further on are particular instances. If so, the word *chikichhâ* must be interpreted in such a way as to go naturally with planting trees, raising orchards, digging wells, and such other charitable works which Piyadasi has instituted. But if we hold with Dr. Bühler that the word means "a hospital"[2] or with M. Senart that it signifies "remedies,"[3] then we shall have to suppose that this edict simply sets forth a congeries of facts thoroughly unconnected with one another. I, therefore, propose to take *chikichhâ* in the sense of 'provision or provident arrangement.'

[1] *Ep. Ind.* II. 466. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ind. Ant.* IX. 287; *Ibid.* XX. 240, note 32.

If this sense is adopted, the word *chikichhâ* goes with all the charitable acts specified by Piyadasi, and a connection is established between it and what follows. For Piyadasi here speaks of having made two provident arrangements, *i.e.*, provident arrangements for two classes of creatures—men and animals. And what are these? They are obviously the planting of medicinal herbs, the growing of orchards, the sinking of wells, and so forth. By this way of interpretation alone the edict attains its full significance.

II.—THE ÂJÎVIKAS.

The epigraphic references to the Âjîvikas occur in the inscriptions of Piyadasi and his grandson Daśaratha. The earliest of these is to be found in the Barâbar cave-inscription,[1] which speaks of them as the donees to whom the cave was dedicated by Piyadasi in the thirteenth year of his reign. The Âjîvikas are also mentioned in Pillar Edict VII., among those, whom, Piyadasi tells us, he has ordered his Dharma-mahâmâtras to concern themselves with. They are also referred to in the Nâgârjunî cave-inscriptions, which record the grant of three caves to Âjîvikas by Daśaratha, beloved of the gods.[2] But the following note is chiefly concerned with the passage of Pillar Edict VII., wherein the Âjîvikas are mentioned. The passage is as follows:—

हेमेव बाभनेसु आजीविकेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होंति ति.

Dr. Kern and Dr. Bühler connect *bâbhanesu* with *âjîvikesu*, and translate it thus: "likewise I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Brahmanical Âjîvikas."[3] Thus, according to these scholars, the Ajîvikas were a Brahmanical sect. The reasons for holding this view and for proposing the above interpretation have been set forth by Dr. Kern in his Der Buddhismus, and have been repeated by Dr. Bühler in his paper on the Barâbar and Nâgârjunî Hill Cave Inscriptions.[4] But apart from the refutation of these arguments, it is not difficult to see that *bâbhanesu* can by no means stand in apposition with *Âjîvikesu*, as has been supposed by Dr. Kern and Dr. Bühler. In the Nâgârjunî cave inscriptions of Daśaratha, the Âjîvikas are styled *bhadanta*. Now,

[1] *Ind. Ant.* XX. 169 and 364. [2] *Ibid.*, 364-5.

[3] *Ep. Ind.* II. 272; in justice to Dr. Bühler, it must be said that he admitted the possibility of translating the same passage by separating हेमेव बाभनेसु from आजीविकेसु, *Ind. Ant.* XX. 362.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* XX. 361-3.

bhadanta is a title which has never been applied to any members of a Brahmanical school. The Âjîvikas could not, therefore, have been a Brahmanical sect. The same conclusion is pointed to by the following stanzas from the Suttanipâta[1] :—

Ye kec' ime titthiyâ vâdasîlâ
âjîvikâ vâ yadi vâ nigaṇṭhâ
paññâya taṁ nâtitaranti sabbe
ṭhito vajantaṁ viya sîghagâmiṁ. 6

Ye kec' ime brâhmaṇâ vâdasîlâ
vuddhâ câpi brâhmaṇâ santi keci
sabbo tayî atthabaddhâ bhavanti
ye vâpi c' aññe vâdino maññamânâ. 7

Translation.

"All these disputatious Titthiyas and Âjîvikas and Nigaṇṭhas do not any of them overcome thee in understanding as a man standing (does not overcome) the one that is walking quickly."

"All these disputatious Brâhmaṇas, and there are even some old Brâhmaṇas, all are bound by thy opinion, and others also that are considered disputants."[2]

It will be seen from this that here the Brâhmaṇas, Âjîvikas and Nirgranthas are distinguished from one another. The Âjîvikas cannot, therefore, be regarded as having been a Brahmanical school.

We shall now proceed to the consideration of Dr. Kern's view that the Âjîvikas are Vaishṇavas. This view rests on two passages from Utpala's commentary on Varâhamihira's Bṛihajjâtaka. The first passage is आजीविकवचनं च नारायणाश्रितानां, which he renders by "and the use of (the term) Âjîvika refers to those who have taken refuge with Nârâyaṇa." In support of this explanation, Utpala, according to Dr. Kern, cites a Prâkrit verse of Kâlakâchârya, which the commentator renders by the Sanskrit केशवनामदीक्षितः केशवभक्तः भागवत इत्यर्थः. This, in Dr. Kern's opinion, unmistakably shows that Kâlakâchârya regards Âjîvikas as Bhâgavatas. Now, in the first place, the translation proposed by Dr. Kern for the first passage is not correct. That this is the case will be seen from the following extract from Utpala's commentary bearing upon this point :—

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[1] Sutta-Nipâta, edited by V. Fausböll, p. 672. [2] Sacred Books of the East, Vol. X., Pt. II., p. 63.

एकस्थैश्चतुरादिभिर्बलयुतैर्जाता पृथग्वीर्यगैः
शाक्याजीविकभिक्षुवृद्धचरका निर्ग्रंथवन्याशनाः ।
माहेयज्ञगुरुक्षपाकरितप्राभाकरीनैः क्रमात्

तथावावेव चतुरादिभिरेकस्थैर्महैर्जातस्य प्रव्रज्यायोगं शार्दूलविक्रीडितेनाह ॥ एकस्थैरिति । यत्र तत्र राशौ महाश्चतुरादयश्चत्वारः पञ्च षट् सप्त वा एकस्था यदा भवन्ति । सर्वे बलहीनास्तदा जातस्य प्रव्रज्या न भवति । तेषां चतुरादीनां एकत्रगानां मध्याद्यद्येकोऽपि बलवान्भवति तदैव प्रव्रज्याः भवति । यदा बहवो बलिनस्तदा बहवः प्रव्रज्या भवन्ति । एवमेकस्थैश्चतुरादिभिर्बलयुतैर्जाताः प्रव्रज्याभाजो भवन्ति । यस्मादुक्तं ॥ प्रव्रज्या बलिभिः समा ॥ ताश्च पृथग्वीर्यगैः शाक्यादयो भवन्ति । वीर्यगैर्बलिभिर्महैः पृथक् समस्ता भवन्ति । शाक्यादीनां माहेयादयो महा यथोक्तक्रमेण ॥ तद्यथा ॥ चतुरादीनामेकस्थानां मध्याद्यदा बलवान्माहेयो भवति तदा शाक्यो भवति । शाक्यो रक्तपटः । अथ चतुरादीनां मध्याद्यदा ज्ञो बुधो बलवान्भवति तदा आजीविको भवति । आजीविकश्चैकदण्डी । एवं जीवो बलवान्यदा भवति तदा भिक्षुर्भवति । संन्यासी ज्ञेयः[1] । यदा चन्द्रो बलवान् तदा वृद्धश्रावको भवति । वृत्तभंगभयात् श्रावकशब्दो लुप्तो द्रष्टव्यः । वृद्धश्रावकः कपाली । शुक्रे बलवति चरको भवति । चरको चक्रधरः[2] । सौरे बलवति निर्ग्रन्थः । निर्ग्रन्थो नग्नः क्षपणकः प्रावरणविरहितः । आदित्ये बलवति वन्याशनो भवति । वने भवं वन्यं तदश्नातीति वन्याशनः । तपस्वी मूलफलाशनः । एवं क्रमात्प्रव्रज्यापर्यायः । एते च कालकसंहिताख्याताः । तथा च कालकाचार्यः ॥ तावसिओ दिणणाहे चंदे कावालिअं तहा भणिअं । रत्तवडो भूमिसुवे सोमसुवे एअदण्डी अ ॥ देवगुरुसुक्कोणाकवेण जई चरअखवणाइं ॥ अस्यार्थः । तावसिओ तापसिकः । दिणणाहे दिननाथे । चंदे चन्द्रे । कावालिअं कापालिकः । तहा भणिअं तथा भणितः । रत्तवडो रक्तपटः । भूमिसुवे भूमिसुते । सोमसुवे सोमसुते । एअदण्डी अ एकदण्डी च । देवगुरुर्बृहस्पतिः । सुक्कः शुक्रः । कोणः शनिः । कवेण क्रमेण । जई यतिः । चरअ चरकः । खवणाइं क्षपणकः । अत्र वृद्धश्रावकग्रहणं महेशाश्रितानां प्रव्रज्यानामुपलक्षणं । आजीविकग्रहणं च नारायणाश्रितानां । तथा च कालकसंहितायां पठ्यते । जलण-हर-सुगअ-केसव-सुइ-बम्ह-णग्गमग्गेसु दिक्खाणं । णाअव्वा सुराइ-गहा कमेण नाहगउं ॥ अस्यार्थः जलण ज्वलनः । साग्निक इत्यर्थः । हर ईश्वरभक्तः । भट्टारकः । सुगअ सुगतः । बौद्ध इत्यर्थः । केसव केशवभक्तः । भागवत इत्यर्थः । सुइ श्रुतिमार्गरतः । मीमांसकः । बम्ह ब्रह्मभक्तः । वानप्रस्थः । नग्ग नग्नः । क्षपणकः । मग्गेसु मार्गेषु । दिक्खाणं दीक्षानां । णाअव्वा ज्ञातव्याः । सुराइगहा सूर्यादिग्रहाः । कमेण क्रमेण । नाह गउं नाथ गतः ।

Now, with regard to the first passage आजीविकग्रहणं च नारायणाश्रितानां, it is plain that the word च indicates that it is connected with the preceding passage, and that consequently the words प्रव्रज्या-

[1] Another reading: भिक्षुस्त्रिदण्डी यतिः

[2] Another reading: चक्रकरः

नामुपलक्षणम् from the latter, require to be understood after नारायणाश्रितानां in the former, passage. Dr. Kern, however, not perceiving the force of च takes आजीविकग्रहणं च नारायणाश्रितानां as a distinct sentence in itself. Evidently, therefore, he cannot be right in translating it by "and the use of (the term) Ājīvika refers to those who have taken refuge with Nārāyaṇa." The true rendering of the passage is as follows: "and (the term) Ājīvika is used as a mark to denote the monastic orders dependent upon Nārāyaṇa." Here the most important word is *upalakshaṇa*, which Dr. Kern has entirely lost sight of. *Upalakshaṇa* means a mark indicative of something that the word itself does not actually express. Utpala has already, in explaining the original of Varāhamihira by comparing it with a *ślōka* of Kālakāchārya, said that *ājīvika* signifies *ekadaṇḍī*. And now he adds that the term *ājīvika* is to be taken as a mark to denote the recluse-devotees of Nārāyaṇa. It is a mark only and not a word expressive of them. Sanskrit commentators often employ the word *upalakshaṇa*, when they want a certain word or expression in the original to denote things, not, truly speaking, expressed by that word or expression. And precisely the same practice is followed here by Utpala. The list of ascetic denominations given by Varāhamihira is by no means exhaustive, for, among others, it fails to take cognizance of the recluse-devotees of Nārāyaṇa. Hence the necessity to understand the latter by means of an *upalakshaṇa*. From this it follows that the passage आजीविकग्रहणं च नारायणाश्रितानां, far from supporting Dr. Kern's view that the Ājīvikas are Vaishṇavas, runs counter to it.

The next passage from Utpala's commentary cited by Dr. Kern in favour of his thesis, is, as stated above, केशवमार्गदीक्षितः केशवभक्तः भागवत इत्यर्थः This passage also has been misconstrued, but the misconstruction in this case is dependent upon the misinterpretation of the former passage. For Utpala certainly quotes this from Kālakāchārya, as believed by Dr. Kern, in support of the assertion आजीविकग्रहणं च नारायणाश्रितानां. But, as we have just seen, what Utpala wants thereby to convey is, that the term *ājīvika* not means, as supposed by Dr. Kern, but denotes by *upalakshaṇa*, the recluse-devotees of Nārāyaṇa. It may, however, be asked—what authority justifies this *upalakshaṇa?* It is the authority of Kālakāchārya, and Utpala quotes a verse from Kālakasaṁhitā in support of his position. According to this verse, a man becomes केशवमार्गदीक्षित, if, when born, the planet mercury is predominant. But under the same astrological

condition at the time of his birth, a man becomes, according to another verse of Kâlakâchârya cited before, an *ekadaṇḍi*, which has been identified by Utpala with the *âjîvika* of Varâhamihira. So that the *keśava-mârga-dîkshitas* of the new verse remain to be accounted for. This justifies Utpala in making *âjîvika* stand as a mark for *keśava-mârga-dîkshitas*, *i.e.* Bhâgavatas. This is how, in my opinion, the second passage, on which Dr. Kern relies for his theory, requires to be understood. It points to the justification of the *upalakshaṇa*, according to which *âjîvika* denotes the recluse-devotees of Nârâyaṇa, and not of the assertion that the Vaishṇavas are to be understood by *âjîvika* in its natural sense. The view propounded by Dr. Kern and countenanced by Dr. Bühler that the Âjîvikas are Vaishṇavas, has, therefore, little ground to stand upon.

It will not be out of place, I think, if a short account of these Âjîvikas is given with a view to point out who they were. My work here will be principally that of bringing some of the scattered rays to a focus. The founders of this monastic order were Nanda-Vachchha, Kisa-Saṁkichchha, and Makkhali Gosâla, of whom the last is by far the most famous, as he is one of the six well-known Teachers mentioned in Buddhist scriptures. There is a Sanskrit word *maskarin*, which ordinarily signifies an ascetic. But this word, I think, is formed from the name Makkhali, and originally denoted an Âjîvika monk. But, after the disappearance of the Âjîvikas, the origin and the signification of the word were forgotten, and it came to be used in the ordinary sense of an 'ascetic.' Buddhaghôsha tells us that an Âjîvika is *naggo-pabbajito*.[1] Âjîvikas are also described as *achela*,[2] *i.e.*, unclothed. And in confirmation of this, there are at least two stories from the Vinaya-piṭaka. According to the first,[3] which is in the Mahâvagga, while the Buddha and the Bhikshus were once staying in the Anâthapiṇḍikâśrama in Jetavana at Śrâvasti, it began to rain over the whole world. The Buddha informed the Bhikshus that that was the last mighty storm of rain over the whole world, and consequently asked them to let themselves be rained down upon. The Bhikshus accordingly divested themselves of their robes and exposed their bodies to rain. On that very day, Visâkhâ, mother of Migâra, was engaged in preparations for a feast to the Buddha and his Bhikshus. When the preparations were over, she sent her maid-

[1] J. R. A. S. 1898, p. 197.

[2] Jât. I. 390.

[3] VIII. 15, 2—6.

servant to the Buddha to intimate that dinner was ready. When the maid-servant approached the Anâthapiṇḍikâśrama, she saw the naked Bhikshus, but concluded from their being naked that they were Âjîvikas. The other story, which is from the Nissaggiya,[1] is, that, while a few Bhikshus left Sâketa for Srâvastî, they were waylaid by certain robbers, who deprived them of their robes. Being forbidden by the Buddha to ask for another garment, they went naked to Śrâvastî to meet the Bhikshus there. But the latter, instead of recognising them as mendicants of their order, mistook them for Âjîvikas as they were unclothed.

The Âjîvikas covered their bodies with dust, and their food consisted of fish and cow-dung.[2] They were noted for ascetic practices of the most rigorous kind. Some of the austerities they practised are mentioned in one Jâtaka to have been "painful squatting on heels, swinging in the air like bats, reclining on thorns and scorching themselves with five fires."[3] Again, as first pointed out by Dr. Bühler, they branded the hands of their novice with a heated ball.[4] Their doctrine has been admirably summed up by the Buddha in the words *n'atthi kammaṁ n'atthi kiriyaṁ n'atthi viriyanti*. They were thus complete fatalists.[5]

The Âjîvikas appear to have been intimately connected with the Nirgranthas, *i.e.*, Jainas. They are often associated together in the Buddhist literature (see *e.g.* the stanza quoted above from the Sutta Nipâta). The Jaina work Bhagavatî tells us that Gośâla Mankhaliputta was for some time a pupil of Mahâvîra.[6] Again, in the Divyâvadâna, the Nirgranthas have actually been once called Âjîvikas.[7] Further, the imposition of a tax on Âjîvakas is mentioned in some of the South-Indian Inscriptions[8] edited by Dr. Hultzsch, who considers them to be Jainas.

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[1] VI. 2.

[2] Jât. I. 390.

[3] *Ibid.* I. 493; other austerities to which they resorted have been set forth in the Majjhima-Nikâya, p. 238. For the translation of this passage, see Rhys Davids' Dialogues of the Buddha, p. 227 ff.

[4] Jât. III. 541.

[5] See also Rhys Davids' Dialogues of the Buddha, pp. 71 ff., and Hoernle's Uvâsagadasâo, Appendix II.

[6] 'The Life of the Buddha' translated by W. W. Rockhill, pp. 249 ff. Uvâsagadasâo by Hoernle, Appendix I.

[7] Divyâvadâna, edited by Cowell and Neil, p. 427.

[8] Vol. I., pp. 88, 89, 92 and 108.

In the Brahmanical works, the earliest reference to the Âjîvikas that has been traced, is in Varâhamihira's Bṛihajjâtaka, as we have seen above. Then in the Jânakîharaṇa of Kumâradâsa (A. D. 725), Râvaṇa is mentioned to have approached Sîtâ in the garb of an Âjîvika monk.[1] No other reference to the Âjîvikas has been found in Brahmanical literature, so far as my knowledge goes.

III.—DIGHWÂ-DUBAULÎ PLATE OF MAHÊNDRAPÂLA and BENGAL AS. SOC.'S PLATE OF VINÂYAKAPÂLA.

These copper-plate charters have been edited by various scholars from time to time, but the scholar who edited them last is Dr. Fleet, who has laid students of ancient Indian history under deep obligations, by giving them an excellent summary of the different theories held regarding the royal grantors of these charters and then setting forth his own view of the matter. His view, considered in the light of the researches then made, was, indeed, incontrovertible; but the publication of the Daulatpurâ grant of Bhôjadêva, and of the well-known Sîyaḍôṇî inscription, the contents of which were but imperfectly known when Dr. Fleet wrote upon the subject, has thrown such a flood of light upon the whole question that, in my humble opinion, a new theory requires to be framed. To this task I set myself in this paper, but this object can be best attained by giving, in short, the chief arguments on which Dr. Fleet's theory is based, and then my own reasons for dissenting from his view.

Dr. Fleet's arguments[2] may be briefly stated, as follow :—

1. The kings mentioned in the copper-plate inscriptions cannot be identical with the homonymous kings named in the Gwalior, Pôhêvâ and Sîyaḍôṇî stone-inscriptions, inasmuch as the former bear the subordinate title *mahârâja*, and the latter, the paramount titles *paramabhaṭṭâraka mahârâjâdhirâja parameśvara*.

2. The locality Mahôdaya, whence the charters were issued, cannot be identified with Kanauj, as it is spoken of therein as a *skandhâvâra*; and it is most unlikely that such a famous capital town as Kanauj should be selected for a camp. Their capital was either Śrâvastî or Vârâṇasî; and Mahôdaya, where their camp was established, must be located near the Ganges or its tributaries, since

[1] Cap. X. *v.* 76.

[2] Ind. Ant. Vol. XV, pp. 110-1.

Vinâyakapâla, who issued the second charter, is mentioned therein to have bathed in the Ganges before making the grant.

3. The dates of the plates are 155 and 188 respectively, and are to be referred to the Harsha era. Their English equivalents are, therefore, A.D. 761-62, and A.D. 794-95, respectively. They, therefore, flourished in the second half of the eighth century A.D., and cannot be the same as their namesakes, who were posterior by full one century.

Before we proceed to deal with these arguments one by one, the first question that we shall decide is: are these princes identical with the homonymous kings mentioned in the stone-inscriptions? The last four generations of princes in the second copper-plate charter are:—

Râmabhadra
|
Bhôja
|
Mahêndrapâla
|
Vinâyakapâla.[1]

The succession of the princes of Kanauj as determined from the Gwalior, Pêhêvâ and Siyadûṇî inscriptions is as follows:—

Râmabhadra
|
Bhôja
|
Mahêndrapâla
|
Mahîpâla or Kshitipâla.

It will be seen at a glance that there is a perfect agreement of names, so far as the first three princes are concerned. But there appears to be some difference with regard to the name of the fourth prince. This difference, however, is only apparent. Dr. Kielhorn has shown, on the evidence of a Khajurâho inscription,[2] that Mahîpâla also bore the name Hêrambapâla. Thus the difference of name with regard to the fourth prince in the two lists ceases to exist, when it is remembered that Mahîpâla of the second list was

[1] The copper-plate grant of Vinâyakapâla places his half-brother Bhôja II, between him and their father Mahêndrapâla, but I have omitted his name as we are concerned, not with succession, but with generations.

[2] Ep. Ind. I. 124 and 171.

also called Hêrambapâla, which is synonymous with Vinâyakapâla, both being names of Gaṇapati. We thus see that the names of the last four princes mentioned in the copper-plate inscriptions agree with those of the princes referred to in the stone-inscriptions. The agreement of names in the case of one or two princes can be explained away as a mere coincidence. But when the agreement extends to the names of no less than four princes, only one conclusion is possible, *viz.* that they are identical, unless cogent reasons can be adduced to the contrary. The only conceivable objection to this view is that the kings of the copper-plate inscriptions are called simply *mahârâjas*, whereas those of the stone-inscriptions are styled, *paramabhaṭṭâraka mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara*. This point I shall shortly consider.

We shall now turn to the second of Dr. Fleet's arguments summarised above. He says that Mahôdaya, whence the copper-plate grants were issued, cannot be Kanauj, because Mahôdaya is therein called a *skandhâvâra*, and such a great city as Kanauj could not have been used as a site for a camp. Dr. Fleet would, indeed, have been correct in saying that such a renowned city as Kanauj could not have been selected for a camp, if the word *skandhâvâra* had meant a camp only. But, as pointed out by Dr. Kielhorn, the word *skandhâvâra* is given by lexicographers as another word for *râjadhânî* also,[1] and the reason of it is evident. The place of the king's residence, be it temporary or permanent, cannot be without horses, elephants, foot-soldiers, and other implements of war—exactly the things met with in camps. Precisely for the same reason, Gwalior, the capital of Scindia's dominions, is known by the name of *lashkar*, *i.e.* a camp. And, that *skandhâvâra*, as used in our copper-plate charters, signifies a capital, may be easily seen. Since Dr. Fleet wrote his paper on these charters, a copper-plate grant of Bhôjadêva of the same dynasty has been found, which also was issued from the Mahôdaya *skandhâvâra*.[2] We thus have three copper-plate charters of this dynasty, all issued from Mahôdaya. Now, it is highly improbable that three distinct princes at three different times chose one and the same place called Mahôdaya, for their camp, if the word *skandhâvâra* is here to be understood in this

[1] Ep. Ind. V. 209; see also Hêmachandra's Abhidhânachintâmaṇi by Boehtlingk and Rieu, p. 181, v. 973.

[2] Ep. Ind. V. 211.

sense. Obviously, therefore, the word *skandhâvâra* must be taken to denote *râjadhânî*, *i.e.* the place of royal residence. This is not the first instance of the word being used in this sense. Other epigraphic instances can be adduced. Thus the Khâlimpur charter of Dharmapâladêva, of the Pâla dynasty, was issued from the *jaya-skandhâvâra*, fixed at Pâṭalîputra.[1] The Mungir grant of Dêvapâla and the Bhâgalpur charter of Nârâyaṇapâla, of the same dynasty, were made from the *jayaskandhâvâra*, established at Mudgiri.[2] As Pâṭalîputra (Paṭṇâ) and Mudgiri (Mungir) were names of renowned cities, they could not possibly have been used as *skandhâvâras* in the sense of camps. The word *skandhâvâra*, therefore, even in these copper-plate charters of the Pâla kings, must be understood in the sense of *râjadhânî*, and Pâṭalîputra and Mudgiri, supposed to have been the seats of the Pâla Government in the time of Dharmapâla, and of Dêvapâla and Nârâyaṇapâla, respectively. Nothing, therefore, precludes us from holding that, the word *skandhâvâra* occurring in our copper-plate inscriptions, must be taken to signify *râjadhânî*, and that Mahôdaya, which is therein spoken of as a *skandhâvâra*, must accordingly denote a great city, worthy of royal residence. Now, according to lexicographers, Mahôdaya is another name for Kânyakubja, *i.e.* Kanauj. This fits here excellently, for, as we have just seen, Mahôdaya of our plates was a large city, worthy of royal residence, and Kanauj was for long known as the capital of North India. Again, as noticed by Dr. Fleet himself, the second of the two grants was issued by Vinâyaka-pâla from Mahôdaya after bathing in the Ganges. Mahôdaya was thus on the banks of the Ganges. And Kanauj, with which we have identified the Mahôdaya of our plates, *is* on the Ganges. No doubt, therefore, can remain as to the Mahôdaya in question being the same as Kanauj. There was doubtless some plausibility in Dr. Fleet's objection to this identification, when only these two copper-plate charters were known, mentioning places about 250 and 150 miles *east* of Kanauj. But now in addition to these charters, a new grant of Bhôjadêva, mentioned above, has come to light, and it speaks of a locality called Sivâ, which is unquestionably the same as Sêwâ, in the Jôdhpur State, where it was found, which is no less than 300 miles *west* of Kanauj. If this is so, it is difficult to

[1] Ep. Ind. IV. 249.

[2] Ind. Ant. XV. 306; XXI, 256.

conceive, as first pointed out by Dr. Kielhorn,[1] a capital town other than Kanauj most favourably situated as the place from which the three charters could be issued.[2]

We shall now turn to the first of Dr. Fleet's arguments summarised above. He alleges that the kings of the copper-plate inscriptions cannot be the same as their namesakes, referred to in the stone-inscriptions, as the former are called simply *Mahârâjas*, and the latter, *paramabhaṭṭâraka mahârâjâdhirâja paramêśvaras*. Now, I think, it is wrong to suppose that *mahârâja* necessarily denotes a subordinate feudatory rank. The word literally means 'the great king,' and can appropriately be applied to even an independent ruler. And, that, as a matter of fact, this is actually the case with regard to the kings of the copper-plate inscriptions is clearly attested by the vast extent of territory over which they ruled. It has been just shown that Mahôdaya or Kanauj was their capital, that two of their copper-plate grants refer to localities about 250 and 150 miles to the east of Kanauj, and that the third, *i.e.* the newly-found grant of Bhôjadêva names a certain place, which is 300 miles to the west of Kanauj. Thus the dominions of these kings extended at least as far as 250 to the east, and 300 miles to the west of Kanauj, their capital. This was undoubtedly a vast range of territory, and was certainly of no less extent than that held by the Chêdi, Chandêlla and Paramâra rulers. Now, if the latter are regarded as independent sovereigns, there is no reason why the former should not be regarded as equally independent, although they do not assume high-sounding titles. Nay, about this period the high-sounding titles borne by kings are often found empty. We have the well-known instance of Vaidyadêva, who was first a minister of Kumârapâla, of the Pâla dynasty, but was afterwards made by him king of Kâmarûpa. Although Vaidyadêva was thus subordinate to Kumârapâla, he styles himself *mahârâjâdhirâja paramabhaṭṭâraka paramêśvara*.[3] Another instance is furnished by the Râjôr stone-inscription of Mathanadêva, who, although himself a feudatory of Vijayapâla, king of Kanauj, assumes

[1] Ep. Ind. V. 209.

[2] In justice to Dr. Fleet it requires to be mentioned that he does admit at Ep. Ind. VI. 198, that the Mahôdaya of these copper-plate inscriptions refers to Kanauj. But, as the objections urged by him against the identification of the Mahôdaya of these plates with Kanauj were in themselves weighty, I thought it necessary to consider them.

[3] Ep. Ind. II. 353.

the titles *mahârâjâdhirâja paramêśvara*.[1] Further may be cited an instance of the contrary kind, an instance of a prince, who, although an independent ruler, bears the simple title *paramêśvara* like that of *mahârâja*. Bhôjadêva of the Siyadôṇi stone-inscription has been commonly supposed to be the same as the Bhôjadêva of the Gwalior stone-inscription No. 2. But, while in the first inscription, he is styled *paramabhaṭṭâraka mahârâjâdhirâja paramêśvara*, he is styled, in the second, simply *svâmi paramêśvara*.[2] In short, the assumption of the simple or high-sounding titles is not a sure index of the true rank, especially about this period. And we have seen that, the territory, over which the kings of the copper-plate inscriptions ruled, was as vast as, if perhaps not vaster than, that owned by the Chêdi, Chandêlla or Paramâra kings. It is, therefore, incontrovertible that the former were independent rulers; and thus the objection to their identity with the homonymous kings of the stone-inscriptions has little weight.

We now come to the last point, *viz.* the dates of the plates. According to Dr. Fleet, the dates are 155 and 188, and are years of the Harsha era. In editing the newly-found grant of Bhôjadêva, Dr. Kielhorn too following Dr. Fleet interprets the symbol ʒ as equivalent to 100, and refers it to the Harsha era. Conceding for the moment that these dates have been correctly read, let us see whether they can be said to belong to the Harsha era. The dates 100 and 155 of Bhôjadêva and Mahêndrapâla of the copper-plate inscriptions, as read by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Kielhorn, if referred to the Harsha era, as held by them, are equivalent to A.D. 706 and 761. So that from A.D. 706 to 761 we have both Bhôjadêva and Mahêndrapâla, reigning consecutively at Mahôdaya or Kanauj. Now, the Râjataraṅgiṇî tells us that Lalitâditya of Kâshmir defeated Yaśôvarman, who reigned at Kanauj, and was the patron of Bhavabhûti and Vâkpati. The Kâshmir chronicle assigns Lalitâditya to the period 726—760 A.D.[3] It is, therefore, plain that Yaśôvarman whom he defeated must have been reigning between A.D. 726—760, *i.e.* about that period when, and at that very Mahôdaya or Kanauj where, Bhôjadêva and Mahêndrapâla were reigning, as will be seen from the above. Evidently, therefore, the theory that the dates of these princes are years of the Harsha era must be given up. Nor can we

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[1] *Ibid.* III, 266.

[2] *Ibid.* I., 159.

[3] Kalhaṇa's Râjataraṅgiṇî translated by M. A. Stein, Vol. I, p. 132.

accept the reading of these dates, as proposed by the same scholars. Dr. Fleet, indeed, says "that the dates of these two inscriptions are perfectly certain."[1] But I am sorry that I have not been able to trace the grounds, on which this certainty is based. Beyond telling us in a footnote that "the remaining symbols for 5, 10 and 100 in their present forms are still to be entered there"[2] (*i.e.* in Bhagwanlal Indraji's table), he does not attempt to adduce any authority in support of his reading. This being the case, one is perfectly justified in regarding the readings as not certain, but only tentative. And, if I may be allowed to put forth a conjecture, I propose that the symbol ʒ or ʒ which, according to Dr. Fleet and Dr. Kielhorn, is equivalent to 100, should be understood to stand for 900 especially as it closely resembles ʒ the sign for 9 occurring in the Bengal As. Soc.'s plate of Vinâyakapâla, and that the dates so read should be referred to the Vikrama era, like those of the Gwalior, Asoî, Dêôgaḍh and Siyadôṇi inscriptions. If this conjecture is followed, the dates of the three copper-plate inscriptions are to be read 900, 955 and 988 V.E., which correspond to A. D. 844, 899 and 932 respectively. For the sake of clearness, we shall place the dates of both the copper-plate and the stone inscriptions side by side, thus:—

	Copper-plate inscriptions.	*Stone-inscriptions.*
Bhôjadêva	844 A. D.	862, 876 and 882 A. D.
Mahêndrapâla ...	899 A. D.	903 and 907 A.D.
Mahîpâla ... ... or Vinâyakapâla ...	932 A. D.	917 A. D.

There is no disagreement whatever, so far as the dates of Mahêndrapâla are concerned. With regard to Bhôjadêva, if we accept the date of the copper-plate inscription, as we have conjectured it, we shall have to suppose that he reigned for at least 38 years; and, I think, there is nothing impossible in this supposition. With respect to Mahîpâla or Vinâyakapâla, the date which his grant gives him, is, indeed, posterior to that furnished by the stone-inscription,

[1] Ind. Ant. XV, 111.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 106, footnote 3.

by at least fifteen years. But this need not trouble us, as it is in no way inconsistent with the earliest date 948 A. D., we have for his successor Dêvapâla. On the whole, I think, the conjecture may be provisionally accepted, until further researches throw light on this point and settle it finally.

കേരളസാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

Art. XIII.—*Gûrjaras.** By Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, M.A.

[Read 13th November 1902.]

Gujarât, the well-known portion of the Bombay Presidency, has been commonly held to be Gûrjararâshṭra or the country of the Gûrjaras. But, howsoever the word may be explained, it remains incontrovertible that the country received its name from the Gûrjaras, who settled in, and wielded sway over, that province. In ancient days, however, Gujarât was not known by this name, but was called Lâṭa. Many antiquarians have indeed expressed the view that this Lâṭa corresponded to South Gujarât from the Mahî to the Tâpî, but that it did not comprehend North Gujarât.[1] There can, however, be little doubt that Lâṭa included North Gujarât also. The Cambay copper-plate charter of the Râshṭrakûṭa prince, Gôvinda IV., speaks of Kheṭaka *maṇḍala* as forming a part of Lâṭa *dêśa*[2]. As Khêṭaka is undoubtedly identical with the modern Kaira, the boundaries of Lâṭa may be supposed to be stretching as far as a little to the north of Kaira. One of the Gwalior inscriptions published by Dr. Hultzsch mentions Alla, keeper of the marches in the service of Râmadêva, king of Kanauj (C. 835 A. D.) as having emigrated from Ânandapura in Lâṭa *maṇḍala*[3]. Ânandapura is doubtless the modern Vaḍnagar and we may consequently suppose that a portion of territory as far

* Mr. A. M. T. Jackson has written a very able and valuable paper on the Gûrjaras, which forms the history portion of "Bhinmal" in Appendix III. of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Pt. I. It was the perusal of this interesting paper that first set my thoughts going, and what I have said here is a sort of supplement to what he has already done.

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 115; *History of Gujarât*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 7.; *Dynastics of the Konarese District*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., Pt. II., pp. 309-10.

[2] *Ep. Ind.* VII. 40.

[3] *Ibid.* I. 156; Ânandapura is mentioned in the Allnâ grant of Śîlâditya VII., which has been identified by Dr. Fleet with Ânand, the chief town of the Ânand tâluka, about twenty-one miles south-east of Kaira (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 173). The name also occurs in the Sarsavnî plates of the Kaṭachchuri prince, Buddharâja, in his paper on which Dr. Kielhorn inclines to Dr. Fleet's view with regard to this identification (*Ep. Ind.* VI. 279). But, in my humble opinion, this identification is far from satisfactory.

north to the Mahî as Vaḍnagar was comprised in the country of Lâṭa. The question that now arises is: where then was the kingdom of the Gûrjaras, so often alluded to in inscriptions, before the middle of the tenth century, as, till that time, Gujarât was known as Lâṭa, and hence was not ruled over by Gûrjara princes?

In no less than three inscriptions Gurjaratrâ is mentioned as the name of a province. The Ghaṭayâl inscription of a Pratîhâra prince, named Kakkuka, speaks of Marumâḍa (Mârwâr), Valla, Tamaṇi (Stravaṇî), Pariaṅkâ-ajja and Gujjaratâ (Gurjaratrâ), as the provinces held by that prince.[1] The Daulatpurâ plate of Bhôjadêva mentions Gurjaratrâ *bhûmi* as comprising Ḍêṇḍvânaka *vishaya*, a village of which called Sivâgrâma was granted by that king[2]. Sivâgrâma is identical with the village Sîwâ, where the plate was originally found, and Ḍêṇḍvânaka still survives in the name of the city of Dîdwâṇa, in the north-easternmost part of the Jôdhapur State. Dr. Kielhorn, who edited this grant, has given, in a footnote of his paper thereon, the full text of an inscription found at Kâlañjara, wherein also Gurjaratrâ *maṇḍala* is mentioned together with the town of Maṅgalânaka falling within it.[3] Maṅgalânaka the learned doctor has identified with Maglonâ, 28 miles N. N. E. of Dîdwâṇa. Gurjaratrâ was thus a province (*maṇḍala*) in Râjputânâ not unlike Marumâḍa, Stravaṇî

It is not established by means of the identification of any surrounding villages; nor by the mention of this name in any one of the inscriptions in or about Ânand. It is only the correspondence of sound that is in favour of this view. On the other hand, the identification of Ânandapura with Vaḍnagar is based, in my humble opinion, on irrefragable evidence. The Vaḍnagar *praśasti* of the reign of Kumârapâla distinctly makes mention of the town by the name of Ânandapura and speaks of it as containing a settlement of Brâhmaṇas called Nagara (*Ep. Ind.* I. pp. 295, 299 and 303). This is quite in keeping with the tradition current among Nâgar Brâhmaṇas that their original seat was Vaḍnagar (*Gujarât Population* in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. IX., Pt. I., p. 13). Again, the Alinâ charters of A.D. 649 and 656 were issued to the same grantee who is described in the first as originally of Ânarttapura and in the second as originally of Ânandapura (*Ind. Ant.* VII. 75 and 79). This means that Ânandapura was also known by the name of Ânarttapura. And, as a matter of fact, according to popular stories, Vaḍnagar was called Ânarttapura in the Trêtâ-yuga (*History of Gujarât*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 6).

[1] *J. R. A. S.* 1895, p. 517. [2] *Ep. Ind.* V. 211.

[3] *Loc. Cit.* 210, and footnote 3.

and so forth, and further, as the Daulatpurâ plate and the Kâlañjara inscription inform us, this province of Gurjaratrâ extended round about Didwân, Siwâ and Maglonâ. The name Gurjaratrâ is highly significant. It indicates that it was in this province that the Gûrjaras gained a firm footing and established themselves, and that consequently it came to be called after them just as Śakasthâna, Ahirwâr and so forth were called after Śakas and Abhîras. Thus we see that, before the middle of the tenth century, the Gûrjaras were settled in a part of Râjputânâ called Gurjaratrâ after them. It must not, however, be supposed that the Gûrjara power was confined to this province only. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan-Chuang (Hiouen-Thsang) (C. 640 A. D.) places the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo 1,800 li or 300 miles to the north of the country of Valabhi. The proper representative of Kiu-che-lo has been accepted to be Gûrjara, and, as Yuan-Chuang mentions the countries of Surâshṭra, Ânandapura, Ujjayanî, Sindhu and Mûlasthânapura surrounding Kiu-che-lo, Kiu-che-lo must be regarded as corresponding to Central and Northern Râjputânâ. Besides, as according to the Chinese traveller, the country of Kiu-che-lo was 5,000 li or 834 miles in circuit, it could not have been merely the small province of Gurjaratrâ. The same conclusion is pointed to by the mention, in the Harshacharita, of the conquests of Prabhâkaravardhana. The king is therein described as "a lion to the deer which were the Hûṇas, mental affliction to the king of Sindhu, (the cause) of sleeplessness to the Gûrjara prince, the *pâkala* fever to the scent elephants of the ruler of Gandhâra, the pilferer of the wits of the Lâṭa king and an axe to the creeper, *viz.* the goddess of wealth of the Mâlava prince."[2] Now, the Hûṇas were settled in the Himâlayas to the north of Prabhâkaravardhana's kingdom of Srîkaṇṭha. The countries of Mâlava, Sindhu and Lâṭa correspond respectively to the present Mâlwâ, Sindh and Gujarât. The only territory which remains surrounded by Śrîkaṇṭha, Gandhâra, Sindhu, Lâṭa and Mâlava is Râjputânâ, which must, therefore, be supposed to answer to the country of the Gûrjaras. The larger portion of Râjputânâ thus appears to have been under the Gûrjara sway. Next, the Pañchatantra, in its fourth *tantra* contains the story of a *rathakâra*, who is mentioned as having gone to a Gûrjara village in the Gûrjara

[1] Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II, pp. 269-70.

[2] Gauḍavaho by S. P. Pandit, Introduction, p. cxxvii, footnote*; Kâdambarî, by Peterson, 1883, Introduction, p. 56.

country in search for camels.[1] As Râjputânâ is still known to be the habitat of camels, our conclusion that the Gûrjaradêśa coincides in the main with Râjputânâ is thus supported by the Pañchatantra. Again, a stone-inscription has been published by Dr. Kielhorn of a king named Mathanadêva (A. D. 960), who is described as belonging to the Gurjara-Pratîhâra dynasty.[2] His capital was Râjyapura, the modern Râjôr in the Alwâr State, where the stone-inscription was found. Mathanadêva is therein represented to have granted on the occasion of the installation of the god Lachchhukêśvara the village of Vyâghrapîṭaka, together with all neighbouring fields, cultivated, we are distinctly told, by the Gûrjaras. It is thus plain that Mathanadêva, himself a Gûrjara and belonging to the Pratîhâra family, held sway over a territory corresponding to the present Alwâr State and that this territory was occupied by Gûrjaras, as they appear to have been the agricultural class there. Further, it has been mentioned above that the Ghaṭayâl inscription of the Pratîhâra prince Kakkuka speaks of Marumâḍa (Mârwâr), Valla, Tamaṇi (Stravaṇî), Pariaṅkâ-sajja and Gujjarattâ (Gurjaratrâ) as held by that prince. As these Pratîhâra princes were Gûrjaras,[3] we find that, a large portion of Râjputânâ, and not the small province of Gurjaratrâ only, owned the Gûrjara sway. Nay, we have also evidence, as will be shown further on, that the Gûrjara supremacy at one period was not restricted to Râjputânâ only, but had spread far beyond its limits. But this much is certain that Râjputânâ was essentially the country of the Gûrjaras.

The Râshṭrakûṭas are represented in their records as constantly fighting with the Gûrjaras. Thus the Râdhanpur grant states that the Gûrjara, fearing Gôvinda III., fled, nobody knew whither, so that he might not witness a battle even in a dream.[4] An unpublished copper-plate charter of Amôghavarsha I.[5] speaks of this Râshṭrakûṭa prince as having defeated the roaring Gûrjara king. The Nausârî grant of Indra III. compares Kṛishṇa II.'s battles with the Gûrjara ruler to a storm of the rainy season.[6] The Dêôli and Karhâḍ grants

[1] Pañchatantra by Kosegarten, p. 229; *Ibid.* (Bo. Sk. Series) IV. and V. p. 33. In the latter, however, only Gurjara-grâma is mentioned.

[2] *Ep. Ind.* III. 266.

[3] See further in the sequel.

[4] *Ep. Ind.* VI. 244.

[5] This copper-plate grant is in the possession of my brother, Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, who is soon going to edit it.

[6] Above Vol. XVIII. p. 258.

of Kṛishṇa III. assert that, on hearing of the conquests of this Râshṭrakûṭa sovereign, the hope of conquering Kâlañjara and Chitrakûṭa dropped away from the heart of the Gûrjara prince.[1] To whom then do these Râshṭrakûṭa references to the Gûrjara princes before the middle of the tenth century apply? It is supposed by some antiquarians that they apply to the Châvaḍâ kings of Anahilavâḍa.[2] But the grant of the Châlukya prince Pulakêśi Janâśraya, dated 738-9 A.D., mentions Châvôṭakas and Gûrjaras among the peoples whose countries were invaded by the Tâjika army.[3] The kingdoms of the Châvôṭakas or Châvaḍâs and the Gûrjaras are thus distinguished from one another. Secondly, the Râshṭrakûṭa grants describe the battles between the Râshṭrakûṭas and the Gûrjaras in such a way as to show that they both were well-matched foes. The Gûrjaras, who could in this manner measure their strength against the Râshṭrakûṭas must be supposed to have been a powerful dynasty holding sway over a vast range of territory. But the Châvaḍâs of Anahilavâḍa do not appear to have been of great importance. No inscriptions of that dynasty have yet come to light, and the kingdom which they held was not extensive. We have seen above that, in the times of the Râshṭrakûṭas, the boundaries of Lâṭa had stretched as far north as Vaḍnagar, which is directly east of Anahilavâḍa, the capital of the Châvaḍâs. The territory ruled over by the Châvaḍâs could not, therefore, have been extensive, and consequently they must have occupied quite a subordinate position. For these reasons Châvaḍâs cannot be considered to be the Gûrjaras, who so braved the Râshṭrakûṭas.

A theory has been put forth that the Râshṭrakûṭa references to Gûrjaras apply to the dynasty reigning at Bhillamâl or Bhinmâl.[4] This view rests on the ground that Yuan-Chuang speaks of the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo or Gûrjaras as having for its capital Pi-lo-mo-lo, which, it is contended, is identical with Bhillamâla. Pi-lo-mo-lo was for long identified with Bâlmêr in the Jêsalmêr State by the French scholars, followed by Mr. Beal. Colonel Watson was the first to identify it with Bhillamâl, and Dr. Bühler was the first to lend

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[1] *Ep. Ind.* V. 194 and IV. 284.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* XII. 181.

[3] *Trans. Inter. Ori. Cong.* 1886, p. 231.

[4] *History of Gujarât*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., Pt I., p. 466 ff.

countenance to this identification.[1] But the identification of Pi-lo-mo-lo with Bhillamâla is far from satisfactory. For Yuan-Chuang says that the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo or Gûrjara lay 1,800 li or 300 miles to the north of the country of Valabhi. This means that the kingdoms themselves, and not their capitals, were separated by this distance, and that consequently the distance between their capitals was much more than 300 miles. But, as a matter of fact, the distance even between their capitals, *i.e.* between Valabhi and Bhillamâl (supposing Bhillamâl to be identical with Pi-lo-mo-lo) scarcely comes to 215 miles, which is much less than even the distance of 300 miles which separates the two kingdoms. Secondly, it is highly doubtful whether the city of Bhillamâl or Bhinmâl was actually known by this name in Yuan-Chuang's time. For, in all the inscriptions that have come to light in and near the town, it is called Śrîmâla, and not Bhillamâl or Bhinmâl.[2] Again, the Jainas have preserved traditions which show that Śrîmâla was the earlier, and Bhillamâla the later, name of the town. Mêrutuṅga *e.g.* tells us that Śrîmâla was first called Bhillamâla by Bhôja of Dhârâ, because the people of that town allowed the poet Mâgha to die of starvation.[3] Dr. Bühler says that the astronomer Brahmagupta, who flourished in A. D. 628, "calls himself Bhillamâlakakâchârya."[4] If Dr. Bühler's statement is true, then it indeed follows that the name Bhillamâlaka was known as early as Yuan-Chuang's time. But on examining the authorities which he has adduced in support of his statement, one finds that Brahmagupta does not call himself Bhillamâlakakâcharya, but is so called by others.[5] Next, it is by no means certain that Bhillamâl was the native place of Brahmagupta. For, although there are traditions which make Brahmagupta a

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* VI. 63 and XVII. 192.

[2] Bombay *Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 472 ff.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* VI. 63, footnote ‖ ; XVII. 192, footnote 31.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* XVII. 192.

[5] Thus *e.g.*, on p. 297 of *Die Sanskrit und Prakrit Handschriften der Berliner Bibliothek*, Vol. II., by Weber, the ending portion *iti śrî Bhillamâchârya Bhaṭa Jishṇusuta Brahmaguptaviracite*," &c., is immediately preceded by "*namastasmai Śrî Brahmaguptâya.*" This obeisance must be supposed to be offered to Brahmagupta, not by himself, but by somebody else, who must consequently be presumed to be speaking of the former as Bhillamâlâchârya.

native of Bhillamâl, there are other traditions, according to which Rivânagara was his native place.[1]

To whom then, let us ask again, do the references to Gûrjara princes in the Râshṭrakûṭa records apply? There is every probability, nay, in my humble opinion, certainty that they apply to the dynasty of Mahôdaya, to which Bhôja, Mahêndrapâla and Mahîpâla belonged. A copper-plate charter found at Haḍḍâlâ speaks of the Châpa prince Dharaṇîvarâha who issued the grant as "ruling by the grace of the feet of *Râjâdhirâja Paramêśvara* Śrî Mahîpâladêva."[2] The inscription is dated 914 A. D. Dr. Bühler, who edited the grant, held that this paramount sovereign Mahîpâla was a Chûḍâsamâ prince,[3] and Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji endorsed this view.[4] But Mr. A. M. T. Jackson was the first to see that this Mahîpâla was identical with the Gûrjara king Mahîpâla mentioned by the Kanarese poet Pampa as being vanquished by the Châlukya ruler Narasiṁha, father of his patron Arikêsarin II.[5] In the first place, there is here an agreement of names (*viz.* that of Mahîpâla) in the case of the supreme ruler mentioned in the Haḍḍâlâ grant and of the Gûrjara prince said by Pampa to have been defeated by Narasiṁha. Secondly, the dates of Narasiṁha and Mahîpâla of the aforesaid grant agree. For, as Arikêsarin II. was a contemporary of the Râshṭrakûṭa sovereign, Gôvinda IV,[6] Narasiṁha, father of Arikêsarin II. may easily be supposed to be a contemporary of Indra III., father of this Gôvinda IV. For Indra III, we have the dates 915, 916-17 A. D. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to hold that Narasiṁha lived about 915 A. D., and the date of the Haḍḍâlâ grant, in which Mahîpâla is mentioned, is 914 A. D. There is thus an agreement not only with regard to names, as just shown, but also with regard to the dates of the princes Narasiṁha and Mahîpâla of Dharaṇîvarâha's grant. Nothing, therefore, precludes us from holding with Mr. A. M. T. Jackson that the Mahîpâla of the Haḍḍâlâ inscription is identical with the Gûrjara prince Mahîpâla vanquished

[1] *Ind. Ant.* XVII. 192 and footnote 32; Gaṇakataraṅgiṇî, The Paṇḍit, N.S., XIV., 18.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* XII. 193.

[3] *Loc. Cit.* 192.

[4] *History of Gujarât*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 138.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 466.

[6] *Ep. Ind.* VII. 33-34.

by Narasiṁha. Now, this Mahîpâla, as we have seen, was a paramount sovereign, and for him the date 914 A. D. is furnished by the Haḍḍâlâ charter. But the only paramount sovereign of the name of Mahîpâla reigning about this time was the Mahîpâla of the dynasty of Mahôdaya for whom we have the date 917 A. D. of the Asnî inscription.[1] Here also there is not only an agreement of names but also an agreement of dates. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the Mahîpâla of the Haḍḍâlâ grant, the Gûrjara King Mahîpâla defeated by Narasiṁha, and the Mahîpâla of the Mahôdaya dynasty are one and the same prince. Let us now proceed a step further. Narasiṁha who vanquished Mahîpâla was a feudatory chieftain holding the Jôla country, which coincides in the main with the Dhârwâr district. Whereas the Mahîpâla of Mahôdaya, whom he defeated was a paramount sovereign wielding sway over a vast range of territory in the north. Besides, Pampa tells us that this Mahîpâla, being conquered, was pursued by Narasiṁha, as far as the confluence of the Ganges where the latter bathed his horse.[2] Now, what can be more unnatural than that Narasiṁha, who was simply a feudatory and ruled over a small province in the south, should set out for an expedition of conquest as far north as Mahôdaya (Kanauj), defeat Mahîpâla, the paramount sovereign of the north, and pursue him as far as the junction of the Ganges? The whole matter is, however, rendered intelligible by the Cambay grant of Gôvinda IV., in my paper on which I have shown that, Indra III., father of this Rashṭrakûṭa prince, overran the north, attacked Mahôdaya, and ousted its ruler Mahîpâla.[3] Narasiṁha, being a feudatory of Indra III., must have accompanied this Râshṭrakûṭa sovereign in his expedition of conquest in the north. Next, it must be really Indra III., who pursued Mahîpâla as far as the confluence of the Ganges before the latter fled for refuge to Dharmapâla of the Pâla dynasty. But Pampa transferred to Narasiṁha the whole credit of defeating Mahîpâla and pursuing him as far as the junction of the Ganges, as, being the protégé of Narasiṁha's son Arikêsarin II., he might naturally be expected to magnify his deeds. We thus see that the king Mahîpâla defeated by Indra III. was a Gûrjara prince and that

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* XVI. 173 ff.

[2] Karṇâṭaka Śabdânuśâsana by Rice, Intro. 26-7.

[3] *Ep. Ind.* VII. 30-32.

consequently the Râshṭrakûṭa references to Gûrjaras must be considered to apply to the members of the Mahôdaya dynasty, to which Mahîpâla belonged. The validity of this conclusion can be tested by the identification of another prince of this dynasty. The Vaṇî and Râdhanpur plates[1] of the Râshṭrakûṭa sovereign, Gôvinda III., assert that Gôvinda's father Dhruva drove Vatsarâja into the trackless Maru country, and wrested from him the two royal parasols of the Gauḍa king, which he had easily appropriated. The Barôda charter of the Gûjarât Râshṭrakûṭa king Karka states that Gôvinda III. caused Karka's "arm to become the door-bar of the country of the lord of the Gûrjaras who had become evilly inflamed by conquering the lord of Gauḍa and the lord of Vaṅga."[2] Comparing, as was first done by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson,[3] the statement of the Vaṇî or Râdhanpur, with that of the Barôda grant, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Vatsarâja defeated by Dhruva was a Gûrjara prince. In the colophon of Jinasêna's Harivaṁśa bearing the date 783-4 A. D.,[4] Vatsarâja is mentioned as ruling in the west, and Śrîvallabha, son of Kṛishṇa, as ruling in the south. Whether we take Śrîvallabha to be an epithet of Gôvinda II. with Dr. Bhandarkar and Prof. Pathak,[5] or of his brother Dhruva with Dr. Fleet,[6] it can hardly be questioned that the Vatsarâja of the Jain Harivaṁśa is the same as the Gûrjara prince Vatsarâja defeated by Dhruva. We thus obtain a specific date, *viz.* 783-4 A. D., for the Gûrjara king Vatsarâja. In a paper recently contributed by me to this journal, I have given what appear to me to be cogent reasons to show that the kings Râmabhadra, Bhôja, Mahêndrapâla and Mahîpâla *alias* Hêrambapâla of the Siyaḍôṇî, Pêhêva, Asnî, and Gwalior stone-inscriptions are identical with the homonymous kings of the Daulatpurâ, Dighwâ-

[1] *Ind. Ant.* XI. 158; *Ep. Ind.* VI. 243.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* XII. 160 and 164.

[3] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 466.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* XV. 141; *Early History of the Dekhan*, 65; *Ep. Ind.* VI, 195-6; the second half of the stanza beginning with *Śâkêshv-abda-śatêshu*, &c., does not appear to me to have been properly translated. The word *nṛipa*, in my opinion, shows that *Avanti-bhûbhṛiti* is to be connected with *pûrvam*, and *Vatsâdirâjô* with *aparâm*. The translation would then be as follows: "in the east, the illustrious king of Avanti; in the west, king Vatsarâja; (and) in the territory of the Saurys, the victorious and brave Varâh" (or "the brave Jayavrâha"—Peterson, Fourth Report on Sk. MSS. Index of Authors, p. 43, and note).

[5] *Early History of Dekhan*, 55; Above, Vol. XX, p. 26.

[6] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI., 195-8.

Dubaulî and Bengal Asiatic Society's copper-plate inscriptions. The genealogy, therefore, given of Bhôja in the Daulatpurâ plate, *e.g.*, must be supposed to be exactly the same as that of Bhôja of the Gwalior and Siyadôṇî stone-inscriptions, as they are both one and the same person. In the paper just alluded to, I have also put forth the view that the correct readings of the dates of the plates are 900, 955 and 988, and not 100, 155 and 188 as read by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Kielhorn, and that these dates are to be referred to the Vikrama era. We thus from the Daulatpurâ plate obtain for Bhôja the date 900 V.E., *i.e.* 844 A. D., which is the earliest of the dates we have for him. Now, in the genealogy of this Bhôja, the name of Vatsarâja is mentioned, and as three generations removed from him.[1] Taking the earliest date, 844 A.D. of Bhôja, and allotting twenty-five years to each one of the three generations, we get the period 769-794 A.D., to which Vatsarâja is to be assigned. And we have seen that Vatsarâja lived about 783 A.D., the date of the Jain Harivaṁśa in which he is referred to. We thus not only find the name of Vatsarâja occurring in the genealogy of Bhôja who belonged to the Mahôdaya dynasty, but also find that the period calculated for Vatsarâja, allowing an average duration of twenty-five years for each reign, completely agrees with the date we get for him from an independent source. There can, therefore, be little doubt that the dynasty of Mahôdaya, to which Vatsarâja and Mahîpâla belonged, was a Gûrjara dynasty, and that the allusions to the Gûrjara princes in the Râshṭrakûṭa records apply to the members of this dynasty.[2] As the capital of this dynasty was Mahôdaya (Kanauj), the Gûrjara seat of power lay at Kanauj. And extraneous evidence is forthcoming in support of this

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[1] *Ep. Ind.* V. 211.

[2] The king Vatsarâja defeated by Dhruva becomes the same as the prince Vatsarâja mentioned in the Daulatpurâ plate in the genealogy of Bhôja, only if my theory that Râmabhadra, Bhôja, Mahêndrapâla and Vinâyakapâla of the copper-plate inscriptions are identical with Râmabhadra, Bhôja, Mahêndrapâla and Mahîpâla or Hêrambapâla of the stone-inscriptions is accepted. In support of the correctness of this theory, it may be said, in addition to the arguments adduced in the paper alluded to above, that, in an unpublished grant of Amôghavarsha I. in the possession of my brother Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, Gôvinda III. is represented to have vanquished a prince named Nâgabhaṭa. This Nâgabhaṭa is evidently the son of Vatsarâja mentioned in the genealogy of Bhôja and defeated by Dhruva, father of Gôvinda III.

conclusion. About A. D. 916 Abu Zaid, Sulaimân's editor, speaks of Kanauj as a large country forming the empire of Juzr, *i.e.* Gûrjara.[1] This means that the Gûrjara princes ruled over a vast range of territory, the capital of which was Kanauj. And the princes, who were reigning at Kanauj about the beginning of the tenth century, were members of the Mahôdaya dynasty, who were thus, according to Abu Zaid, Gûrjaras,—a conclusion which perfectly agrees with what we have already established from an independent source. Next, the Arab traveller, Al Masûdi[2] (c. 943 A. D.) says that the country of the Balhâras (Râshṭrakûṭas) extended from the Kankar (Konkan) in the south or south-west north to the frontiers of the king of Juzr (Gûrjara), "a monarch rich in men, horses and camels."[3] At another place, Al Masûdi says that the country of the king of Kanauj extended "about a hundred and twenty square *parasangs* of Sindh, each *parasang* being equal to eight miles of this country."[4] He further tells us that this king had four armies according to the four quarters of the world, and that the army of the south fought against the Balhâra king of Mânkîr (Mâlkhêt). This means that the kingdom of the Râshṭrakûṭas lay immediately to the south of the kingdom of Kanauj. But Al Masûdi also says, as we have just seen, that the Konkan held by the Râshṭrakûṭas lay immediately to the south of the kingdom of Juzr, *i.e.* Gûrjara. The conclusion is, therefore, obvious that, by the kingdom of Juzr and the kingdom of Kanauj, Al Masûdi understands one and the same thing and that consequently the capital of the Juzr, *i.e.* Gûrjara king was Kanauj. This is a further confirmation of our theory. Next, we find that the kingdoms of the Râshṭrakûṭa and Gûrjara kings were conterminous with one another and that they often waged war with one another. The country of Lâṭa since the time of Gôvinda III. was held by the Râshṭrakûṭas, and the boundaries of

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[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pt. I., pp. 526-7.

[2] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pt. I., p. 519.

[3] Compare with this the expression: *Śrî-Mahôdaya-samudaiṣî-duṭṭha-gô-hasty-aśva-ratha-patti-sampanna-skandhâvârât*, with which the Daulatpurâ, Dighwâ-Dubauli and Bengal As. Soc.'s grants begin. The Gûrjara kings were rich in camels as they were in possession of Râjputânâ, which, even to this day, is the habitat of those ruminant quadrupeds. Further, a horse-fair is mentioned in a Pêshwâ inscription referring itself to the reign of Bhôja. (*Ep. Ind.* I. 187).

[4] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pt. I., p. 518.

Lâta in their times had extended, as shown above, as far as Vaḍnagar in the north. We have also shown that Râjputânâ was essentially the country of the Gûrjaras, and in the time of Mahîpâla at any rate, Kâṭhiâwâḍ also owned the Gûrjara sway, inasmuch as the Haḍḍâlâ grant of the Châpa prince Dharaṇîvarâha, who ruled at Vardhamâna (Vaḍhwâṇ) speaks of Mahîpâla as his overlord. There thus remains little doubt that the boundaries of the Râshṭrakûṭa and Gûrjara kingdoms were extremely close to one another; and as they were close neighbours, it is no wonder that they were constantly engaged in acts of mutual hostility, as Al Masûdi informs us. We have already seen that Gôvinda III., Amôghavarsha I., Kṛishṇa II. and Kṛishṇa III. are represented in the Râshṭrakûṭa records to have inflicted defeats upon the Gûrjara kings. And now we have seen that Vatsarâja and Mahîpâla, whom Dhruva and Indra III. respectively vanquished, were also Gûrjara sovereigns. In short, all evidence points to the conclusion that the Râshṭrakûṭa references to Gûrjaras apply to the dynasty to which Vatsarâja and Mahîpâla belonged. There can be no doubt whatever that, since the time of Bhôja, the capital of the dynasty was Mahôdaya or Kanauj. But whether it was so in the time of Vatsarâja is not certain. But, in the Vaṇî and Râdhanpur plates, Vatsarâja is spoken of as "intoxicated in consequence of the fortune of royalty of the Gauḍa king which he had easily appropriated."[1] If it is supposed that Vatsarâja's power was restricted to Râjputânâ only, then it is somewhat difficult to understand how he could have subjugated such a distant territory as the Gauḍa country. But, if it is held that he wielded supremacy over the country, ruled over by Bhôja, Mahêndrapâla and others, *i.e.* as far east as Śrâvastî and Vârâṇasî,[2] then it becomes intelligible that he should attack and reduce the Gauḍa territory. Again, on the assumption that the capital of this Gûrjara dynasty before the time of Bhôja (A. D. 844-82) was Kanauj, the gap of no less than one hundred years between this king and Yaśôvarman, patron of Bhavabhûti and Vâkpati, who, we know, was reigning at Kanauj as late as

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* XI. 157; *Ep. Ind.* VI. 243; that Gauḍa here denotes a part of Bengal is shown by the fact that it is associated with Vaṅga in the Barôda grant, which is spoken of as having been conquered by the Gûrjara, who, as mentioned above, was doubtless Vatsarâja.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* XV. 112 and 141.

A. D. 744,[1] completely disappears, because Dêvaśakti (c. 750 A. D.), the first ruler of this dynasty and father of Vatsarâja (A. D. 769-794) comes quite close to the date 744 A. D. when Yaśôvarman was living. Strong probabilities, therefore, lead us to conclude that the seat of power of this Gûrjara dynasty was at Kanauj from the very beginning.

But even before this Gûrjara dynasty of Mahôdaya came to power there were Gûrjara princes and Gûrjara kingdoms. We have already seen that the Chinese traveller Yuan-Chuang (c. 640 A. D.) speaks of the central and northern portions of Râjputânâ as the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo or Gûrjaras with its capital at Pi-lo-mo-lo. The Aihole inscription of A. D. 634 mentions the Chalukya prince Pulakêśin II. as having defeated the Gûrjaras. Next, the Harshacharita, as shown above, represents Prabhâkaravardhana (c. 585 A. D.) as being (the cause of) "sleeplessness to the Gûrjara king." That these Gûrjaras are to be located in, and held sway over, the greater portion of Râjputânâ has been shown above. It is also equally incontrovertible that their capital was, as mentioned by Yuan-Chuang, Pi-lo-mo-lo; but, in my opinion, as said above, no satisfactory identification of this Pi-lo-mo-lo has as yet been established. This is the only knowledge we possess about this Gûrjara dynasty. No epigraphic records have as yet come to light which give us information regarding what the name of this dynasty was and who were the members thereof.

When then did the modern province of Gujarât come to be called after Gûrjaras? We have seen that, up to the time of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda IV., it was known as Lâṭa. Not long after the reign of Gôvinda IV., the Râshṭrakûṭa sovereignty over Lâṭa was overthrown, and that of the Chaulukyas established. And it was evidently in the time of the Chaulukya sovereigns that Gujarât came to be called after Gûrjaras. The Dôhad inscription of A. D. 1140 speaks of the Chaulukya king Jayasiṁha as a ruler of Gûrjaramaṇḍala.[2] In the Somanâth Pâṭaṇ *praśasti* of G. E. 850, *i.e.* A. D. 1168, the Chaulukya prince Kumârapâla is called king of the Gûrjjaramaṇḍala.[3] In many other records of the Chaulukya period and later, Gujarât has been differently called after Gûrjaras. Thus in the Girnâr

[1] Kalhaṇa's Chronicle of the Kings of Kâśmîr, by Dr. Stein, Vol. I., p. 132, footnote 134.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* X. 159.

[3] *Vienna Ori. Jour.* III. 9.

inscriptions of Vastupâla and Têjapâla, Gûrjaramaṇḍala is referred to and is spoken of as including Dhavalakkaka (Dhôlkâ) and other towns.[1] In a Jain work named Paṭṭâvalîvâchanâ, the province is called Gurjaradêśa, in which the city of Kappaḍavaṇija (Kapaḍvanj) is mentioned as included.[2] In an inscription, dated V. E. 1556, the town of Ahimmadavâda is spoken of as situated in Gûrjaradharitrî.[3] In the colophon of the work entitled *Pravâsakṛitya*, the author Gaṅgâdhara says that he completed it in V. E. 1163 at Stambhatîrtha (Cambay) in Gurjaramaṇḍala.[4] We find Gujarât mentioned also by the name of Gûrjaratrâ. Thus in Jinadattasûrî's *Gaṇadharasârdhaśataka*, Gujarattâ (Gûrjaratrâ) is referred to with its capital Aṇahillavâḍa (Aṇahillapâṭaka) and with king Durlabharâja reigning there.[5] Again, Gûrjaratrâ is mentioned in Dharmasâgaragaṇi's *Gurvâvalisûtra*, wherein Srî Dêvêndrasûri is represented to have gone to Gûrjaratrâ from Ujjayinî in Mâlavaka.[6] It will thus be seen that it was after the establishment of the Chaulukya power that Gujarât came to be variously called after Gûrjaras. It will be further seen that Gûrjaratrâ was one of the names by which the province was called after Gûrjaras. This is highly important, because it supplies us with the original name from which the modern name Gujarât is to be derived. Attempts have been made to trace Gujarât to Gûrjararâshṭra and Gûrjara-râtra.[7] With regard to the first of these names, its modern equivalent would be Gujarâṭh and not Gujarât. The change of *sṭha* into *ta*, instead of into *ṭha*, which this proposal involves, is philologically improbable. With regard to the second name, though Gûrjara-râtra might pass into Gujarât, the name itself is unknown to Sanskrit and Prâkrit literature as well as inscriptions. But the corruption of Gûrjaratrâ into Gujarât is perfectly regular and natural. Besides, we have seen above that Gûrjaratrâ was the name of a province in Râjputânâ called after Gûrjaras. It is, therefore, quite intelligible that, a portion of Lâṭa, when occupied by Gûrjaras, should similarly be called Gûrjartrâ after them. I say

[1] *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* II. 170.

[2] Weber, *Die Sk. und Pr. Handschriften der Berliner Bibliothek*, II. 1040.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., p. 299.

[4] *Notices of Sk. MSS.* by Mitra, Vol. II., pp. 113-4.

[5] Weber, *Die Sk. und Pr. Handschriften der Berliner Bibliothek*, II. 990.

[6] *Ibid.* 1008.

[7] *History of Gujarât*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., pt. I., pp. 2 and 85.

a portion of Lâṭa, because from the above it will be easily perceived that, as the province held by the Gûrjaras included Ḍholkâ, Kapaḍvanj, Ahmedâbâd, Pâṭaṇ and Cambay, it did not extend to the south of the Mahî. And quite in consonance with this view, we find Lâṭa mentioned in inscriptions during the Chaulukya period side by side with such expressions as Gûrjaradêśa, Gûrjaramaṇḍala and so forth.[1] And even to this day both Hindus and Muhammadans of Surat visiting Pâṭaṇ and Ahmedâbâd speak of going to Gujarât, whereas the Ahmedâbâd division of the Nâgar Brâhmaṇas call their caste-people of Surat Kunkaṇâs.[2]

It is thus clear that a portion of Lâṭa first came to be called after Gûrjaras, when it came under the sway of the Chaulukyas. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the Chaulukyas were Gûrjaras. The first independent king of the Chaulukya dynasty was Mûlarâja. In one of his copper-plate charters, dated V. E. 1043, he is called *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Śrî-Mûlarâja, son of *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Śrî-Râji.[3] In another of his grants, dated V. E. 1051, he is styled *paramabhaṭṭâraka mahârâjâdhirâja paramêśvara* Mûlarâjadêva.[4] It is thus plain that in and before V. E. 1043, the date of the first grant Mûlarâja was not a paramount sovereign. Besides, in the first grant, he is spoken of as having conquered by the strength of his arms the Sârasvatamaṇḍala, the country surrounding Anahilavâḍa the capital of the Chaulukyas. This means that Mûlarâja was not originally a king, but made himself so by his conquests. And the traditions are unanimous in saying that his father Râja (properly Râji) came from Kalyâṇakaṭaka in Kânyakubja.[5] Where this Kalyâṇakaṭaka is to be located has puzzled many antiquarians. But I think that, in all likelihood, Kalyâṇakaṭaka denotes Kanauj itself. We have seen that Kanauj was known by the name Mahôdaya. And Mahôdaya and Kalyâṇa are identical in meaning. Secondly, it is to be noted that, in the copper-plate charters of Bhôja, Mahêndrapâla and Vinâyakapâla, Mahôdaya is called a *skandhâvâra*.[6] *Skandhâvâra*

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[1] See *e. g. Ep. Ind.* V. 31.

[2] *History of Gujarât*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., pt. I., p. 5, footnote 1.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* VI. 191 ff. [4] *Vienna Ori. Jour.* V. 300.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* VI. 181; *History of Gujarât* in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., pt. I., pp. 150 and 156-7.

[6] *Ep. Ind.* V. 211; *Ind. Ant.* XV. 112 and 140.

and *Kaṭaka*, again, are synonymous terms. Hence Kalyâṇakaṭaka is equivalent to Mahôdayaskandhâvâra, so far as their meaning goes. And, as Hindu authors are in the habit of speaking about the same kings and cities in terms different but equivalent in meaning, it is highly probable that by Kalyâṇakaṭaka in the Kânyakubja country Kanauj is meant. Mûlarâja thus becomes connected with Kanauj in the north, which, as shown above, was up to the middle of the tenth century a seat of the Gûrjara power. Mûlarâja thus appears to be of Gûrjara nationality, and this is in keeping with the conclusion that Chaulukyas were Gûrjaras arrived at from the fact that it was since their settlement that Gujarât came to be called after Gûrjaras.

With the Chaulukyas are closely associated Paramâras, Châhamânas and Pratîhâras, all of them being styled Agnikulas. Colonel Tod mentions a tradition with regard to the origin of these Agnikulas.[1] On Mount Abu the Brâhmaṇas were disturbed by the demons in the performance of their sacrifice. So assembling round the *agni-kuṇḍa* under the presidency of Vasishṭha, they prayed to Mahâdêva, and from the pit of the sacrificial fire arose a figure whom the Brâhmaṇas placed as guardian of the gate, and hence his name "Prithihadwara" contracted to Parihâr (Pratîhâra). A second arose, and, being formed in the palm of the hand (*chuluka*), was called "Chalook" (Chaulukya). A third issued forth and was named Pramâra (Paramâra), and a fourth figure appeared quadriform (*chaturaṅga*), and hence his name Chohân (Châhamâna). As the ancestors of Pratîhâras, Chaulukyas, Paramâras and Châhamânas all issued forth from the *agni-kuṇḍa*, it is plain that they have a common origin, and that hence they belong to one and the same race. And as we have seen that the Chaulukyas were Gûrjaras, it is not unreasonable to argue that the other three families also are of the Gûrjara stock. In the case of Pratîhâras at any rate, there can be no doubt, since, as was seen above, in the Râjôr stone-inscription Mathanadêva is called a Gûrjara-Pratîhâra, which must, I think, be interpreted to mean that he was of the Pratîhâra family and of the Gûrjara race. Three considerations indirectly make the Paramâras Gûrjaras. The first is that the Firozpur Gûjars of the Punjab have a tradition that they came there from Dûr nagar in the south.[2] As Dhârâ was from the beginning the seat of the Paramâra power, this may be

[1] Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan (Calcutta edition), Vol. I., pp. 88-9.

[2] Ibbetson, Census of the Panjab, p. 263, para. 480.

considered as a not unlikely indication of the Paramâras being Gûjars. The second consideration is that the Gûrjara Châvadâs were a branch of Paramâras; and the third is that the Gûrjara Osvâls are Paramâras.[1]

We thus see that Gujarât is the modern form of the Sanskrit Gûrjaratrâ and that Gujarât came to be so called when it was occupied by the Chaulukyas. But it has been shown above that, even before as now, not the whole, but the northern part only, of the present Gujarât was known as Gûrjaradêśa or Gûrjaratrâ, and that, during the Chaulukya period, the southern part continued for some time to be called Lâṭa. It must not, however, be supposed that, when the northern part of Gujarât came to be called after Gûrjaras during the period of the Chaulukya supremacy, Râjputânâ, which was known as Gûrjaradêśa before the Chaulukya period ceased to be so known. Thus, in the Abu inscription of V. E. 1342, Samarasiṁha, to whose reign it refers itself, is described as "lifting the deeply sunk Gûrjara-mahî out of the Turushka sea."[2] Here Gûrjara-mahî doubtless denotes Mêdapâṭa (Mêvâṛ) held by Samarasiṁha and the country surrounding it. Similarly, Al Biruni (A. D. 970-1031) tells us that to the south-east of Kanauj lay "Guzarat," the capital of which was Bazân *alias* Nârâyan, which was not far from Jaipûr.[3] This means that, even from the time of Al Biruni to the time of Samarasiṁha, a portion of Râjputânâ continued to be called after Gûrjarns.

A few words regarding the origin of the Gûrjaras will not, I think, be out of place. General Cunningham identifies them with the Tochari, *alias* Yuechi, *alias* Kushana. The reason alleged by him in support of his thesis is that, besides the Jats whom he identifies with the Zanthii of Strabo, and the Iatti of Pliny and Ptolemy, Gûjars "are the only numerous race of foreign origin in the Panjab and North-Western Provinces of India who are known to have been powerful during the early centuries of the Christian era."[4] Though the reason put forth by Cunningham is not convincing, the fact that, the Śrîmâli Brâhmaṇas and most of the present chiefs of Râjputânâ, which was essentially the country of the Gûrjaras, trace

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX., pt. II., p. 485.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* XVI. 350.

[3] Sachau, Al Biruni, I. 202; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pt. I., p. 520.

[4] *Arch. Surv. Reports* by Cunningham, Vol. II. p. 70.

their origin to Kanak or Kanaksen, who is commonly supposed to be Kanishka, seems to support his view.[1] But we must not attach too much importance to the legends about Kanaksen, for the Turks of Kâbul, who are certainly not older than the latter part of the sixth century in that reign also claimed Kanishka as an ancestor.[2] Mr. J. S. Nesfield, however, propounds the theory that the pastoral castes, such as Ahirs, Gûjars and Jats are the necessary intermediate link between the hunting and the agricultural, that the word Gûjar, in particular, comes from the Sanskrit *gôchara* or cattle-grazer, and that consequently they are not of an alien stock.[3] In the first place, the Sanskrit word *gôchara* does not mean a cattle-grazer, as Mr. Nesfield supposes. Secondly, the custom of many foreign Hinduized royal families of identifying their dynastic, with epic, names, and tracing their descent from some epic hero is too well-known to require any proof. Next, the genuine Aryan *gôpas* or herdsmen, so far as we can judge from the Pâli Jâtakas and Mahâbhârata, were of settled habits. But the pastoral castes, such as Ahirs, Gûjars and Jats, have even to this day preserved their nomadic and predatory instincts to a more or less extent. This would point to their scythic, rather than Aryan, origin.

Many ethnologists are of opinion that Ahirs, Gûjars and Jats are all of one ethnic stock, and that the differences that are visible between them are to be explained by the fact that they entered India at different times or settled in different parts.[4] Of these hordes, Ahirs appear to be the earliest, who poured into India. Abhîras, *i.e.*, Ahirs, are mentioned as a tribe in the Allâhâbâd pillar inscription of Samudragupta.[5] An Abhîra prince is also referred to in a Nâsik cave-inscription of the third century.[6] A third inscription found at Gûnda and dated A. D. 181 in the reign of the Kshatrapa Rudrasimha speaks of his general Rudrabhûti who is therein called an Abhîra.[7] The Abhîras were thus settled in India as early as the latter half of the second century after Christ. Next in chronolo-

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pt. I., p. 462, footnote 3.

[2] A note from Mr. A. M. T. Jackson.

[3] *Brief View of the Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, &c., p. 12, para. 26.

[4] Ibbetson, Census of the Panjab, p. 265.

[5] *Cor. Ins. Ind.* III. p. 8.

[6] *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* IV. 103.

[7] *Ind. Ant.* X. 157.

gical order come the Gûrjaras. It has been shown above that the country of Gûrjaras is alluded to by Yuan-Chuang (c. 640 A. D.), that they are mentioned in the Aihole inscription of A. D. 634 as being defeated by the Chaulukya prince Pulakêśi II., and that they are spoken of by Bâṇa in his Harshacharita as being vanquished by Prabhâkaravardhana (c. 585 A. D.) An earlier reference to Gûrjaras than that of A. D. 585 cannot be traced. They may, therefore, be supposed to have penetrated India about the beginning of the sixth century. The Jats, in my opinion, were the last to enter India, inasmuch as they do not appear to have been anywhere mentioned in ancient inscriptions or to have wielded sway over any province like Abhîras or Gûrjaras before the Muhammadan conquest. Now, the principal feature of these foreign tribes that strikes us is, that, when they entered the Panjâb from the north-west, they advanced further both to the east and the south, conquering and settling in various provinces called after them. The Ahirs are thus found in large numbers to the east as far as Bengal; and, in the Mirzâpur district of the North-Western Provinces, there is a tract of land called Ahraura doubtlessly named after them. The Ahirs are spread to the south as far as the Dekkan; and, as an Abhîra prince is mentioned in a Nâsik cave-inscription, as we have just seen, it is clear that the Abhîras once held sway over Mahârâshṭra. Besides, the province called Ahîrwâr to the south of Jhansi shows that the Ahirs had gained a footing even in Central India. It is true that, in the Panjâb proper to the exclusion of the Dehli and Gurgaon Districts, no Ahirs are at present found. But in the Musala Parva of the Mahâbhârata, Arjuna is represented to have been waylaid by Abhîras in the Pañchanadadêśa, *i.e.* the Panjâb, as he was going from Dvârakâ to Mathurâ with the widowed females and treasures of the Yâdavas after burning the dead bodies of Kṛishṇa and Balarâma.[1] These Abhîras are therein called Dasyus and Mlechchhas. This shows that, in the early centuries of the Christian era when the Musala Parva was probably composed, the Abhîras did exist in the Panjâb, and that, as they are spoken of as banditti and foreigners, they are undoubtedly to be considered as a foreign nomadic tribe. With regard to the present distribution of the Gûjars, in the hilly country of Jammu, Chibhâl and Hazâl in the Panjâb and away in the Independent Territory lying to the north of Peshâwar as far as the Swat river

[1] *Adhyâya*, 7; also *Vishṇu Purâṇa* by Wilson, *Cap.* 38.

Gûjar herdsmen are found in large numbers. "Here they are a purely pastoral and almost nomad race, taking their herds up into the higher ranges in summer and descending with them into the valleys during the cold weather."[1] This, in my opinion, unmistakably points to their Scythian, rather than Âryan, origin. In the Southern Panjâb they are not so numerous as they are towards the north, "where they have given their name to several important places, such as Gujrânwâla, in the Rechna Duâb, Gujarât in the Chaj Duâb, and Gûjar Khân in the Sindh Sâgar Duâb."[2] To the east they have spread in great numbers down the Upper Jumna; and, in the Sahâranpur district, which during the eighteenth century was actually called Gujarât. Still further to the east "they occupy the petty State of Samptar in Bundelkhand." To the south they have spread as far as the Gujarât province of the Bombay Presidency. One of the northern districts of Gwalior is still called Gûjargâr after the Gûjars. That the larger portion of Râjputânâ was known as Gûrjara-dêśa and that the peninsula of Gujarât owes its name to these Gûjars has already been shown in detail. That up to the middle of the tenth century almost the whole of North India, excepting Bengal, owned their supremacy, with their seat of power at Kanauj and that their might afterwards overshadowed Central India and the peninsula of Gujarât with their capital at Aṇahillapâṭaka has also been shown above.

Another noteworthy feature about these Âbhîras and Gûjaras is the way in which they are gradually being merged into the Hindu population. Thus in Khândesh, many craftsmen classes are split up into two divisions, simple and Ahir. Thus besides Âbhîra Brâhmaṇas and Ahirs proper, there are Ahir Sonârs or goldsmiths, Ahir Sutârs or carpenters, Ahir Sâlis or weavers, Ahir Guravs or temple-servants and Ahir Kolis or fishers.[3] Similarly in Gujarât many artisan and other classes are of two divisions, simple and Gûjar. Thus there are Gûjar Kunbis or husbandmen, Gûjar Vâṇiâs or traders, Gûjar Suthârs or carpenters, Gûjar Sonis or goldsmiths, Gûjar Kumbhârs or potters and Gûjar Salâts or masons.[4] As a new foreign tribe

[1] Ibbetson, Census of the Panjab, p. 263.

[2] *Arch. Surv. Reports*, by Cunningham, Vol. II. pp. 71-2.

[3] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XII., p. 39 and footnote 10.

[4] *Ibid.* Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 4.

settles, many of its members gradually give up their original profession, follow the occupations of different castes, and are thus broken up into many divisions, each division being known by the name of its calling. In process of time, by a fiction too wide-spread to require any proof, that community of occupation presupposes community of origin, each division of the new tribe traces descent from the same source as that of the other people of the caste pursuing the same calling. The original tribal name soon sinks to the name of a division or to a mere surname, and the whole tribe is thus absorbed into the general class.

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കേരള സാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

Art. XIV—'Ománee Proverbs.

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A study of the proverbs and maxims of a nation is as essential to the philologist, to whom they are invaluable as a storehouse of the dialectical and linguistic peculiarities exhibited in the expression of thoughts, while yet the nation was only in an early condition of civilization, as to the philosopher who can often trace in them the inner springs of human action. No description or picture can convey more forcibly to the mind the habits, manners, and the general mode of thought of a particular people than an insight into their proverbs, which are mostly couched in the familiar words and thoughts of ordinary daily life.

One of the greatest peculiarities of the Arabic language is the concise and compact mode in which thoughts, often of a complicated nature, can be expressed. This peculiarity and the character of the people as a highly observant race, have combined to produce a proverbial literature unsurpassed in any other language and deserving of a careful study. Scattered and separated in some instances by almost impassable barriers as the modern Arabs are, they can hardly at present be considered a united nation; their habits, their occupations, their aspirations, and even their modes of thought, all more or less modified and influenced by the circumstances and conditions of life in which they live in each separate district, have acquired such distinctive features as to give rise not only to a dialect, but also to maxims and proverbs peculiar to each community.

The physical features and geographical position of the province of 'Omán have isolated its inhabitants for centuries from the rest of the Arabs, which renders a study of their dialect and proverbs of special interest. When we look at the immense sandy desert which borders it on the north and west, and which has hitherto almost effectually cut off all land communication with the rest of the country, we cannot fail to wonder at the manner in which the 'Ománees have still retained one of the great racial peculiarities, namely, that of expressing ideas and thoughts in the shape of proverbs—a mode which undoubtedly possesses the double advantage of conciseness and impressiveness. Whether we hear them in the palace or in the shop, in the field or on the roadside, they are the same homely ungarnished truths, expressed in the fewest and simplest possible words, and brought more or less forcibly to the minds of both the speaker and the hearer by the context

of the subject of conversation. Even a casual observer cannot help noticing the extensive use the 'Ománees make of proverbial sayings in their conversation, and admiring the facility with which they adapt them to the circumstances calling for their use.

As a rule the 'Ománees may be considered to be a peace-loving and law-abiding people, and although almost every man carries arms of some kind or another, nothing would induce him to use them unless driven to an extremity. They have a great aversion to fighting, and all possible means for an amicable settlement of a dispute are sought and tried before any recourse to arms is had. This, however, does not exempt them from the charge of being great intriguers, especially in State matters, whilst plotting, which often means in 'Omán the adoption of low and vile tricks for the attainment of an object, is a quality held in great esteem (*vide* Nos. 93, 94, 116 and 294). But upon the whole, though avaricious, they are contented and happy, and while keen on defending their own rights, it is only under exceptional circumstances that we find them intruding upon those of others.

Barring in maritime places, the general avocation of the Hadr (inhabitants of towns and villages) of 'Omán is that of an agricultural nature. The date-palm and the camel principally engross their attention and enter conspicuously into their proverbial similes. Individual wealth or property (مال), which has come to be synonymous with date-palms, is gauged by the number of the trees possessed, whilst tribal wealth or strength is judged by the number of camels which a tribe can muster in times of exigency. The loss of either is therefore looked upon as a calamity.

A superstitious belief in the existence and power of supernatural beings forms also an essential feature of the 'Ománee character, as may be seen in Nos. 132 and 200, whilst a belief in sorcery or magic (*vide* No. 230), especially in its capability of transforming human beings into lower animals, has gained even a stronger hold on the minds of the people. It is not to be wondered at, that under the strong influence of such beliefs, disease is frequently attributed to the agency of the evil spirit, and death often looked upon as only a transformation of form. The enchanter or sorcerer being a destroyer of human peace and happiness is considered a tyrant (No. 229) and universally dreaded; extreme care is therefore taken not to offend persons who have the reputation of being expert in the Black Art. This fear even extends to the animals which are supposed to be in the special service of the enchanters, for instance, the hyena, which is considered to be employed for riding upon, and the lapwing, which acts as their messenger (No. 230).

Blood feuds and consequent blood revenge, which have from time immemorial formed an important part of Arab life, have acquired in 'Omán even a greater importance and have become a fruitful source of inter-tribal troubles. The Hináwees, the descendants of the immigrants from Yaman, and the Gafrees, the descendants of the immigrants from the north, under one or other of which great political factions the tribes of 'Omán are grouped, bear perpetual enmity towards each other, and under the present system in which personal grievances are often looked upon as tribal affairs, causes constantly arise to foment and keep up this bitter feeling of hatred between the two great divisions. In this manner murder and pillage, however personal in their nature, have to be avenged sooner or later by the tribe of the victim against the tribe to which the culprit belongs, so that the punishment more often than otherwise falls on an innocent person (*vide* No. 256).

Another feature which will strike the reader as remarkable in the following paper is the great dependence the people of 'Omán place on luck (*vide* No. 36). It is not, however, to be inferred that they are absolutely lazy; on the contrary, they are an active race, but their exertions are generally limited to grooves to which they have been accustomed for centuries, and to an extent which sometimes falls short of success. Nature has undoubtedly helped to spoil the 'Ománee in this respect, by having furnished him in the date-palm with ready means of sustenance and protection from the inclemency of the weather, and thus exempting him from the toil and labour so inseparable from agricultural life in other countries. The date-palm, which is the principal object of his care and attention, exacts from him service which costs him hardly any labour, whilst the camel, his principal means of locomotion, frequently depends upon its own resources for its food.

Credulity plays an important part in the social and religious life of the people of 'Omán, who while exhibiting this sign of weak-mindedness retain nevertheless the great national character of the Arab race—of being unimaginative and practical. Their almost universal belief in the supernatural and fabulous, as illustrated in the following paper, is a fair indication of their credulous nature, whilst proverb No. 241 illustrates not only their gullibility, but also a character, examples of which are not infrequently met with in the East.

Upon the whole, however, the moral principles inculcated in the proverbs and aphorisms of the 'Ománees are sound, and may be considered the heritage of mankind in general from remote ages. It will be seen how closely some of the proverbs given here resemble in their application those of other nations, though the mode of thought and

expression must necessarily be strikingly different. The simple homely truths which underlie all proverbial literature, and which have been discovered as a result of experience of ages, are universally the same, whatever the mode of expression may be.

In order to enable the reader to recognize the peculiarities of the 'Ománee dialect, the mode of spelling adopted throughout the following pages is such as would convey easily to his mind the phonetic differences between the standard and 'Ománee Arabic. With this view all the important vowel marks are shown, and no attempt has been made either to correct the orthography or to assimilate it to that of the standard Arabic. In many instances a striking resemblance to common and well-known English proverbs in their application is observed, and in such cases English equivalents are given. In a few instances the proverbs seem to have come from classical Arabic proverbs, or to have a great resemblance to Arabic proverbs current in Egypt, in which cases a reference is given to the books in which they may be found.

In the following pages the following abbreviations are used :—

B. A. P. *for* Burckhardt's Arabic Proverbs.
Eng. eq. *for* English equivalent.
F. A. P. *for* Freytag's *Arabum Proverbia.*
Lit. *for* literally.
' Om. *for* ' Ománee.

1 مَاتَاي يضربو عليه قام برعى

He (a bull) is brought for leaping but keeps on grazing.

Applied to a person who has an important undertaking before him, but engages in some trivial affair.

مَاتَاي 'Om. measure of past part. of أَتَى=*he came.* قَام ' Om. for أَقَام=*he commenced, he remained.*

2 أَخَذْت أَحْسَانَك بِلْسَانَك

You have taken away (the beauty of) your kindness by your tongue (unkind words).

Eng. eq. A gift with a kind countenance is a double gift.

3 إِذَا بَرَلَك القَمَر لَا تَبَالِي فِي النُّجُوم

If the moon shines for you, do not mind the stars.

If one has the support of a great person, he can afford to be independent of his subordinates or others inferior to him in rank.

The modern Egyptians have a similar proverb. Conf. B. A. P. No. 4.

إِذَا جَارَ عَلَيْكَ الزَّمَانُ جُورْ عَلَى الأَرْضْ 4

If fortune (time) oppresses you, oppress land.

This is an exhortation for exertion in hard times.

إِذَا سَاحَ النَّبَاتْ حَيْثُ يَأْدِيكَ اللَّيْلْ بَاتْ 5

When the operation of fecundating the date-palms with the pollen of the male palms is over, sleep wherever the night overtakes you. *Lit.* When the pollen is all gone.

It is the time when the real cold weather is supposed to be over in 'Omán.

نَبَاتْ 'Om.=the germinating principle or pollen obtained from the flowers of the male date-palm.

إِذَا كَانَ الْمُتَكَلِّمْ مَجْنُونْ يَكُونْ الْمُسْتَمِعْ عَاقِلْ 6

If the speaker is mad, the hearer should be wise.

It shows the necessity of caution on the part of a hearer in believing what he is informed and in acting upon it.

Eng. eq. Believe not all you hear, and report not all you believe.

إِذَا مَا جَادَتْ الرُّوبَةْ مَا تَجُودْ الصُّلَالَةْ 7

If the curdled milk is not good, its water is (also) not good.

If there is no good in the principal person of a house or tribe, one must not expect to find it in a person in an inferior position.

الصُّلَالَةْ =the water which separates from milk on churning it, or on boiling new milk.

إِذَا مَاتَتْ جَاعِدَةْ فِي مَكْرَانْ مَا يَغْلَى السَّمَنْ فِي عُمَانْ 8

If a ewe dies in Makrán, *ghee* (clarified butter) won't become dear in 'Omán.

Applied to trivial events or circumstances not likely to have even a remote effect.

Engl. eq. Two swallows do not make a summer. جَاعِدَةٌ 'Om.=a ewe.

9 إِذَا مَا سَدَّ عِضْقَهَا وَلَّا مِن عُرْقَهَا

If its (date-palm's) produce is not enough, have it out of its roots.

On the advisability of uprooting or selling off a thing which entails profitless labour. It is also applied to persons.

عِضْقَةٌ 'Om.=a cluster of dates on the stalk. وَلَّا stands for وَإِلَّا.

10 إِذَا مَا طَاعَكَ الدَّهْرُ طِيعُهُ حَتَّى تَكُونَ رَبِيعُهُ

If fortune does not obey you, follow it so that you may become its companion.

Adapt yourself to the times.

Engl. eq. As the year is, so must your pot seethe.

There is a similar proverb in classical Arabic. Conf. F. A. P., Tom III, No. 2965.

11 سِمْ شَايِعْ وَالْبَطْنُ جَايِعْ

(His) name is renowned, but his stomach is hungry.

Applied to one who has a big name but is penniless; also to a vain boaster.

The form جَايِع (*hungry*) is rarely used, but is employed here evidently for rhyming, the commoner forms being جَوْعَان and جِيعَان. سِمْ stands for اِسْمْ.

Engl. eq. Empty vessels make the greatest sound.

There is a similar proverb in classical Arabic. Conf. F. A. P., Caput XXVI, No. 132.

12 تُوكِلْ مَالْ الزَّوْجْ وَتُحَنْ لِلْمُطَلَّقْ

She lives at the expense (*lit.* eats the property) of the present husband, but sings the praises (*lit.* yearns towards) of the one that has divorced her.

Applied to an ungrateful person.

13 كِل مِن بَصَل عَمّا يَجَل

Eat of an onion whatever (portion) you may get.

Partake of a good thing even if it be a little, onions like radishes being considered by the people of 'Omán a delicacy.

A good thing even if it be a little is not to be despised.

14 كِل مِن ثُوم بِمَا تُرُوم

Eat of garlic as much as you can.

One cannot have too much of a good thing. تُرُوم from 'Om. رَام =he was able.

15 كِل مِن زُوبَد وَأُوعُوبَد

Eat of a radish even if it be a leaflet.

If one cannot get the whole of a good thing, even a small part of it ought to be accepted. زُوبَد 'Om. =a radish.

16 كِلنَا مِنَّش يَا سِيعَة وعَقِينَاش وَرَا العَلَّة

We have eaten (dates) out of you, O basket, and thrown you behind the house.

Said of an ungrateful person.

سِيعَة=a small basket made of green palm leaves. عَق 'Om. =he threw away. عَلَّة 'Om. =a house, originally a pen to hold camels.

17 إلَا فَاتَك اللَحم شَرَب المَرَق

If you lose the meat, drink the gravy.

Eng. eq. Half a loaf is better than no bread. Conf. B. A. P., No. 662.

إلَّا stands for إذَا.

18 أَلِّي يَلُمّ الحُول ويَذرِى بِهُ لَابُد مِن طَشّ الرَهَام يَصِيبُه

This is a Badawee proverb. He who gathers weeds and takes shelter under them, will necessarily get wet directly it rains.

Eng. eq. Do not lean on a broken reed.

الحُوْل 'Om.=weeds, rubbish. اَلِّي stands for الَّذِي.

19 اِمَّا جِلِس وهِجَع واِمَّا ضُرُب ووَجَع

Either sit and remain listless, or strike and cause pain.

Either never attempt or accomplish. This is somewhat similar to the Syriac proverb, اذا ضربت اوجع واذا طعمت اشبع (Burton). Conf. also F. A. P., Caput I, No. 103.

20 اِمَّا طَاهِر يصَلَّابُه واِمَّا رِجْس يرمَابُه

It (a prayer-mat) is either clean enough to pray upon or unclean enough to be thrown away.

Applied to a thing or case to which there are only two extremes without any mean between.

21 اِمَّا فَتَح بَابَك وتَجَمَّل ولَّا شِدَّه وتَخَمَّل

Either open your door and do good (to others), or close it and become unknown.

22 اِمَّا واِمَّا واِمَّا

Either, or, or. One of the three things must happen to overcome the difficulty.

It is related that a certain wazeer having a spite against a certain man whom he wished to be killed, told the king whose wazeer he was, that a certain horse which he had received as a present knew to speak, and that there was only one man in his kingdom who could understand the language. The man, who was the wazeer's enemy, was immediately brought before the king, but as he persistently denied having any knowledge of the horse-language, his head was ordered to be struck off. He was, however, allowed a respite of three days in order to make up his mind, whether he would talk with the horse or lose his life, and ordered to be kept with the horse in the same stable. The man was lost in thinking how to get over the difficulty, and kept constantly saying, اِمَّا واِمَّا واِمَّا (*either, or, or*), which the horseman reported to the king. He therefore sent for him and asked

him the meaning of his words. The man again declared his inability to talk with the horse, and pardon having been promised him, he said that he was thinking, that one of the three things must happen for him to get over the difficulty, namely, that either he should die, or the sultan, or the horse (أمّا أنا أموت وأمّا السّلطان وأمّا الفرس). The king having thus found out, that that was only a plot against the poor man's life designed by the wazeer, ordered the latter to be killed instead.

23 أنا سكبت المأى على غي السرا لا أنا بالمأى ولا أنا بغي السرا

I threw away the water on account of (seeing) the mirage, but here I am without any water and without the mirage.

Applied to one who gives up a reality for a shadow, and loses both in consequence of it. غي السرا 'Om. = mirage.

24 أنا شايف خير وخضرة ما استعجب من جراد المقبرة

I have seen plenty and prosperity (*lit.* green), and am therefore not filled with wonder at the sight of *jarad-ul-mukubreh* (*lit.* a locust of the grave-yard).

Said of a person who has seen better times. *Jarad-ul-mukubreh* is the name technically applied to an orthopterous insect commonly found near grave-yards.

25 أنا شايف مسكد وكيتانها ما استعجب من دارسيت وكيزانها

I have seen Maskad (Maskat) and its forts, and am not therefore filled with wonder at the sight of Darseit and its earthen ewers.

The people of 'Omán spell the name of the town of Maskat as Maskad. In former days there used to be many potteries at Darseit near Matrah.

كوت pl. كيتان 'Om. = fort—from Hindustance كوٹ

كوز pl. كيزان 'Om. = an earthen ewer.

26 أنا ما شايف دم في الخنانة والقيض في شرجانة

I have not seen the blood (only) of circumcision and the *laid* (only) of *sharjabûneh*.

Said in self-praise.

الليض stands for لقيظ = Summer, the season of dates, when the people visit the date plantations and enjoy themselves generally.

شرجبان = *Solanum violaceum*; it grows wild in 'Omán.

27 أنا أقول جمل وأنت تقول جبل

I say "a camel," and you say "a mountain."

This proverb is used when there is a great difference of opinion, or when an answer to a question relates to something totally different from what the question is about.

28 أنا أقول طابق وأنت تقول طالق

I say "joined," and you say "separated."

Applied in the same sense as the last proverb.

29 إن بغيت تجود انظر بما في كفك وإن بغيت تليش انظر بالذي يقفيك

If you wish to be generous, see (first) what is in your hand; and if you wish to fight, see (first) who will follow you.

On the advisability of seeing first what one's means are before undertaking a thing.

Eng. eq. Look before you leap.

تليش from لاش in the sense of plundering or laying waste a country.

30 إن رأيت صاحبك عسل لا تلحسه كله

If you find your friend to be honey, do not lick him altogether.

On the advisability of not killing the goose with golden eggs.

31 إن كان نيتك عمار ما يضرك ضريط الحمار

If your motive is good, an ass' breaking wind will not injure you.

Let not little things interfere with the carrying out of your purpose, if your motive is good.

32 أَيْ و العَزْتَيْن ما يَنْفَع

Repentance is of no avail.

Eng. eq. No use crying over spilt milk.

أَيْ والعَزْتَيْن is a common phrase for expressing regret at the loss of an opportunity, or any other reason for repentance,

33 بَاذَر سِدِسَيْن و مُدَيَّن اَجْرِيْن

He has sown only two *sidis* (of seed) when he has borrowed two *jarees*.

Applied to a person who borrows more than he would be able to return, in consequence of his utilizing only a very small portion of the loan.

Sidis=an 'Ománee dry measure equal to a Bombay *póti*. *Jaree*=30 *sidis* or *pótis*.

34 البِجْمَة اَرْوَح مِن القَلْعَة

A bruise is lighter (to bear) than a laceration.

A broken arm is better than a broken head.

بِجْمَة 'Om.=a tumour due to a contusion.

35 البَخْت اِلَا جَاد قَالُوا صَاحِبُه اُسْتَاد و البَخْت اِلَا بَار قَالُوا صَاحِبُه عَيَّار

When fortune is propitious, they say the possessor of it is a master (in the art), but when fortune is adverse, they say the possessor of it is a cheat.

Eng. eq. He dances well to whom fortune pipes.

36 بِالمَرْزَق لَا بِالمُحْدَق

By means of good fortune, and not by means of cleverness.

Wealth is not acquired by being clever but by having a good fortune.

37 بَرْقًا قُفَاكَ لَا تَسْتَخِيلُهُ وَإِنْ اسْتَخَلْتَهُ لَا تَنْجَعْ عَلَيْهِ

Do not think of lightning behind you, but if you think and prognosticate rain do not go in that direction.

Against paying any attention to backbiters or taking any measures against them.

38 بُرْمَةُ الشَّرْكِ مَا تَثُورْ

A pot in partnership does not boil.

Eng. eq. A pot that belongs to many is ill stirred and worse boiled.

بُرْمَةٌ 'Om. =an earthen cooking pot. ثَارْ 'Om. for فَارْ=it boiled.

39 بَعْرُهُ يَكْسِ فِي دَبْرُهُ سَمَادُهُ فِي أَرْضُهُ

Its (the donkey's) dung is sprinkled over its own ulcer; the bullock's manure is in its own pasture land.

Applied to one who wastes nothing, or as in the proverb, utilizes the dung of his animals for their own purposes.

The dried dung of donkeys is often pounded and dusted over their galled backs as a remedy in 'Omán.

40 تَبْغَى تَزْعَلْ مَا مُتَفَيِّتَةٌ مِنْ شُغْلَانْ بَيْتَهَا

She wants to be angry, but is not free from her household duties.

Applied to a person who wants to undertake a profitless task, when his or her hands are already full of more important matters.

زَعَلْ 'Om.=he became angry; زَعْلَانْ=angry. مُتَفَيِّتَةٌ 'Om.=at leisure, free. شُغْلَانْ 'Om. *pl.* of شُغْلْ work, business.

41 تَبْغَا مِنْ تِينْهَا وَأَعْنَابْهَا وَحَاتِمْ عَلَى بَابْهَا

You want figs and grapes out of it (the garden), whilst Hátim is at its gate (as gardener in charge). It would be impossible for one

to have the product of a garden whilst a liberal man like Hátim is in charge of it.

Applied in the sense of two incompatible things or two opposite elements not being able to exist together.

42 بكّايَة ومايت بِنْهَا

A professional crier and her son is dead.

Applied to a person who meets with circumstances favourable to his or her design.

In every village and town in 'Omán there are certain women who, though not paid for their trouble, visit the houses of mourning to help the women there in crying loudly.

43 بِمَا يِبِيع الُص مُخَلَّص

A thief can afford to sell (a stolen thing) at whatever price he may do so. He incurs no loss.

Said of a person who parts with a thing easily after having obtained it without any trouble or expense.

Lightly come, lightly go.

44 بِنْت الصَّايِغ تَشْتَهِي الصُّوغ وبِنْت النَّسَّاج عُرْيَانَة

The goldsmith's daughter pines for (*lit.* desires) ornaments and the weaver's daughter is naked.

Eng. eq. The cobbler's wife is the worst shod.

45 بِنِي بِالفُضَّة و غَطِّ بِالذَّهَب

Build with silver, and cover with gold.

On the advisability of making a good show.

46 بُو يَاتِي مِن بَطْنُه بِيرَبِّي اغَم بَطْنُه

He who begets (a child) from his loins (*lit.* belly), will rear it whether he wishes or not.

One is bound to defend his own action, or to preserve what he has created, even against his will.

اغم بطنه 'Om.=nolens volens.

47 بو ياكل حلواها يصبر على بلواها

He who eats her *halwa* must (also) patiently endure her misfortune.

Eng. eq. There is no joy without alloy.

بو 'Om. for الذى=who, which, &c. Conf. F. A. P., Caput XXIV, No. 457.

48 بو امها في البيت ما تقحب

She whose mother is in the house is not called a whore.

A person who has a good protector is not likely to be abused or suspected of an evil action.

49 بو يبغى لبنها يبرق في وجهها

He who wants her (the cow's) milk must look carefully at her face.

On the advisability of examining a thing carefully before buying or receiving it.

50 بو يجي الى مغارة بلا ماكله وادماره

He who comes to the house (*lit.* cave), when he has eaten, causes its ruin.

Applied in the sense of self-defence and also ingratitude. An enemy ought to be kept at a distance.

51 بو يجي ما مفهوم يجلس بلا قراش

He who comes uninvited sits (on the bare ground) without a mat.

Eng. eq. Uninvited guests sit on thorns.

52 بو يخجل من بنت عمه ما يجيب اولاد

He who is shy of his wife (*lit.* cousin) does not beget children.

Eng. eq. Faint heart never won fair lady. Conf. B. A. P., No. 620.

بو نخيس نعفته ما يقصها 53

He whose nose stinks does not cut it off.

On the advisability of using gentle means to reclaim a lost child or friend.

خاس 'Om. = it rotted. نعفة 'Om. = nose.

بو يدور الحال بنجيه العلل 54

He who wanders about the town, draws upon himself misfortunes. By misfortunes are here meant diseases, accusations of crime, &c.

On the advisability of not visiting suspicious and dangerous places.

حال 'Om. *pl.* of حلة = a quarter of a town.

بو يربيها في ثبانه تلدغه في لسانه 55

It (a viper) bites him in the tongue who rears it in the lap.

On ingratitude and returning evil for good.

بو يرضى في جاره تخرب داره 56

He who rejoices over (the misfortunes of) his neighbour will have his house in ruins.

On the advisability of taking a lesson from the misfortunes of others and not rejoicing over them.

بو يزرع الجودات يستافا الجمايل 57

He who sows generous actions reaps (*lit.* is rewarded with) good actions.

Eng. eq. The hand that gives gathers.

بو شالة الشلول كله ما يغلبها موخل 58

A she-camel which carries a whole load is not overcome by (the weight of) a sieve.

A person accustomed to undertake great affairs is not likely to be overburdened by a little more responsibility.

مُوخَل 'Om. for منخل = a sieve.

بو يشور بعمره يكسد 59

He who offers advice of his own accord has to look small.

On the advisability of not offering advice unasked.

بعمره 'Om. = by himself, of his own accord.

بو يصبر ويتانا يلقى ما يتمنى 60

He who has patience and waits gets what he desires.

Eng. eq. Everything comes to him who can wait.

بو يضرب عمره ما يبكي 61

He who beats himself ought not to cry.

One who brings a misfortune upon himself ought not to lament over it.

بو في القلوب ما في الدروب 62

What is in hearts is not (to be said) on the roads.

Secret things must not be talked about excepting in secret places

بو يقحمها الذيب ما تعدل 63

A she-goat which has been once attacked by a wolf will never improve.

A tribe which has been once attacked by an enemy does not return to its original prosperous condition owing to the constant dread in which it is.

بو يقحم دبة ما يكمره حبة 64

He who jumps over a sand-hill will not be caused to tumble by a grain.

He who is in the habit of performing great actions successfully is not likely to fail in doing a small and unimportant thing.

قَحَم 'Om. = he jumped. تَكَفَّر 'Om. = he stumbled.

65 بُو يَلْدَغُه الغُول يهَاب مِن الحَبِل

He who has been (once) bitten by a snake is afraid of (even) a rope.

Experience makes one cautious.

Eng. eq. Burnt child dreads the fire. Once bitten twice shy.

غُول 'Om. = a snake.

66 بُو ما يبَادَر بِنَفْسُه ما يبَادَرِبْ غيرُه

What one does not arrange for himself will not be arranged for him by others.

On the advisability of exerting oneself in doing one's own work and not depending upon others for it.

Eng. eq. Never trust to another what you should do yourself.

67 بُو مَا يَحْمِي دَارُه ويُوخُد ثَارُه يكْثَر مُعيَارُه

He who does not protect his house and take his revenge increases in blame (*lit.* his blame increases). يُوخُد 'Om. for يأخُد.

On guarding one's interests and taking revenge when necessary.

68 بُو مَا يزُورْنِي والدِّيَار مُخيفَة لَا مَرْحَبَابُه والدِّيَار أمَان

He who does not visit me when the country is in a state of alarm is not welcome when it is tranquil.

Eng. eq. Peril proves who dearly loves.

69 بُو مَا شَايِف اللَّحم يسْتَعْجِب مِن الرِيَة

He who has never seen meat is pleased with lungs. Conf. F. A. P., Caput XXIV, No. 474.

70 بُو مَا يعرفُك مَا يثمنُك

He who does not know you, does not value you.

The worth of a thing is only known to those who know it well.

71 بُو مَا يِدِي فِي قَفْعَتُه ما تُهِمْنِي صَفْعَتُه

I am not concerned about his slapping (me) whose bag I have not my hand in.

Eng. eq. A clear conscience fears no accusation. قَفْعَة 'Om.=a large bag made of date-palm leaves for bagging dry dates, limes, &c.

72 البَيْت يُدْخَل مِن بَابُه

A house is entered by its door.

Applied in the sense of everything having its proper way.

73 بَيْت طِين مَا يعدَم مِن الطَّحِين

A house built of clay cannot be without any flour in it.

It is expected that a great man must possess all ordinary things or good qualities.

A house built of clay means a substantial one in contradistinction to a hut.

74 بَيْت الظَّالِم خَرَاب

The house of a tyrant is a waste (in ruins). Conf. F. A. P., Tom. III, No. 265.

75 البَيْت كَبِير والرَّبّ خَبِير

The house is big, but the Lord knows (what it contains).

A person may appear to be good and great, but his real qualities may not be seen.

Eng. eq. A fair face may hide a foul heart.

76 بَيْضَة اليُوم ولَا فَرْخ بَاكُر

Rather an egg to-day than a chicken to-morrow.

Eng. eq. One to-day is better than two to-morrow. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.

77 بَيْن الأَحْبَاب تَسَاقَط الآدَاب

Among friends ceremonies are not observed (*lit.* are dropped).

' Friends need not observe any formalities or ceremonies among themselves.

78 تَرْك الذَّنْب ولَا تَعَالَج تُوبَة

Leave off sinning and do not try to show repentance.

Prevention is better than cure. Conf. B. A. P., No. 155.

79 التُّوْرِيَان فِدَى السُّكَّر

Toriyan is the ransom of sugarcane.

Toriyan is planted in the same field as sugarcane and round about it, so that should any animals or disease attack the field, the *toriyan* may be lost but the sugarcane is saved. The vanguard of an army, which in ' Omán generally consists of slaves or unimportant persons, often saves by its destruction the main body.

تُوْرِيَان ' Om. from H تُوْر = *Cajanus arabicus.*

80 ثُوْر بِيدَار ضُرْب و ازْجُر

A gardener's bullock, beat and drive (him).

Applied to a lazy person who cannot be made to work without being constantly urged. بِيدَار ' Om. = a gardener. زَجَر ' Om. = he drove a bullock in the pit before a well, called the *khabb*, for the purpose of drawing water.

81 الجُرْف بُومَلْدُوغ مِنْه لَا تَدْخَل يَدَك فِيه ثَانِيَة

Do not put your hand a second time into the hole you have been bitten or stung in before.

On being cautious from past experience.

Eng. eq. Confide not in him who has once deceived you.

82 الجَلَب بَعْد العِيد

Bringing the goats (to the market) for sale after the 'Eed festival.

Eng. eq. A day after the feast. After death, the doctor.

الجَلَب 'Om.=bringing goats to the market. A few days before the two 'Eed festivals, the people of the villages near Maskat and Matrah bring in their goats for sale in large numbers.

83 جِلْد فَار ما يَسْتَوِي مِنْه طَبِل

A drum cannot be made of a rat's skin.

Applied to inappropriateness of things or persons.

Eng. eq. You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear.

84 الجُود بالمَاجُود وكَفّ الخَالِي بِمُو بِجُود

Generosity if there is anything (in the hand), but what is an empty hand to be generous with? مَاجُود stands for مَوْجُود and مُو for مَا.

What is one to be generous with if he has nothing in his hand to give away.

85 جُوعَان فِي الحَيْضَة وعَطْشَان فِي الشَّرِيعَة

Hungry in a summering place and thirsty in a watering place.

Generally applied to a person who is lazy. During summer or rather the date season, dates are so plentiful in the plantations that even beggars and poor people are allowed to have them as food for the mere trouble of picking them.

Eng. eq. To starve in a cook shop.

86 جِيبُر لَهَا تَيْس مِن هِيل

Bring for her (a she-goat), a ram-goat from Heel.

Applied to a person who is not satisfied with the arguments of the company he is present in, this proverb being employed to express a desire that other and cleverer persons may be called in to satisfy him. *Heel* is the name of a place near Simáil, and Heel goats are remarkable for their power.

87 أَحَاسِبُو كُلّ يُوم تَكُونُو خُوَا دُوم

Settle accounts every day that you may be always brothers.

Eng. eq. Short reckonings make long friends. خُوَا stands for أَخْوَان

88 نَحْسَب خُضْرَة بِلَاد وهِي مَقْرُقَاع ومَجَاج

We believed *Khudreh* to be a town, but it is only (full of) *makurka'a* and *majöj*.

Applied to a person or thing not answering one's anticipations.

مَقْرُقَاع = *Abutilon tomentosum.* مَجَاج = *Anvalis flexuosa.* Both of them are wild plants common in certain parts.

89 حُسْن السُوق ولَا حُسْن البِضَاعَة

Better to have a good market than good merchandise.

A brisk market would bring in more profit than the mere possession of superior kinds of goods.

90 حَصَل حَصْلَة يهودي فِي المَسْجِد

He fell into the embarrassment of a Jew in a mosque. A Jew would not know what to do with himself in a mosque.

Eng. eq. Fish out of water.

حَصْلَة 'Om. = embarrassment, hence حَصْلَان 'Om. = confused, embarrassed, the latter word being often applied to a person in a dying state.

91 مَحْلَا الحَرْب عَلَى المتسَفِّرِين

Pleasant (sweet) is a war for the peace-makers or lookers on. The lookers on enjoy the fun of a war without being interested in the issues of the conflict. تَسَفَّر 'Om. = he enjoyed himself.

Eng. eq. Lookers on see more than players.

الحَنْضَلَة ما تَنْقَلِب جَحَّة 92

A colocynth gourd can never be transformed into a water-melon الحَنْضَلَة stands for الحَنْظَلَة).

Eng. eq. You cannot wash the blackamoor white.

What is bad in nature can never be transformed into a good thing.

الحِيلَة غَالِبَة القُوَّة 93

Stratagem overcomes strength.

Policy often effects what force cannot.

حِيلَة نُصْف مُرْجَلَة 94

A stratagem is half manliness. Stratagems, which in 'Omán often mean wily tricks, are lawful for the accomplishment of an object.

أحَابِي حمد لأجل مُحَمَّد 95

I salute Hamad for Muhammad's sake.

Eng. eq. Many kiss the child for the nurse's sake.

حَيِّي مَالَك بِمَال 96

Revive your property with other property.

If one's property is in a bad state, it is advisable for him to spend more money on it to restore it to its proper condition.

الخَابُورَة مَخْبُورَة 97

(The town of) *Khábورeh* is well known.

Applied to a thing which is well known or to any information which is not new.

Eng. eq. "Queen Anne is dead."

خُدُم فِي الشَّمْس رِكِل فِي الظِّلَّة 98

Work in the sun and eat in the shade.

Eng. eq. Make hay while the sun shines.

99 خُذ مِن الرَّخِيص نَهَاك ومِن الغَالِي عَشَاك

Buy (*lit.* take) out of things which are cheap as much as you like, but out of those that are dear just enough for your evening meal.

On the advisability of observing economy.

100 الخَسَارَة مَع بَعض النَّاس عِيد

The loss (of some) is an occasion for rejoicing (*lit.* '*Eed* festival) with others.

The death of the wolf is the life of the lamb.

101 خَلفُه لِعدَاك ولَا تَحتَاج لِحبَاك

Better to leave it (after death) for your enemies than to want (in your life-time) from your friends.

Eng. eq. Better spare of thine own than ask other men.

102 خُنفَسَانَة فِي عَين أُمهَا غَزَالَة

The black beetle *khunfasánah* in the eyes of its mother is a gazelle.

Every one likes his own production or thing however bad or ugly it may be in the estimation of others. خُنفَسَانَة 'Om. for خُنفُسَاء = *Adesmia cothurnata.* Conf. B. A. P., No. 60.

103 الخَير فِي بَطن الشَّر

Good is (sometimes) produced by (*lit.* inside) evil. What may be considered as a calamity may be productive of good.

Sweet often comes from sour. Conf. F. A. P., Caput I, No. 12.

104 الخَيل ولَو هُزِلت مَا يُسَاق عَلَيهَا السَّمَاد

Manure is not carried on horses, even if they have become lean.

A man with a good origin, however poor he may be, will not condescend to do a mean thing. In 'Omán the task of carrying manure is allotted to donkeys.

105 دَافِع اللَّقَم بِاللَّقَم

Ward off anger or punishment by means of a morsel.

On the advisability of paying a bribe or making a present to another person in order to escape the effects of his anger.

دَان دَان عَلَى النَّغَالَة 106

All the drumming for a date of the kind called *nagâl*.

This proverb may be employed in two senses: (1) to express that all the fuss that is being made is not for nothing, and (2) to express that so much fuss is being made over only a trifling thing.

Eng. eq. (In the first sense) Where much smoke is there must be some fire. (In the second sense) Great cry and no wool.

دَان دَان 'Om.=a musical party at which women generally hired on festive occasions, such as marriage, &c., sing. نَغَال=the commonest variety of dates in 'Omân.

يَدْعِي الحَاصِل ويَتْبَع النَّاصِل 107

He leaves off what is found and follows what slips off.

He leaves the substance for the shadow.

Eng. eq. Catch not at the shadow, and lose the substance.

ذَخِرِكْ ولَا لَكْ 108

Treasure earth instead of *lacs*.

On the advisability of investing money in land instead of storing it up.

يَدَلَّكْ عَلَى الحَرْب مِن لَا يَعِينَكْ 109

He shows you the way to war who will not help you.

Persons who are not likely to give any help, or who are not interested, are the very ones most forward in advising one to go to war or to engage in any conflict.

يَدَلَّكْ عَلَى الكُوْن مِن لَا يَكَاوَن 110

He shows you the way to fight who will not fight (with you, *i.e.*, on your side).

كَاوَن 'Om.=he fought. كُوْن 'Om.=a fight.

Same in application as the last proverb.

الدُّوم الحَبَل يَقَصّ الحَجَر 111

(If) always, (even) a rope cuts through a stone.

Eng. eq. Constant dropping wears the stone.

يَذكُرُو البَلْدان جاءت قَيْقَا مُدَوَّلَة 112

They are talking of towns and cities, and (suddenly) mention is made of the troops of Kaikâ. Kaikâ is an unimportant place in 'Omân.

Applied when a person makes mention suddenly of an unimportant matter while people are talking over serious affairs.

ذُمَّة رأس المال 113

Credit is capital. ذُمَّة 'Om. = credit.

To a merchant credit is as good as capital.

رابع الكذّاب إلى رَزّ الباب 114

Accompany a liar to the threshold of the door.

If one takes the trouble of following or examining a liar, the falsehood of his statement will soon become apparent.

Eng. eq. Pretenders should be put to the test. Conf. B. A. P., No. 99.

رَاعِي الطَّبْع مَا يَصْبِر عَن طَبْعه ولَو يَقَص صَبْعه 115

A person endowed with a particular kind of nature cannot hide it even if his finger is cut off. (*Lit.* he is impatient to show it.)

Nature will assert itself.

رَجْل بِلَا حِيلَة كَمَا تَفَق بِلَا فَتِيلَة 116

A man without machination (cunning) is like a matchlock without a match.

تَفَق 'Om. = a matchlock, a gun.

الرَّدَّة اكْثَر عَن الضَّغْوَة 117

A purse-net (*raddeh*) may catch more (fish) than a seine (*daqweh*). A *raddeh* is a small supplementary net attached to the *daqweh* to catch such fish as may escape the latter.

A small dependent person may sometimes accomplish more than a big and independent one.

رِزْق الكِلاب عَلَى المَجَانِين 118

Dogs are dependent for their food on madmen.

Applied to persons who waste the good things of this world. Conf. B. A. P., No. 293.

رَكَّب الهَزِيلَة لَتَلْحَق السَّمِينَة 119

Ride the lean one (she-camel) that you may overtake the fat one.

It is better even to ride an emaciated camel for the purpose of overtaking a good one that has been lost than to go on foot without any chance of meeting it.

On the advisability of taking advantage of an opportunity even if it be a weak one.

الرُّز غَرْقِي والكَيِّل عَوَر 120

The rice is damaged (*lit.* such as has been in water) and the measurer blind.

A double calamity; also employed in the sense of two bad things matching each other. Conf. B. A. P., No. 618.

رُوحَك تَدُور عِجَيْلات بِالنُّصْف 121

You yourself hunt after (*lit.* try to find) calves by halves.

Applied to a person who brings a misfortune on himself by his own act.

It is usual in 'Omán for the owner of a calf or a kid to make it over to another person for rearing it, and when the calf or kid has grown, the person rearing it shares half the proceeds of its sale with the real owner.

122 تَزْكِيَةُ النَّفْسِ قَبِيحَةٌ

Self-praise is disdainful (ugly).

Eng. eq. Self-exaltation is the fool's paradise.

123 زَمَانٍ تِشْكِي مِنْهُ تَثْنِي تِبْكِي عَلَيْهِ

When the times you complain of (*lit.* turn aside) pass away, you will cry (wish) for them.

Better to be contented than to grumble about the times we are living in for fear of falling upon worse ones.

124 زِيدِ الْبَلَا بِالْبَلَا إِمَّا زَادَ وَإِمَّا انْجَلَى

Add trouble to trouble, it will either grow or go.

Eng. eq. Without danger, danger cannot be surmounted.

125 سَارَتْ تَبْغِي قَرُونٍ جَاتْ بِلَا ذُنَيْنِ

She (she-goat) went to get horns and returned without ears.

ذُنَيْنِ 'Om. for إِذْنَيْنِ = two ears.

Applied to a discontented person who in attempting to overcome a supposed misfortune meets with a more serious one, or in trying to get more loses what he has.

Eng. eq. Many go out for wool and come home shorn.

126 سَارَتْ تِبْكِي صَوْتٍ جَاتْهَا عَبْرَةٌ

She went only to sing (*lit.* cry) a tune but (actually) shed tears.

Trifles lead to serious matters.

A joke or what may be only affected may sometimes end seriously or in reality. In 'Omán women paying visits of condolence are supposed to join the female mourners in crying to an air or tune in praise of the deceased person without actually feeling for his death.

127 سَارَتْ تَبُولْ نَلْحِتْ تَحْتَ الطُّبُولْ

She went to micturate, but turned up where the drums were beating.

Applied to trivial pretexts made for attaining important objects.

128 سَايِرَة تَبْغَى الدَّرَا جَاهَا البَرْد مِن وَرَا

She went to build protection or shelter (from before), but the cold came in from behind.

Applied to a person whom misfortunes befall notwithstanding his efforts to surmount them. It is also applied to one who does exactly opposite of what he ought to do.

129 سَايِرَة تَرْبِي نَلْحِت فِي الغَبِّي

She went to be confined, but turned up in al-Gabbee. Al-Gabbee is the name of a place in the Dáhireh at a distance from 'Omán Proper.

Applied to a person who employs a pretext of some kind for going away. It may also be used in the sense of proverb No. 127.

130 سَجِّلْهَا وَلَا تَفْسِلْهَا

You had better prop it up (a female date-palm) than plant a new one (in its place).

This is generally given as advice to one who is impatient with his wife. It is better to put up with her weaknesses than to commence life anew by taking a new one.

Eng. eq. Better to bear with the adversities you have than to fly to others ye wot not of.

سَجِّلَة 'Om.=a prop generally made of the trunk of a date-palm and a cross-stick to support a falling palm.

131 سِكِن عَلَى المَا وَلَا تسأل عَن رِزْق

Live near water and ask not about sustenance.

Wherever there is fresh water there is sure to be enough of food.

132 سَلَّم رَاعِي المَصْرِيَة وطَاحَت فِي رَاعِي القَضَاعِيَة

The man with the donkey escaped, and she (the female spirit) seized the man of Kadá'iyeh. Origin of the proverb.—A man went out one night riding a donkey and met a female spirit, who also mounted the donkey behind him. The man was frightened and could not even stir in his seat. The spirit then dismounting led the donkey about here and there during the night until they arrived near Kadá'iyeh, where

a man was engaged in drawing water. The spirit screamed out loudly at the place, upon which the man at the well shouted out عَظْم حَلْقش (May a bone stick in your throat !). She thereupon left the man on the donkey, and proceeding to the man at the well slapped him in the face, the latter immediately falling down and dying on the spot.

Applied to one who escapes a misfortune or calamity at the expense of another person.

Kodd'iyeh is the name of a place near Bidbid in the Simáil Valley.

السَّمَا ما تُغَطَّا بِمُوخَل 133

The sky cannot be hidden with a sieve. مُوخَل 'Om. for' مُغْيَل = a sieve.

Applied in the sense of inappropriateness of things and also of an impossibility.

Eng. eqs. Murder will out. He draws water with a sieve.

السَّمَّة رُقْعَتْهَا الخُصَف 134

The (proper) patch for mending a date-palm mat is a piece of a date-palm bag.

Lowly pursuits become lowly men.

سُمَّة ومُحْجَان قَالُوا ضَعَن — بيت لِجْعَارِيف قَالُوا حِصن 135

A date-palm leaf mat and a staff with a hooked head :—they said, "household furniture." A nest of black ants :—they said, "a fort."

To a goat-herd his staff with the bent head for drawing down branches of trees and a palm leaf mat for collecting leaves upon, are his household furniture, whilst to the black ants their ant-hill of earth is a fort.

Every one has things in proportion to his position and capacity.

مُحْجَان stands for مِحْجَن. جَعَارِيف *pl.* of جُعْرُوف 'Om. = the black ant (*Componotus compressus*).

سِير بَعِيد وتَعَال سَالِم 136

Go by a distant way, but come safe.

Eng. eq. Better go about than fall into the ditch.

137 السيف قبضه ضاربه

Hand over the sword to its striker.

Applied in the sense of entrusting an affair to a proper or capable person.

Eng. eq. Every man to his trade.

138 سيما خت مكزح

Seimá is the sister of Mukazzah. خت for أخت

Applied to two things or persons much about the same in appearance or quality.

Seimá and *Mukazzah* are two small villages in the valley of Beni-Ruwáheh in 'Omán Proper, and are close to and like each other.

139 شاة من قادها وغويز من ردّه

A she-goat whom anybody can lead, or a small water channel which anybody can turn.

غويز *dim.* of غيز 'Om.=a water channel.

Applied to a person who can be easily led astray, or one who is not of a firm mind.

140 شاردة ولاقية مهباط

She (a she-camel) wanted to run away and (in the meantime) came on a slope.

Applied to a person who meets with circumstances favourable to his design.

141 الشاكي جنيبي والقاضي مكروقي

The complainant is a Jineibee and the judge a Mahrookee.

Where the complainant and the judge belong to the same tribe, the result may be expected to be in favour of the complainant. *Al-Mahrooki* is a *fakheedeh* or sub-tribe of the *Jineibeh*.

142 شايفين مسكد و فرضها ما نستعجب من مصرية تسحب غرضها

We have seen Maskat and its custom houses, and are not (therefore) astonished at the sight of a female donkey dragging her girth.

Employed when a person has seen more wonderful things than those he is shown as objects of admiration. Conf. Nos. 24 and 25.

143 شجرة ما تخل عروها اولى قصها

It is better to cut off a tree which does not shade its own rootlets.

On the advisability of giving up the friendship of a person who does not give any protection or help.

144 شراطة عند الهياسة ولا نزاعة عند الدوسة

Conditions ought to be made at the time of ploughing, so that there may be no quarreling at the time of treading out (grain).

It is better to have a distinct understanding between all parties at the commencement of a business than to quarrel needlessly in the middle of it or afterwards.

145 الشرط غالب السالفة — الشرط يغلب السالفة

A condition outweighs a rule or custom.

If two persons have agreed upon a condition contrary to a rule or custom of a place, the arbitrators must decide between them according to the condition.

سالفة 'Om.—a rule, a truce.

146 اشتري فضة وغلف ذهب

Buy silver and cover (it) with gold. Conf. No. 45.

147 شل الزاد الى توصل البلاد

Take sufficient provisions (to last you) till you reach the town or country.

On the advisability of making the necessary preparations before commencing a business.

شِلّ فِي الدِّيک قَبل مِن تِجِي اَذِي واَذِيک 148

Be warned by (the loss of) a cock before this or that (misfortune) attacks (you).

اَذِي and اَذِيک stand for هَاذِي and هَاذِيک 'Om. *fem.* forms for *this* and *that*.

Be warned by a small misfortune before greater ones befall you.

شَمَع ولَا بِن عَمّ 149

Better (to have) a brother-in-law (or a wife's relation) than a cousin (or a blood relation).

A person is likely to get more assistance from the former, because he would be interested in the welfare of his sister.

شِي شِي نَاقَة حَنّت عَلَى وَلَد غَيْرها 150

No she-camel yearns for the young one of another.

Every one for himself.

شِي شِي 'Om. = no, not any.

شَيْلَا بَيْلَا لَا بِيَاذَيْلَا ولَا بِيَاذَيْلَا 151

Mixed up, neither with these nor with those.

Used to express an affair or a thing mixed up, neither good nor bad; also applied to persons.

شَيْلَا بَيْلَا is a common mercantile expression in seaport towns, applied chiefly to grain, such as rice, wheat, &c., meaning that the commodity is mixed up, the purchaser not having the option of selecting the good part and rejecting the bad one. It is evidently derived from Gujarati શેળ શેળ = *commixture* or છેલ્લા = last and શેળા = mixed. بِيَا is the 'Om. form of بِ = with. ذَيْلَا stands for هَاذَيْلَا 'Om. = these.

صَبْر عَن مَجْنُونَک اَن يَجِيک اَجَنّ عَنّه 152

Be patient with your madman lest you may have one madder still.

Bear your misfortunes patiently, for in attempting to overcome them you may meet with worse ones.

153 صَدِيق اَبُوك لَا تَجَافِي or لَا تَعَادِي

Do not offend or injure your father's friend.

* A young man whose father is dead is generally advised to be guided by the advice of his father's friend and not to offend him in any way.

154 صَدِيق مُخسِر عَدُو مُبِين

A friend that causes a loss is decidedly an enemy.

A foolish friend may prove to be worse than an open enemy.

155 صَغَارُهُم فُلْفُل وَكِبَارُهُم زَنْجَبِيل

Their little ones are pepper and their elders ginger.

Applied to people noted for their courage and power.

156 ضَارُب فِي العِزّ وَ ذِلّ مَدْرُوك

Fight for honour, for disgrace can be obtained (at any time).

A person is advised to fight or exert himself for some object which will bring him glory, whilst disgrace can be gained without any exertion.

Eng. eq. (of the latter part). From fame to infamy is a beaten road.

157 ضَرَبْنِي وَبَكَى سَبَقْنِي وَشَكَى

He beat me and cried out and preceded me and complained (against me).

Applied to one who is himself the cause of a complaint, but is foremost in accusing others.

Eng. eq. The offender never pardons. Conf. B. A. P., No. 385.

158 الضَّرْب فِي غَيْرَك كَشَقّ فِي الجِدَار

The beating which another person receives is (to you) like a cleft in a wall.

What pains others does not pain you.

Eng. eq. None can feel the weight of another's burden.

ضُرُب كَلْبَك يَعْرِف جَارَك 159

Beat your dog, so that your neighbour may know (your wish).

If one is postered by visits from a person whom he does not want, an indirect expression of anger used to a servant or other attendants, would be a sure means of getting rid of the unwelcome visitor. Conf. F. A. P., Caput I, No. 187.

مَضْرُوب فِي الرَّاس طَشّ المُخّ مِن الرُّكْعَة 160

He was beaten in the head, but the brain came (*lit.* jumped) out of the knee.

Applied to a sudden or an unexpected event. Thus when a person suddenly or unexpectedly startles with an unimportant proposition or piece of news, a company who are deliberating over a serious affair.

مُخّ 'Om. = brain. رُكْعَة 'Om. = a knee. طَشّ 'Om. = he jumped.

ضُمّ مَالَك ولَا تِتْهَم جَارَك 161

Take care of (*lit.* conceal) your property, and accuse not your neighbour.

Place your property in a safe position, so that there may be no occasion for accusing anybody of having stolen it.

Eng. eq. Safe bind, safe find.

طَالِبَة الوَاحُم كَلَّت المَرْبِيَة 162

The pregnant one (woman) asked for it, but the confined one ate it.

On the misapplication of things. وَاحُم 'Om. = pregnant. المَرْبِيَة from رِبَت 'Om. = she was confined.

طَالَع مِن الخَبّ طَاح فِي الطَّوِي 163

He came out of the *khabb*, but fell into the well.

الخَبّ 'Om. = the inclined plane before a well over which a bullock goes up and down in drawing water.

164 طَالَعْ مِن القُوْم مَرْتُوه الغَزَّايَة

He escaped from the main body of the troops, but was plundered by a party of raiders.

القُوْم 'Om.—a large body of troops. It is usual for them on a march to plunder everybody they come across, unless he belongs to one of the tribes to which they belong or is protected by a man of one of the friendly tribes.

165 طَالَعْ مِن المُوْت طَاح فِي حَضْرَمُوْت

He escaped from death, but fell into Hadramaut.

All these three proverbs (Nos. 163, 164, and 165) are similar to one another in application.

Eng. eq. From the frying pan into the fire.

166 مَطْرُود مِن البِلَاد كَيْف يَسْكُن فِي الفُؤَاد

Driven away from the town or country, how can he be quiet in his heart.

A banished person is not likely to remain quiet in his banishment.

167 الطَّيْر يَحُطّ عَلَى الحَبّ ما يَحُطّ عَلَى القَبّ

Birds alight on grain and not on a staff.

Take by persuasion, not by force.

168 الظَّالِم مَا يَفْلَح

A tyrant does not prosper.

Similar in application to No. 74.

169 ظُرْسُه خَصِيْنُه و بَطْنُه مَحْصِيْنُه

His tooth is his axe and his stomach his store basket.

مَحْصِين stands for مِحْصَن and ظُرْس for فِرْس

Applied to one who possesses nothing.

170 عِدّ مُوج البَحْر الجَايَات أكْثَر عَن السَّايِرَات

Count the waves of the sea, the comers are more than the goers.

Employed in the case of a person who has committed a fault and on behalf of whom pardon has been asked but refused; this proverb is then used as a last argument to obtain pardon for that occasion, as chances for punishment are sure to present themselves again. It is also used as a consolation to a person who has lost any valuable thing. Conf. F. A P. Tom III, No. 1937.

171 العَطْشَانَة تَكْسِر الحَوْض

A thirsty one (she-camel) breaks the tank of water (to get at it).

Applied in the sense of want of patience on the part of a needy person.

Eng. eq. A hungry man, an angry man.

172 عَطِى المَرِيض شَهُوتَة وقُولَه عَافَاك اللّه

Give the sick man what he desires and say, "May God give you health!"

Used by a person when he is in great need of a thing and asks it as a favour.

173 عَقّ حَصَاة إلى طِيَاحَهَا فَلَك

Throw a stone; (perchance) by the time it falls (to the ground) the wheel of fortune will have revolved.

Employed in consoling persons who are found in deep and anxious thoughts. Origin of the proverb.—It is related that Nu'mán bin Mundhir used to consider a certain number of days unlucky and the others lucky, and that it was his habit during the unlucky period if anybody spoke to him to order his head to be cut off. Now, Nu'mán had an intimate friend living at some distance from him; he died leaving a son, who in order to ingratiate himself into the favour of the king used to send him costly presents. This young man having been advised by his mother to visit the king personally repaired to him, but was not aware of his custom of beheading everybody that spoke to him on his unlucky days. It happened that the day on which the young man visited the king was one of his unlucky days, and the latter therefore ordered his head to be struck off when he saluted him. After a great deal of entreaty the young man obtained a respite of a certain

number of days to enable him to arrange his affairs before dying, on condition of his giving a security who should undergo the penalty in the event of his not returning within the time. An old man stood as his security, and the young man went away to arrange his affairs. On the last day of the respite the young man not having returned, the old man was ordered to undergo the punishment, but he asked as a favour that it may be put off till sunset and said, "Throw a stone; (perchance) by the time it falls (to the ground), the wheel of fortune will have revolved." A stone was therefore thrown up, and by the time it could come down to the ground, the young man returned and also the sun set, and as that was the last day of the unlucky period, both the men escaped with their lives. Conf. Al-Meydánee's version of the narrative, F. A. P., Caput I, No. 361, and Sale's Translation of the Kurán, Preliminary Discourse.

174 تَعَلَّم الحَسَانَة عَلَى رُوس المَجَانِين

Learn to shave on the heads of madmen.

Applied in the sense of experimenting first on valueless or worthless things.

حَسَّن 'Om.—he shaved.

175 عَلَيْك بالبِزَّل ولَو هِزَّل

You have (only) to look to the purity or good origin (of a thing) even if it be thin or emaciated.

On the principal point to be borne in mind in selecting a wife or an animal.

176 عَلَيْه سِتّ وكَبْشُه بِسِتّ

There are six (dollars) against him and his sheep is worth six (dollars).

Eng. eq. Six of one and half-a-dozen of the other.

177 عِنْد الحَصَايِد يَدُور القَصَايِد

At the time of harvest he goes about singing songs.

Applied to one who wastes his time in vain and frivolous things when there is an important business on hand.

178 عِنْد الخُطْبَة اللِسَان رُطْبَة وخِلَاف تِيبَس كَمَا الحَطْبَة

At the time of asking in marriage the tongue is moist, but afterwards it dries up like wood.

While one is in need of a thing sweet promises are made, but directly the object is gained they are all forgotten.

Eng. eq. Vows made in storms are forgotten in calms.

179 عِنْدِى اللَحْم مَا اَصِيد الرِّخِيم

I have meat; I shall not hunt vultures. Said by a person who has good things in his possession and need not therefore trouble himself about getting any inferior ones.

180 عُوْرَا تَقُود رَمْدَانَة

A blind woman leading one suffering from ophthalmia.

The blind leading the blind.

181 العَيْرِيَّة تَزْهَا ولَا تَدُوم

A borrowed thing may appear beautiful, but (the possession of it) does not last.

Ever so beautiful a borrowed thing may be, it must sooner or later pass away from the possession of the borrower of it.

العَيْرِيَّة stands for العَارِيَّة = a loan.

182 العَيْش فِي مَزْوِدْنَا والنَّار فِي مَضْرِبْنَا والمَا فِي قَرْبِنَا ونِجِي عِنْد النَّاس عَلَى هَوَانَا وطَرْبِنَا

We have food in our food-bag, fire in our pouch, and water in our water-skin, and we come to people just as we like and please.

Applied to persons who can afford to be independent of others.

183 عَيْنِى غَرِيَّة مِن مَرَق البَرِيَّة

My eye is satiated with (the sight of) the gravy of anchovies.

Applied to one who is sick of a thing from an excess of it.

بَرِيَّة Om. = anchovy. *Engraulis commersonianus.*

184 عَيْن مَا شَافَتْك مَا لَامَتْك

The eye that does not see you does not blame you.

Eng. eq. What the eye sees not the heart rues not.

185 غَابَت السِّكْرَة وجَات الفِكْرَة

The intoxication has passed away and anxiety has come.

Applied to pain after pleasure and penury after plentifulness. Conf. B. A. P., No. 292.

186 الغَالِي مَا يِنْبَاع مَرْتَين

What is dear (in price) cannot be sold twice (at the same high price).

This proverb is generally used in reply to a shopkeeper who says that he himself has purchased a certain thing dear.

187 غَضّاً بِيَدْيك ولَا نَضِيجاً بِيد غَيْرك

Better a raw thing with your own hands than a ripe one with the hands of another.

On the advisability of accomplishing a thing oneself, however clumsily it may be done, instead of depending upon others to do it in a clever manner.

188 الغُلْب طُوع

He who is defeated obeys. Conf. F. A. P., Caput XXV, No. 166.

189 الفُعْل فُعْل النَّذَّال ويَطِيح القَضَى فِي الرَّجَّال

The act is that of the mean, but its consequences fall upon the great man.

The sheikh of a tribe or the elder of a family is held responsible for the acts of persons belonging to the tribe or family, however low or mean they may be in position.

190 فِنْدَال دَيْوَل قِيسِيه وشِبْرِيه

A Deiwal sweet potato, compare it (with others) and measure it with the span. A woman is supposed to be about to buy a sweet potato and does not know which one to select.

Applied to a person who is confused and unable to decide what course to adopt.

Deiwal is the name by which the town of Tatta in Sind is known to the 'Ománees, who apply the name Deiwalee Banyans to the Hindus of that province. It is possible that sweet potatoes were imported from Sind in old days, and that they were very irregular in shape and difficult of being measured or compared with one another.

فِنْدَال 'Om. = sweet potato.

191 فِي طرِيق رَايِع مِن أَدْرَب عَلَّك

On the road take for a companion (*lit.* accompany) one who is stronger than yourself.

On the advisability of having a strong protector on a journey or in any important undertaking.

رَايَع 'Om. = he accompanied.

192 قَارُوت العَالِي إِذَا طَلَع الفَلَج قَالت حَالِي

(Like) Károot al-'álee which whenever a new spring is discovered (*lit.* comes out) says, "It is mine."

Applied to a person who grabs everything he can get hold of, even on the ground of a fictitious claim.

Upper *Kárroot* is a village in the valley of the Beni-Ruwáheh, the people of which lay a claim to every spring that is found in its vicinity on the ground of its being a feeder of their own springs which, they allege, would dry if the new one is utilized in any other direction.

193 قَبّ وحِزَاق والرَّبّ رِزَّاق

A club and a waist-wrapper, and the Lord is the provider.

Applied to an improvident person who does not care or trouble himself about earning his livelihood.

حِزَاق 'Om. = a waist-wrapper.

194 قَدِيم البَرِيسُم ولا جَدِيد الصُّوف

Better old silk than new wool.

It is better to have a valuable friend or thing though old than a valueless friend or thing though new.

195 قَرَيْن وَازُع مُغَتَّل عَلَى سِمَايِل

Karein Wázu'a overshades *Simáil*.

Applied to a defect or a drawback in a person or thing.

Eng. eq. One scabbed sheep mars a flock.

Karein Wázu'a was a lofty fortified building on a hill in the town of Simáil, and used to overshade all the date-palm plantations underneath it, thus preventing the trees from having a vigorous growth. It was pulled down in 1876 by an order of the late Sultan of Maskat.

مُغَتَّل from غَتَّل 'Om.=it shaded or overshaded.

196 كَان تَبْغَى تَصَلِّي مَا تُغْلِب or مَا تَعَاىَ

If you want to pray, you cannot be prevented (*lit.* overcome).

Eng. eq. Where there is a will there is always a way.

197 كَان يَبْغَى يَمُوت وِسِمُه

If he wants to die, brand him. كَان stands for إِن كَان =if.

Said of one who is already suffering from an affliction, and to whom any additional pain would be a sure cause of his ruin or death. Branding is a common remedy in 'Omán and is resorted to even for trivial complaints.

198 كَان بَغَيْت الوَلَد نَقِّي لَه جِدًّا وخَال

If you want a good son, select for him a good (maternal) grandfather and a good (maternal) uncle. نَقَّى 'Om.=he selected.

On the selection of a good wife.

199 كَان تِجِي عَقَبَة وكَان تِجِي ظَيْت مِلْتَقَا فِي رِيَام

Whether you come by the pass or over the rocks the meeting place would be Riyám. عَقَبَة 'Om.=a pass. ظَيْت=a rock. Both the roads mentioned in the proverb on the way from Matrah to Maskat meet at Riyám.

Said when the result is likely to be the same whichever way a thing is done.

كان مستضر من جبرو كيف يشيع له في ريام 200

If he has been attacked by an evil spirit at Jabroo, how can the remedial measures be adopted in Riyám? *Jabroo* is a suburb of Matrah, and *Riyám* a village on the way from Matrah to Maskat. مضرة 'Om. = condition of a person attacked by an evil spirit. شيع له 'Om. = an offering of food and incense was made to an evil spirit.

On the unsuitableness of two things to each other.

كان ما شي طحين عصده 201

If there be no flour, prepare '*aseedeh* of it. '*Aseedeh* is a sort of thick gruel the principal constituent of which is wheat flour.

Applied to a person who asks for a greater thing than the one for which his request has been already refused. It is generally applied to an impudent beggar.

Refused a crust, he demanded a loaf.

كبره كبر نخلة وعقله عقل سخلة 202

His size is that of a date-palm, but his reasoning (intelligence) that of a kid.

Applied to one who has a large body but a small brain,—a fool. Conf. F. A. P., Tom. III, No. 1856.

الكثرة تغلب الشجعان 203

Numbers overpower the brave.

كثير في العزاف غم في البطن 204

Plenty on the table, but sadness in the stomach.

Applied to a thing which is plentiful but profitless. Quantity without quality. *Sadness in the stomach* on account of the food being plentiful but not of the quality to benefit the person eating it.

عزاف 'Om. = a small round mat on which the tray containing the several articles of food is placed. It is called also in some parts سفرة and in others كفار.

كِدِّي يَا غَزَالَة وِكِلِي يَا سِبَالَة 205

Toil away, O Gazelle, and eat away, O Monkey.

Used when a good person of rank works hard, and a wretched worthless fellow enjoys the fruit of the work; for instance, the master or lady of a house may work hard to earn money, whilst a slave or a lazy worthless member of the family derives the benefit of it.

سِبَال 'Om. = a monkey.

Eng. eq. Masters are generally the greatest servants in the house.

كَالسَّيْف فِي قَطَاعَتُه وَالرَّجِل بِيَا رَبَاعَتُه 206

Like a sword in its scabbard or a man with his friends.

Applied to an untried person or thing.

Eng. eq. Judge not a ship as she lies on the stocks.

كَعُور بِيَاق يِبَكِّر رِشْبَتُه وِيلُوح عِسقَتُه 207

Like the blind man of Biyák who is always replenishing his *hookah* with water and waving the date-stalk about (to kindle a fire). رِشْبَة 'Om. = a *hookah*. *Biyák* = a village in the valley of Beni-Ruwáheh.

Eng. eq. Many sift night and day, and yet get nothing but bran.

كُفّ وَاحِدَة مَا يَصَفَّق 208

One palm of the hand does not cause a clapping of hands.

Eng. eq. 'Tis the second blow that makes a fray.

كَلَام الوَطَا أَحْسَن مِن العَطَا 209

Humble words are better than a gift. وَطَا *pl.* of وَطِي 'Om. = low.

كَلْب بَيْن كَلْبَيْن ذَلِيل بَيْن ثَلَاث قَتِيل 210

A dog between two dogs is a coward and among three dogs is killed.

The greater the number is of rivals in a field, the less the chance is of a man being bold or successful.

كَلْب دَايِر ولاَ أَسَد رَاقِد 211

Better a roving dog than a sleeping lion.

Eng. eq. A living dog is better than a dead lion.

كُلّ تَعْسِيرَة فِيهَا خِيرَة 212

In every difficulty there is a blessing.

Used in the sense of consolation when one meets with a difficulty or disappointment.

كُلّ حَد كِسَّاحَتُه قُدَّام بِيتُه 213

Everyone has his sweepings in front of his house.

Every one has his faults and defects before him. كُلّ حَد stands for كُلّ أَحَد and كِسَّاحَة for كُسَاحَة.

Eng. eq. Every light has its shadow.

كُلّ حِلَّة فِيهَا عِلَّة 214

Every quarter (of a town or village) has some drawback or another.

Eng. eq. Every bean hath its black.

كُلّ مَحْصُور مَاخُوذ 215

Everything or everyone that is besieged is taken or conquered.

A besieging enemy has only to wait patiently for a besieged place to fall.

كُلّ ذَنْبُه عَلَى جُلْبُه 216

Everyone has (the responsibility of) his crime upon himself.

Everyone must himself suffer the penalty of his fault.

Eng. eq. Every herring must hang by its own head.

كُلّ سَاقِطَة إِلْهَا رَاقِطَة وكُلّ عَاجِزَة إِلْهَا بَخْت 217

For everything that drops there is a picker-up and for every spinster there is luck.

رَاقِطَة stands for لَاقِطَة, إِلْهَا for لَهَا, and عَاجِزَة perhaps for عَازِبَة.

Eng. eq. No pot is so ugly as not to find a cover.

218 كُلّ شَارُب إلهُ مُقَصّ

Every moustache has its scissors.

Applied to the adaptation of things.

219 كُلّ بِعَقْلُه رَاضِي وعَمّا مَالُه لَا

Everyone is pleased with his reasoning (intelligence) but not so in regard to his wealth.

Everyone is contented with his intellectual powers but not with the wealth he possesses.

220 كُلّ كَمَا كُلّ جَا الهَبُوب وشَلّه

All (the dust) is alike; the wind came and took it away. هَبُوب 'Om. = wind.

Applied to persons or things all equally bad.

221 كِلْمَة الّتِي تَخَجّل مِنْهَا بَدّيهَا قَبل

Mention first the word you are ashamed or shy about.

All disagreeable conditions ought to be settled before commencing a business.

Eng. eq. A word before is worth two behind.

222 كُلّ يَمْدَح سُوقًا رِبح فِيه

Everyone praises a market in which there is a profit (for himself).

223 كَمَا بُو يَدُوز جَمَل خَالَتُه مِن لَقِيه رِكِب وغَنّى ومِن مَا لَقِيه مِشَى وغَنّى

Like one who searches for his aunt's camel; if he finds it, he rides and sings; and if he does not find it, he walks and sings. مِن stands for إذا.

Applied to a person who is sent in search of a thing or to do a business in which he takes no interest.

224 كما سُوْر آدم مِن شَلَيْتَه مَن ومِن وَدَزْتَه مَن

Like the cat of Adam which if you lifted up was a maund in weight and which if you left alone was (still) a maund in weight.

This proverb can be used in two senses. First, in the sense of the *Eng. eq.* A rolling stone gathers no moss. Secondly, in the sense of an ungrateful or a naturally bad person who is not affected by the kind of treatment he receives at the hands of people.

Adam is the name of a town in 'Omán Proper, where a lean and miserable cat once lived; it used to go about in the town, and whether it was fed well or not it never changed in its weight.

225 كما ضَافُوَة العُوْرا يَجِيها الرِّزْق إلى مِنْقَابَها

Like the blind Roller to whose beak food finds its way.

Applied to a person who cannot exert himself and has to depend upon others for food.

ضَافُوَة 'Om.=Indian roller—*Coracias indica.*

226 كما قَصَّاب نَزْوَى

Like a butcher of Nazwá.

Applied to a discontented person who always complains of a loss in his business or other matter.

The butchers of Nazwá are noted for complaining of a loss, though there may be an undoubted proof of the case being the opposite of it.

One of them was once given a bullock for nothing and told to slaughter it and sell the meat for his own benefit. On being questioned as to the result, he complained of having suffered a loss though he had not to pay anything as the price of the bullock, and explained that the wear of his knives had also to be taken into consideration. Nazwá is a large important town in 'Omán and was at one time its capital.

227 لا تَأْمَن مِن الثُوْر ولو رَاسُه فِي التَنُوْر

Do not trust a bull even if its head be in an oven.

A caution against trusting a dangerous enemy even if he has fallen.

228 لَا حَامِض يَجْلِي الكَبْد ولَا الاَحْمَر يَفْرَحُوبِه الصَّغِيرِين

Neither an acid thing to clear the liver, nor a red thing to gladden children.

Said of a useless thing or person.

229 لَبَّيك يا نَافِع ولَوْ سَاحِر

Here I am, O (my) benefactor, even if you are an enchanter (oppressor). In 'Omán enchanters are looked upon as oppressors of mankind.

The call of one's benefactor is readily answered even if he be a wicked man.

230 اللَّحْم حَال السَّحَر والدَّعوا على المطيطوة

The meat is for the sorcerers or enchanters, whilst the curse falls on the (poor) lapwing. مُطَيْطُوة 'Om.—a lapwing—*Lobivanellus goensis*.

The people of 'Omán generally have a firm belief in sorcery or enchantment, which is supposed to be in many instances the cause of disease and death. Enchanters are supposed to have three animals in their service, namely, ضَبُع *fem.* ضَبْعُون (hyena), مُقَعَاشَة (fox), and مُطَيْطُو (lapwing), which last acts as their messenger. The cry of this bird is looked upon as a very inauspicious omen, and the hearer of it always curses the bird with the phrase عَظْم حَلْقَش (May a bone stick in thy throat!). The cries of certain other animals are also looked upon as omens. Thus the cry of a cow is considered an inauspicious one, and is replied to by the curse عَلَى قُرُونَش (On thy horns may the danger fall!); the cry of a donkey is auspicious, and is replied to by the benediction خَيْر يَا بُو خُضَيْر (Mayest thou prosper, O harbinger of plenty!); the cry of a camel is judged according to its nature; if affectionate and tender it is considered auspicious, and if it be like a groan inauspicious, the phrase used in either case in reply being حَنِينَش وَلَا نِينَش. (Let us have thy affectionate cry but none of thy groaning).

In the proverb the poor bird is cursed as being the messenger of the enchanters, who are supposed to be at a distance enjoying themselves on meat and unaffected by the curse.

The carrier of a disagreeable message is exposed to ill-treatment whilst the sender of it is safe at a distance.

231 لِيَدْخِل بَيْن البَصَل والثُّوم يَطْلَع خَابِس ومَذْمُوم

He who enters among onions and garlic comes out stinking and in a contemptible plight.

Eng. eq. He that lies with dogs must expect to rise with fleas.

232 لُقْمَة وَلَا بُرْمَة

Better a morsel (ready cooked) than an (empty) earthen cooking pot.

It is better to have something which is likely to be of immediate use even if it be a little, than to have much of what is useless.

بُرْمَة 'Om. = an earthen cooking vessel.

Eng. eq. A bird in hand is worth two in the bush.

233 لَو سِنْد فِيهَا خَيْر سَدَّت دَرَاوِيشَهَا or كَفَّت سِنُودَهَا

If there was any good in Sind, it (Sind) would have been enough for its Darweishes or Sindees.

Applied to a useless person who is not able to help himself for want of good qualities in him, much less those who depend on him.

234 لَو تَرْكُض رَكْض الوُحُوش غَيْر رِزْقَك مَا تَحُوش *

Even if you run at the rate that wild animals do, you will not get more than your (predestined share of) means of sustenance.

Applied in the sense of the preponderance of one's luck over his exertions.

235 لَو مَا الدَّهُوج مَا نَفَقَت الخُمَامَة

If there were no fools, rubbish (sweepings) would not be sold (*lit.* spent or used up). Conf. No. 118.

236 لِي يَجْرِي عَلَى التَّعِيبَة يَجْرِي عَلَى المُنْهَنِّيَة

What happens to one in poor or embarrassed circumstances happens also to one in easy circumstances.

237 لِي مَا يَادِبْ أَهْلُه يَادِبْ الزَّمَان

He who is not taught (discipline) by his people, is taught by fortune (time).

Experience of the world and vicissitudes of fortune soon teach one how to behave himself, if he has not already learnt to do it.

238 مَا بَادَل بِمَحْبُوب الحَشَا جِنِّي

One does not exchange a sweetheart for a *jinnee* (evil spirit).

One does not exchange a good thing or a favourite person for one that is bad and disliked.

239 مَاتَت الحِمَارَة وانْقَطَعت الزَّوَارَة

The donkey is dead and the visiting is over.

Applied to an ungrateful person who ceases paying visits when his purpose is gained.

240 مَا يَحُكّ شَفْرِي إِلَّا ظُفْرِي

Nothing or nobody can scratch my lip but my own nail.

Nobody can do one's work so well as himself.

241 مَا دَام زَاجِيَة بِنْزَجِيهَا ويوم تَزْجِي شِي حَنْجِي شِي

While it passes (can be palmed off), we shall make it pass; but when it won't pass (cannot be palmed off), we shall not come.

Origin.—It is related that an uneducated man once went to a village and set up there as a teacher. A short time after, an educated man happening to come there too, the villagers asked him to examine the boys, but he found that they knew nothing, and on his asking the teacher as to how he had taught them, is supposed to have received the above reply.

Applied to one who tries to serve for a time without knowing much about the work he has to do.

شِي 'Om. = not ب and ح are both used in the 'Ománee dialect to indicate the future tense.

مَا دَام السَّيْل يَسْكِب الحَصَى رُطُب 242

While the rain pours, the stone is moist.

While fortune smiles, everything that one does is admired. Conf. No. 35.

المَا زَايِد عَلَى الطَّحِين 243

Water more (in proportion) than the flour (in the preparation of dough).

Applied in the sense of want of proportions.

Eng. eq. Make not your sail too large for your ship.

مَا سَادَّة حَال بِلْهَا يَجَبَّن مِنْهَا 244

It (milk) is not enough for her (the cow's) calf, and he wants to make cheese out of it. سَدّ 'Om. = It was enough.

Applied to one who wants to venture beyond his means.

مَا يَسْتَوِى الحُمْب فِي الحَيْل والمَحْبُوب رَاكِب خَيْل or فِي الغُبْرَة 245

It cannot be that the sweetheart should be in Hail and the lover on horseback or at Gobreh. الحُمْب stands for المُحَبّ

On the necessity of certain conditions being present for certain matters; thus, according to 'Ománee ideas, it would be difficult for two lovers to love each other when they are at a distance from each other.

مَا يَسْتَوِي سَيْفَيْن فِي قَطَاعَة ولا سُلْطَانَيْن رَبَاعَة 246

Two swords cannot be (contained) in one scabbard, nor can two sultans (reign) together.

Eng. eqs. Two stars cannot shine in the same hemisphere. One nail drives out another. Conf. F. A. P., Caput XXIII, No. 365.

مَا يَسْتَوِى وَدِّي بِنْش وشِلِّي بِنِيشَا 247

"Leave off your child and take up our children," is a thing that cannot be (done).

Applied to one who proposes an unnatural course, or asks another person to do his work when that other person has his own work to attend to. وَدَّر 'Om. = he abandoned or left.

248 مَا يَشْنَق ثُوب بَيْن عَاقِلَيْن

Cloth cannot be torn between two wise men.

Friendship between two wise men is not easily broken off.

249 مَا شَيْ شَرْجَة ضَاقت بِسَيْلَهَا

There is no watercourse or rivulet which is ever choked by its own flow (water).

No difficulty can be found in adapting two things to each other when they are intended or made for that purpose.

250 مَا شَيْ صُبَّة نَجِت مِن حَشَف

There is no heap (of dates) free from dry and shrivelled ones.

There are black sheep in every flock.

251 مَا يُضَارِب القُوم غَيْر بُوحَاتِي اللُّوم

Nobody fights an army but he who is afraid of blame. حَتَّى 'Om. = he was afraid.

Nobody goes willingly to a war. It is the fear of being blamed afterwards as a coward that induces one to do so.

252 مَا طُرْفَة بَاطِنِيَّة فِي غُرْفَة

A Bâṭineh woman in a room is no wonder.

The women of the Bâṭineh coast are looked upon as common, and therefore the fact of one of them being in a room (probably as one's wife) is not a matter of wonder.

253 مَا تَطِيح الصَّدِيفَة or السَّقِيفَة إِلَّا فِي or عَلَى رَأْس الضَّعِيفَة

A misfortune or a roof does not fall on the head of any but an unfortunate (weak) person. صَدِيفَة 'Om. = a calamity.

This proverb is used in the sense of misfortunes generally befalling persons who are already unfortunate or unable to bear them.

Eng. eq. Misfortunes seldom come single.

254 ما نعرف من حي عاصم لجرادبها

We do not know Haya 'Asum from Jarádee.

Applied to two things which cannot be distinguished from each other on account of there being very little difference between them. *Haya 'Asum* and *Jarádee* are two places on the Bâṭineh coast so close to each other, that it is difficult to tell the boundary line of one from that of the other. Conf. No. 138.

255 ما يعرف زطني إلا ولد بطني

Nobody knows my secret language but my own son.

Engr. eq. The wearer best knows where the shoe pinches.

256 ما يغيب دين غير يله طلاب

No debt or claim is lost; it is sure to have its demanders (sooner or later).

Generally applied to a case of blood revenge.

Origin.—The 'Ománees attribute this proverb to the time of the Prophet 'Eesá (Jesus) who, it is related, one day climbed up a tree on a bank of a river and sat there, when a horseman also happened to come there, and having dismounted from his horse and undressed himself jumped into the river for bathing. After bathing he remounted his horse and went away, forgetting to carry with him a bag of money which he had deposited on the bank of the river. He was shortly after followed by another man, who also selected the same spot for bathing, and on redressing having discovered the bag of money took it away with him. Soon after this a third man came to the same spot, and while he was in the act of bathing, the horseman having by this time discovered his loss returned galloping to the tree and demanded his bag back from the man who was actually bathing at the time. He, however, denied all knowledge of it, and an altercation took place between them, whereupon the horseman drew his sword and slew the other man. "'Eesá, who had been quietly watching all these events, was greatly astonished and perplexed, upon which a voice from Heaven said, "'Eesá, do not be astonished; the forefathers of the horseman were great tyrants and used to force labour from people, while the second man's forefathers were among the labourers who were unpaid, and he had therefore a claim which has now been paid. In the case of the third man one of his forefathers had killed a forefather of the horseman, who has now in retaliation for it killed him. Thus no claim is lost. Sooner or later it is sure to have its demanders." Conf. story 120th in "نوادر احمد شهاب الدين القليوبي"

257 المُغَسِّل مَا يَضْمَن بِالجَنَّة

The washer of the dead does not guarantee Paradise (to the dead).

Applied in the sense of means to obtain a thing not necessarily meaning success. A person helping one is not bound to bring the thing to a successful issue.

258 مَا كُلّ مَرَّة تَسْلِم الجَرَّة

Not every time is the jar saved.

Eng. eq. A pitcher goes often to the well but is broken at last.

259 مَال الجَبَل حَال الجَمَل ومَال البِجَاب مَاوَاة ذِهَاب

The date-palms of a mountainous country belong to the camel, and the date-palms watered with a leathern bucket are in danger of perishing.

Applied to labour without profit, and also to a person between two misfortunes. The first part of the proverb is expressed figuratively, the expense of bringing down the produce of a mountainous country on camel-back being too great to allow of any profit. مال = property which in 'Omán being composed principally of date-palms, is the name now commonly applied to them. البِجَاب 'Om. = a skin, pl. بُجُب

260 مَال القَرَاح مِن طَاح رَاح

Date-palms planted in sand, when they fall down, are lost. قَرَاح 'Om. = Sandy soil.

Everything founded on unstable ground is in danger of being lost. A weak foundation destroys the superstructure.

261 مَالَك تَدَقّلِي قَال دَاية تَشْقلِي

"Why do you beat me?" He said, "Because the cartilages of the breast are splitting me."

Applied to a person who revenges himself upon others than those who have injured him.

262 مَالَك تَصِيح قَال فِي بَطْنِي رِيح

"Why do you bawl out?" He said, "There is wind in my stomach."

Nobody complains without a reason.

263 مَال مَال أَبُوهَا ويزودُوهَا فِي سِيعَةْ

The property is her father's, and yet they give her food for the journey only in a palm-leaf basket.

Applied to one who has no control over his own affairs.

264 مَا يَنْفَعَك غَيْر دَم عَقْبَيْك او شُرَا دَرْهَمَيْك

Nothing will benefit you but the blood of your heel (your son), or the purchase of your money (your slave).

It is only those who are interested in a person's welfare that help him.

265 مَا عَلَى الكَرِيم تَشَرُّط

There are no conditions binding on the generous.

Whatever a generous man gives ought to be taken without restricting him to any conditions.

Eng. eq. Never look a gift horse in the mouth.

266 مَا قَاصِر عَلَيْنَا لُومِي بِنَعْصُر شَرْجَبَان

We are not short of limes that we should squeeze *sharjabán* (*Solanum violaceum*).

On substituting a bad thing for a good one which is in abundance. Limes are abundant in 'Omán, and it would be preposterous to substitute for them a fruit which only somewhat resembles them in appearance.

267 مَال البُخْلَا يَاكُل البُطْلَا ومَال البُطْلَا حَال الشَّيْطَان والمُخْزَا

The vain and the useless enjoy the wealth of the stingy, while the property of the idle and useless belongs to the devil and the vile or contemptuous.

A miser hordes his wealth to be wasted in immoral and vain purposes by his heirs who are generally idle and worthless.

Eng. eq. The devil lies in the miser's chest.

268 مِثْقَال مِن الحُكُم ولا بَهَار مِن المُرُوَّة

A *mithkâl* in weight of authority is better than a *bahár* of kindness.

Acts in obedience to orders of persons in authority are more readily performed than those prompted by kindness.

Eng. eq. A friend at court is better than a penny in the purse.

Mithkâl=the smallest weight known to the Arabs, equal to a dirham and three-sevenths of a dirham.

Bahár stands for *buhár*=the largest weight known to the 'Ománees, equal to 200 Maskat maunds.

269 المَلْجُور يَصِيح والمَا شَالَتْه رِيح

The bucket pulley makes a noise, but the water is carried away by the wind.

Eng. eq. Much ado about nothing.

مَلْجُور 'Om. =a pulley fixed over a well, over which a rope passes for drawing water. Conf. F. A. P., Caput XII. No. 81, and Caput V., No. 13.

270 مُرَيمُو إذَا سَدَّت بَابَهَا بَاب اللَّه مَفْتُوح

If Mureimo closes her door, the door of God is open.

This proverb is used when a person tries to put off giving help or a gift, by stratagem.

Mureimo was a wily and cunning woman who lived in Wadi Akk in the reign of Sayyid Sulṭán bin Hamad.

271 مَسْعُودَة تَاتِي الخَبَر غَيْر مَشْدُودَة

Mas'oodeh brings news without being asked. زَشَدَ 'Om. =he asked.

Applied to a meddlesome person who interrupts others in conversation.

272 مَعْنَا القَمَر عَن صِرَاج الجَانْيَان

We have the moon instead of the Bányán's lamp. صِرَاج 'Om., stands for سِرَاج=a lamp.

A Bányán's lamp is supposed to last much longer and to give brighter light than an Arab's; hence the comparison with it in the proverb, that being the best lamp that an Arab can think of.

273 مِن آدْمِي الحَرْكَة ومِن اَللّٰه البَرْكَة

Action is expected from man and blessing from God.

Eng. eq. Use the means and God will give the blessing.

274 مِن البَرّوا حَرْقَاة ومِن البَحْروا غَرْقَاة

In the direction of land there is fear of being burnt, and in the direction of the sea there is fear of being drowned.

Between two difficulties.

275 مِن يَبِيع الفِجْل يَسْتَافَى العَبَس

He who sells radishes is paid in date-stones.

Eng. eq. As you sow, so you shall reap. مِن 'Om. stands for مَن=who. عَبَس 'Om.=date-stones. Radishes are generally sold by gardeners, who take payment for them in date-stones on which they feed their cattle. As the selling of radishes is considered a vulgar occupation, so is also the kind of payment for them.

276 مِن جَادَ عَادَ

He that gives (anything) out of generosity has it returned.

"He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord; and that which he hath given will He pay him again." Proverbs, XIX, 17.

277 مِن بَغَيْت تَذْكِر فَعَل زَيْن وَلَّا شَيْن

If you wish to be remembered do good or otherwise evil. مِن stands for إِن=if, and وَلَّا for وَإِلَّا=otherwise.

278 مِن بَغَيْت عَوْنَهَا بَرَق فِي لَوْنَهَا

If you want the milk a pot full, examine her (the cow's) state (*lit.* colour). Conf. No. 49.

On the advisability of examining a thing or animal carefully before making a purchase.

279 مِن بِنَى عَلَى يَدُهُ قُصَّت

He who has (a wall) built over his hand must have it cut off.

He who meddles with the business of others must suffer for it.

Eng. eq. He that blows in the dust fills his eyes.

280 مِن جِيت مَا بِك فَرَح وِمِن سِرْت مَا مَفْقُود

When you come nobody is glad, and when you go away you are not missed.

Applied to a useless person.

281 مِن حَبَّيت طَبَّيت وِمِن بَغَضْت قَلَعْت العيون

You consider him agreeable whom you love, whilst you pull out the eyes of him whom you hate.

Applied to a person who winks at the faults of those whom he likes and is ready to find fault with those whom he hates.

Eng. eq. (Of the first part.) Love is blind. (Of the latter part.) Faults are thick where love is thin. Conf. F. A P., Caput XXIV., No. 283.

282 مِن حَشَّت تَعَشَّت

If you cut (grass), you will get your dinner.

On the advisability of working to obtain one's livelihood.

283 مِن يَخَرَّج ولَا يَحْسُب يِفْلِس ولَا يَدْرِى

He who spends and does not calculate, becomes bankrupt and is not aware (of it).

Eng. eq. Who spends before he thrives will starve before he thinks. Conf. F. A. P., Caput XXIV., No. 491.

284 مِن خَصَمَك الجَار اَشْتَل مِن الدَّار

If your neighbour is your enemy, remove from the house.

On avoiding quarrelsome neighbours and keeping aloof from disagreeable things. Conf. B. A. P., No. 9.

285 مِن رأيت صاحبك يتحسّن بل

If you see your friend being shaved apply water (to your own head).

Used in the sense of being warned by the calamities of others.

Similar to "مَن حُلقت لحية جارِه — فليسكب الماء على لحيته" Let him who has his neighbour's beard shaved pour water over his own beard." Conf. B. A. P., No. 10.

286 مِنّش رُوحش تدُورِي الدّق ولقيتي

You yourself are the cause (of the misfortune); you hunt after beating and have got it.

Said to one who has brought a misfortune on herself and complains of it.

287 مِنّك رُوحك خسوفينك جرحة يدك

You yourself are the cause of your injury, the wound of your hand.

Similar to the last one.

288 مِن شاف بعينه ضاق ضينه

He who sees with his eye is straitened in his heart. ضين 'Om. = heart.

Eng. eq. What the eye sees not the heart rues not.

289 مِن ضرب قبه خذ حبه

He who strikes his staff gets his (share of) wheat.

At harvest time the people that help in beating corn are paid for their trouble in grain.

Eng. eq. No gains without pains.

290 مِن طمع طبع

He who covets sinks or is drowned. طبع 'Om. = it (a ship) sank.

Eng. eq. The covetous man is his own tormentor. Conf. F. A. P., Tom III., No. 1829.

291 مِن عِنْد الحَبِيب ولَو حَبَّة زَبِيب

From a loved one or friend, even if it be a raisin.

A gift from a friend is highly appreciated, even if it be a trifling one. Conf. B. A. P., No. 387.

292 مِن غَاب عَن العَيْن غَاب عَن القَلْب

He who is not before the eye is absent from the mind.

Eng. eq. Out of sight out of mind.

293 مِن غَلْبَش حَبَّش كِيلِيه

Owing to the victory (of the times) over you, measure out your grain (to yourself).

Applied to a dull market or want of work owing to hard times. In the proverb the shopkeeper is supposed to be a woman, and is told to amuse herself by measuring out grain to herself for a want of purchasers. ش is the pronominal affix of the second person fem. sing. in the 'Ománee dialect. حَبّ = wheat.

294 مِن كَان لَه حِيلَة فَلْيَحْتَال لِأَنّ الحِيَل مِن شِيَم الرِّجَال

Let him who has means of employing a stratagem (to gain his object) do so, for stratagems are (reckoned) among the qualities of good and brave men.

295 مِن لم يَفْكَّر فِي العَوَاقِب مَالَه فِي الدَّهْر صَاحِب

He who does not think of consequences has no friend in the world.

296 مِن نَاخ الجَمَل كِثْرَت مَعَالِيقَه

When a he-camel lies down its loads increase.

Eng. eq. All lay loads on the willing horse.

297 مِن يَتْكِل عَلَى غَيْرَه يَقَلّ خَيْرَه

He who depends upon another loses his wealth (*lit.* his wealth diminishes).

Eng. eq. Trusting to others' care has been the ruin of many.

298 مُو يَرِدّه عَلَي البِلاَد لاَ مَال ولاَ اَوْلاَد

What would bring him back to the country or town? He has neither property nor children.

Applied to one who has left a place and has no interest in it.

مُو 'Om. stands for مَا = what.

299 مُو عَلَّمَك بِالقِسْمَة قال بِمَا فِي وَجْه الذِيب

"What has taught thee (O fox,) to make a proper distribution?" It said, "What the wolf has (received) in its face."

Applied in the sense of taking a warning from the fate of others.

Origin.—It is based on a very old fable, in which a lion is supposed to have asked a wolf to distribute some meat between all the animals, and the latter having kept the best portion for itself, the lion was enraged and slapped it in the face. A fox having been next asked to do it, took for itself the worst part, whereupon the lion is supposed to have asked the fox the above question. Conf. story 101, Chap. I, "Nafhat-al-Yaman."

300 النَّار تَخَلَّف الرَّمَاد

Fire leaves (behind it) ashes.

Fire is here compared allegorically to a good and great man and ashes to a worthless son.

301 نَار السَّمُر تَخَلَّف الجَمُر

The fire of the gum acacia tree leaves behind it cinders.

This proverb like the last one is also used allegorically, the cinders being compared to a son who is likely eventually to develop into a great man like his father.

302 النَّار مَا يَنْكَبّ عَلَيهَا السِّدِس

Fire cannot be put out with a *sidis* measure (*lit.* a *sidis* measure cannot be placed over fire). *Sidis* 'Om. = a wooden dry measure.

Eng. eq. Fire is not to be quenched with tow.

303 نَازِع وَلَا تَخِيب عَسَى يِلَك فِي النِّزَاعَة نَصِيب المَرَة وَلَّا الحِمَارَة

Dispute and be not disappointed ; by disputing you will meet with luck—you will get either the woman or (at least) the she-ass.

Origin.—It seems to have originated from a very curious story. It is said that a man and his wife were one day on their way to another village, the woman riding a female donkey and the man walking by her side. On the road they met an old blind man, who was also proceeding in the same direction. They pitied him and asked him to ride the donkey. When they neared the place of destination, the owner of the donkey asked the old man to alight and go his own way, upon which the latter turning round said, that both the animal and the woman belonged to him and refused to give them up. The owner argued in vain with the old man, and the matter had eventually to be referred to the village authorities, who decided that either the woman or the donkey must belong to the old man. يِلَك stands for لِك and وَلَّا for وَإِلَّا

304 نَاقَة الكَذَّاب رِزْمَانَة

The she-camel of a liar must tire (in the end). Conf. No. 114.

305 مَنَقَّى مِن الصُّبَّة فَسّ فِي النَّضَد

Selected out of the heap it (a date) went bad in the bag. نَقَّى 'Om.=he selected. صُبَّة 'Om.=a heap of dates before they are packed. فَسّ 'Om.=it rotted dry so that it crumbled as a fine powder. نَضَد 'Om.=a heap of date bags arranged one over another with the object of draining off the treacle which oozes out of the dates.

Applied to a favourite thing or person not answering one's expectations.

306 وَا خَرَاب الدَّار إِذَا تَعَامَلُوا السَّنُّور وَالفَار

Alas for the country when the cat and the rat join together in working !

Remedy worse than the disease.

This proverb seems to be based on the version of the destruction of the great *sadd* (dyke) of Márab in Yaman, given by al-Baġawee in his معالم التنزيل. Conf. F. A. P., Caput I, No. 453.

307 تَوَدَّر بِنْهَا وتَرَبِّي غَبِنْهَا

She leaves off her (legitimate) child and brings up her bastard one.

Applied to a person who gives up a real claim and fights for an imaginary one.

Eng. eq. Catch not at the shadow and lose the substance.

308 وَلَّا فِيهَا وَلَّا فِي التِّبِن

Either it (the stick) will hit it (the ball) or fall in the straw.

A contest has only two ends ; one can either win or lose.

This proverb is based on a certain game of children in which the player has to hit a ball with a small stick.

309 وَيْش دَرَّى الحِمَار بِاكَل الكِنَار

What has taught the ass to eat jujubes ?

كِنَار from P. = jujubes. وَيْش stands for اَيْش

Eng. eq. To cast pearls before swine.

310 هَزَّة مِن المَزَّة وضَرْطَة مِن العَافِيَة

Shaking is the result of cheerfulness, and breaking wind with a sound is the result of good health.

Applied to one who is insolent or proud on account of wealth or any other cause.

311 هِي تَرْقَص ومِن عُمْرَهَا يِنْقَص

She (a she-goat) dances, but her life-time is becoming shortened.

Applied to the unsuitableness of an action, dancing being an expression of joy, whilst life becoming shorter is a matter for sorrow or grief.

312 هَيْن بَغْلَة ضَاقَت بِدَقَلَهَا

What *bagleh* ever becomes straitened on account of its own mast?

Bagleh = a kind of small sailing vessel. Conf. No. 249. هَيْن stands for اَيَّة = what ?

313 يَا سَارُق الدِّيک فُوْق رَاسَک الرِّيش

O stealer of the cock, on your head is the feather.

Eng. eq. The guilty conscience is its own accuser.

314 يا غَرِيب كُون اَدِيب

O stranger, be well-behaved.

Advice to a stranger in a foreign place.

315 يُوْم سِكْعْتُ كَلْنِي السَّمَک ويُوْم غَفَفْتُ كَلْنِي الطَّيْر

When I sink fish eat me and when I float birds eat me. سكع 'Om. =it sank to the bottom. غَفّ 'Om. =it floated.

In a dilemma. Conf. No. 274.

316 يُوْم الشَّرَاطَة مَا شَبْعَان لِيف

Even on the day of cleaning the date-palms, he is not satisfied with their fibres.

Applied to a discontented man who is not satisfied even when he has plenty.

شَرَاطَة 'Om. =the operation of pulling out the bottoms of date-palm branches, which remain attached to the trunks after the branches are broken off, with an iron instrument named مَخْلَب During this operation a considerable quantity of the fibrous tissue of palms is torn off and scattered about.

317 يُوْم يَطِيح شُوْب الكُنَار ويَرُوح الكَعْک يَتَوَازَن لَيْل ونَهَار

When the jujube fruit falls and the cake of bread begins to smell, night and day become equal. This happens in spring, when jujubes becoming overripe fall off, and new wheat of which the cake of bread is supposed to be made is collected, the smell of the cake evidently referring to its being baked. يُوْم 'Om. = when.

318 يُوم ما رَامَت عَلَى الجَرَاب دَارَت عَلَى الجِزْلَة

When she (a she-camel) could not carry a large bag of dates, she turned to a half one.

Every one must work according to his capacity.

رَام *cor.* يَرُوم 'Om. = he was able. جَرَاب a large mat bag containing preserved dates.

جِزْلَة 'Om. = half a *jarib* or any piece cut off from a *jarib*.

319 يُوم ما عَرْفت تَلْعَب قَالَت مَلْعَب ضِيِّق

When she did not know how to play, she said that the play-ground was narrow.

Eng. eq. A bad workman quarrels with his tools.

320 يُوم النَّاس يَخِيطُو ثُوب السُّوَابْجِلي أنَا ضَرَبْت التَّكَارِير في الجُونِيَة or في المَرْحَلَة

Whilst people sew *Suwáhilee cloth*, I have been braiding the edges of a gunny bag or a date basket.

Applied to inappropriateness of things, and also to one who wastes both a good thing and his time in trying to decorate a thing which is originally bad or ugly.

ثُوب السُّوَابْجِلي 'Om. = a fine kind of long-cloth.

تَكَارِير 'Om. = a kind of braid made from two silk strings of different colours, generally sewn on to the neck or front of a shirt. جُونِيَة 'Om. = a gunny bag or sack. مَرْحَلَة 'Om. = a bag made of palm leaves.

Art. XV.—*The Oriental Congress at Hanoi.*

By Professor M. Macmillan, F.A.

[*Read 17th January 1903.*]

The Congress of Orientalists at Hanoi or, as it is to be entitled in future, *Le Premier Congrès International des Etudes d'Extrême-Orient*, will be remarkable in the history of Oriental learning as being the first Congress of Orientalists held in the East. This fact gives it a distinctive character and some obvious advantages. However industrious and keen-sighted and sympathetic an Orientalist may be, he cannot learn as much from books and such fragments of monuments as may be transported to European museums as he can by visiting the countries that he studies, conversing with the people, inspecting with his own eyes architectural and other monuments in their proper surroundings, and absorbing into his soul the 'genius loci.' This amounts to saying that the Orientalist ought, if possible, to perfect himself by travelling to the East, and it may be urged that savants can and do travel to the countries in which they are specially interested, even without the inducements offered by Congresses. This is true. But, on the other hand, Congresses held in the East would undoubtedly attract savants who would probably never leave Europe without such an inducement. It is probable, for instance, that the representatives of Italy, Austria, Germany, Norway, Japan and many other delegates who attended the Congress of Hanoi, would never have visited Indo-China, if they had not been invited to attend the Congress, and had their way to the Far East smoothed for them by the liberality of the French Government. Further, even if they had by any chance done so, they would not have derived so much advantage from an ordinary visit as they must have derived from seeing and hearing everything in the company of their compeers, by discussion with whom they could mutually solve each other's difficulties and arrive at clearer and more correct conclusions. Another great advantage of such a Congress is that it can pronounce judgments with the authority due to its collective wisdom. The importance of this is exemplified in the question of the transcription of Annamite into Roman characters, which has hitherto been conducted according to an illogical and misleading method, or want of method, different from that followed in the transcription of other Oriental languages. But this method has been in existence for a long time, and in accordance with it have been published many books, the authors and publishers of which are, as might be expected, strongly opposed to

any change. It would probably have continued in use indefinitely to the great prejudice of the study of the language and the education of the Annamite people. Now however that it has been unanimously condemned by the Congress, there is every reason to hope that an improved method of transcription will be adopted.

In response to the invitations sent out, thirty-six delegates were appointed by various Governments and learned societies. It is remarkable that no delegate was appointed to attend the Congress by Russia or England or by any learned body in Russia or England. Nor was any delegate appointed by the Indian Government or by the Calcutta Branch of the Asiatic Society. The Government of Austria-Hungary and the Imperial Museum of Natural History in Vienna were represented by Councillor Heger; the Royal Museum of Ethnography in Berlin by Dr. Stœnner; the Italian Government by Professor Nocentini of the University of Rome, by Count de Pullé, Professor at the University of Bologna, and by Signor Volpicelli, Consul-General of Italy at Hongkong; the University of Christiania by Professor Lieblein. There were also five delegates from Japan—three of whom were Germans—one delegate from the Dutch Indies, one from Siam, and one representative of the Yale University. The delegates chosen by the Geographical Society of Amsterdam, the University of Helsingfors in Finland, the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and one or two others did not put in an appearance, so that, though thirty-six delegates were appointed, only twenty-seven attended the meetings of the Congress. There were also more than fifty 'membres adhérents au Congrès,' some of whom were present and read papers or sent papers to be read there.

A preliminary meeting was held on Wednesday, December 3rd, under the presidency of M. Finot, President of the Committee of Organisation and Director of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, who was, as a matter of course, elected president of the Congress. Presidents and secretaries were also elected for the three sections into which the Congress was divided, namely, (1) India, (2) China and Japan, and (3) Indo-China. Three Commissions were also appointed. The first Commission was to report on the subject of the transcription of Annamite, Thai and the other languages of Indo-China. The second was to consider the plan on which a manual of Indo-Chinese philology should be prepared. The third was to report on the Buddhist Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary being prepared by three Japanese scholars with the collaboration of the French School of the Far East. Finally it was determined to follow the example of the Congress of Hamburg, and publish only summaries of the papers read and of the remarks made in the discussion of the papers.

On the morning of December 4th the Congress was formally opened by M. Beau, Governor-General of Indo-China, who commenced the proceedings by welcoming the Congress in a short speech. M. Finot, the president of the Congress, and eight of the leading delegates made appropriate replies, the most striking of which was that of the Count de Pullé, one of the Italian delegates, who in an eloquent and impassioned speech showed how such Congresses of learned men, assembled from different parts of the world, promote international sympathy and do much to remove the mutual distrust of nations. His peroration was much applauded, in which he expressed an earnest hope that the Congress at Hanoi would forge an additional link of sympathy between the great nations of France and Italy already united in sentiment by the consciousness of their common Latin origin and by the fact that they shared the blessings of living under free Governments. The regular business of the Congress began the same afternoon after the usual interval of three hours for dejeuner and repose that is kept sacred in the French cities of Indo-China. The Congress, either collectively or in its separate sections, had nine sittings on December 4th, 5th, 6th and 8th, at which nearly fifty discourses were delivered. Owing to the number of papers, only a very limited time could be allowed to each and to the discussion of the questions treated in the papers. Most of them were in French, but the Japanese, American, and English delegates were allowed to address the Congress in English. A great variety of Oriental subjects were expounded and discussed. Professor Lieblein, the veteran Egyptologist, who had come all the way from Norway, gave two discourses—one on the name of Amenophis IV, the other on the myth of Io. He also took part with the Count de Pullé in an erudite duet on the Egyptian 'Puni,' meaning Phœnician, and the Sanskrit 'pani,' meaning the people, especially the mercantile class, tending to show that there was once a Phœnician colony in India in whose hands was the commerce with Egypt mentioned in the Bible. Dr. Cordier, of Pondicherry, gave an account of a large number of Sanskrit works on medicine recently discovered by himself or others pursuing the same line of investigation. Shams-ul-Ulama Jivanjee Jamshedjee Modi's paper on the references to China that are to be found in the ancient books of the Parsees was read before the Indian section. M. de Fontainieu read a paper on the pagotins and puranas of Southern India, the pagotin being the embryonic form which developed into the pagoda, while the Southern India puranas contain the legends connected with the origin of the pagotins. Captain Pfoundes, an Irish captain, who was old enough to have taken part in the war with China due to the Arrow incident, explained the symbolism of Buddhist ceremonies and showed

various vestments, scarfs, and rosaries that he had received as marks of his position in the hierarchy of Buddhist free-masonry; for he had settled in Japan and turned Buddhist, and thus been initiated into many of the inner mysteries of that religion unknown to scholars who studied the subject from the outside. The veteran Dupois, who distinguished himself by his intrepid explorations in Tonkin thirty years ago, did not read any paper, but took part in the discussions. Many papers were read on Indo-Chinese ethnography, philology, geography and archæology, those being naturally the most interesting subjects to the French colony at whose capital the Congress held its sittings. To us in India especial interest must attach to the account given by the Count de Pullé of his researches in Indian cartography. In his address he gave a summary of the contents of the third part of his work on the ancient cartography of India, of which the first part, presented to the Congress of Rome, has already been published in the fourth volume of the 'Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica,' and the second part, presented to the Congress of Hamburg, is now passing through the press. This third part comprehends the period of the Renaissance and the first century after the voyage of Vasco da Gama. The Count de Pullé remarked that even before Vasco da Gama's famous voyage some positive knowledge of Indian geography had reached the West, and had gradually modified the representation of India in certain maps. It was interesting to follow the development of Indian cartography up to the middle of the seventeenth century and to observe that different representations of the shape of the peninsula characterised the schools of cartography in different nations. He insisted on the fact that the knowledge of the ideas formed by ancient geographers was indispensable for the identification of names and other geographical facts, so that cartography was indispensable as the first chapter of all historical geography. The address was illustrated by a magnificent display of maps. It will be interesting to the Indian public to know that the learned Count is coming to India with his boxes full of these maps, and that he will presently repeat his discourse in Calcutta and, if possible, in Bombay.

The final session of the Congress was held on the afternoon of December 8th. At this meeting it was first resolved that the Congress should be entitled "Le Premier Congrès International des Etudes d'Extrême-Orient." It was further resolved that the Count de Pullé, being exceptionally qualified for the work by his study of Indian cartography, should be invited to undertake a work on the ancient topography of Indo-China; that the adoption of a more rational method of transcription of Annamite on the basis proposed by the Transcription

Commission of the Congress should be recommended; that a system of transcription for Thai should be presently determined by the Ecole Francaise d'Extrême-Orient; that European Orientalists should be invited to make such suggestions as might aid Messrs. Nanjio, Takakusu, and Tokiwai in the compilation of the Buddhist Sankrit-Chinese dictionary they are preparing, and that the Japanese Government should be asked to encourage by all means a work destined to be an honour to Japanese science; and that the plan of a manual of Indo-Chinese philology, which was being prepared by Colonel Gerini, should be approved by the Congress. Such were the main results of the Congress, which was concluded by a final address given by M. Finot, the President.

The regular meetings of the Congress were agreeably varied by two banquets and by two interesting and well-planned excursions. One banquet was given to the Congress at the Metropole Hotel by the official members; the other was given by M. Beau at Government House. At the former banquet the foreign members of the Congress returned thanks for their hospitable entertainment in thirteen different languages. The excursions enabled the Congress to see not only archæological monuments but also something of the life led by the natives and the French settlers in the country districts of Tonkin. In the first and shorter excursion the members of the Congress went by the early morning train to the small station of the pagoda of Lim. A short walk took us to the municipal hall of the small village community, where we were received with dragon standards and flags and other symbols of honour. After taking refreshment we walked to the pagoda preceded by the flag of the Irish Buddhist, which represented rays of light proceeding from the mystic svastica in the centre. When we reached the pagoda we found a service going on. It was strange to see the impassive faces of the priests, who composedly chanted their hymns and took not the slightest notice of the strangers assembled in their temple from the farthest parts of the earth. Behind the altar there were numerous images of Buddha. In the back part of the temple building there were cloisters full of images of Buddha and his disciples, many of which looked as if they might be good likenesses of real persons. At a little distance was an enclosure devoted to the memory of a past benefactor of the place. It contained a large stone chair for the man and a smaller one for his wife, and before the chairs were images of men and horses sculptured in stone. From the height on which this mausoleum was built a good view could be obtained of the surrounding country, the most remarkable features of which were the villages enclosed in great hedges of bamboo. These high hedges were dangerous obstacles to the French troops

when they were effecting the conquest of the country. They must in the present days of peace prove very useful means of keeping undesirable visitors, human or animal, out of the villages. When they had seen all that was to be seen at Lim, the Congress returned to the train, which took them back as far as Phu-tu-Son on the way to Hanoi. Here they had 'dejeuner' and saw more Buddhist temples and memorials of old dynasties of kings. The second excursion to the frontier of China was on a large scale and took two days. The party had the satisfaction of setting foot in the Celestial Empire, where they were entertained at tea by the Chinese colonel in command of the frontier fortress. The hilly scenery on the border was very beautiful, and there was a large grotto to explore. This expedition was the last event on the programme of the Congress. After returning to Hanoi, the members set about preparing for their departure to their respective homes, delighted with the hospitable reception they had received and the many wonders they had seen, and not dissatisfied with the results of their learned labours.

കേരളസാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

ART. XVI—*A Śilâr grant of Saka* 1049.

By K. B. PATHAK, B.A.,

PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA.

(Communicated, March 1903.)

This copperplate grant has been obtained by me through the kindness of a friend at Poona. It belongs to a blacksmith of Vadavali near Thana. It consists of three plates. The first and the last have rims to protect the writing and are inscribed on one side only. Each plate measures $10\frac{3}{8}''$ by $8\frac{1}{4}''$ and has a hole in the lower part for a ring to connect them. The ring was lost when the grant came into my hands. The inscription is written in Nâgari characters and the Sanskrit language. It is in prose and verse. Like other grants of this line it frequently uses s (स) where we should expect s (श) or sh (ष). It records that in Śaka 1049 expired, the cyclic year being Plavamga, on Friday, the 15th of the bright half of the month Kârtika, the great feudatory king Aparâdityadêva granted to a Brahmin of the Vâji-Mâdhyandina Śâkhâ the village of Vadavali together with fields in the village of Môra.

This inscription is very interesting. It clears up many obscure points in the history of the Silâr or Śilâhâr Kings of Thana. The king calls himself Aparâjita or Aparâditya, the son of Anantadêva and the grandson of Nâgârjuna. The date of the grant being Śaka 1049, or *A.D.* 1127, it is plain that this is the Aparâditya, "the Lord of the Konkan," who is mentioned in Mankha's Śrikanthacharita as sending Têjakantha from Śûrpâraka or Sopârâ to the literary congress held at Kashmîr in the reign of Jayasimha whose period appears to be *A.D.* 1129 to 1150.[1]

There were frequent wars between the Kâdambas of Goa and the Śilâhâras of Northern Konkana. We learn from old Kanarese inscriptions that Jayakêśi I, King of Gova, invaded and conquered Kavadidvîpa and slew its king who is believed to have been the Mummuni of the present grant and the uncle of Anantapâla, the father of Aparâditya. Kavadidvîpa is easily identified with the kingdom of the Thana Śilâhâras, so named after Kapardi I or II mentioned in the present inscription. However, Anantadêva, the father of Aparâditya, seems to have retrieved the fortune of his family.[2]

1. J. Bom. Br. R. A. S., (1877) pp. 50, 51.
2. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part II, p. 544.

In ll. 32—35 of the present inscription we read :—"There arose a demon by name Chchhittukka, a very god of death, to destroy the world. Then the whole confederacy of his feudatories thus assembled. The religious forest being devastated, the elders having perished, the treasury being empty, the prosperity of the country having waned in which towns, people and their followers greatly suffered, there remained only one horse, his two arms and a sword. Drawing it quickly Aparâditya boldly faced the enemy. The latter was at a loss to know clearly whether to fight or take to flight, and through fear of him sought refuge in the territory of the Mlechchhas." Chhittukka or Chhattuga[2], being a well-known Kâdamba title, we can easily conclude that the enemy mentioned in the foregoing passage was no other than Jayakêśi II. He is described, in an inscription dated Śaka 1048, as ruling over Kavaḍidvîpa and some other provinces, while in another inscription dated six months later Kavadidvîpa is omitted from the list of possessions belonging to Jayakêśi II.[3] From these facts it is easy to infer that between Śaka 1048 and 1049 Aparâditya inflicted a heavy defeat upon Jayakêśi II. and recovered the territory that once belonged to his ancestors. It is highly probable that on this occasion Aparâditya received assistance from Vijayâditya, his kinsman of the Kolâpur branch, who is said to have reinstated the fallen lords of Thana in their kingdom.

This grant is also of interest in furnishing a correct interpretation of the date of the inscription in the temple of Ambarnâth near Kalyâna which has formed the subject of controversy among scholars. The date consists of three decimal figures, the first of which closely resembles the modern Nâgari 7. Dr. Bhau Daji read the date as Śaka-samvat 782. Dr. Bhagavanlal Indraji, on the other hand, interpreted it as Śaka-amvat 982 because a figure closely resembling the modern Nâgari 7 really stands for 9 in the Vallabhi grants and in an inscription of Bhôjadêva at Gwalior, dated in the Vikrama year 933. Dr. Fleet has contributed an elaborate paper[5] in which he upholds Dr. Bhau Daji's reading on the grounds (1) that in the Vallabhi grants we are concerned with numerical symbols and (2) that we are dealing with very different parts of the country in respect of the Ambarnâth and Gwalior inscriptions. These objections are removed by the present grant[6] in which the last figure in the date closely resembles the modern Nâgari 7 though its value is distinctly given in words as 9. This affords an interesting confirmation of Dr. Bhagavanlal's reading of the date in the Ambarnâth inscription as Śaka 982.

[2]. Idem., p. 559.

[3]. Idem., p. 568.

[5]. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 94.

[6]. The present paper is accompanied by an impression of the original plates, which has been kindly prepared by Mr. H. Cousins, the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western India.

TRANSCRIPTION.

(1st PLATE,)

१. ॐ नमो विनायकाय ॥ लभते सर्वक(का) र्येषु पूजय(या) गणना यकः । विघ्न(घ्नान्) विघ्नस्य वः पापादपापा-

२. द्गणनायकः ॥ स वः पातु शिवो नित्यं यन्मौलौ भाति जान्हवी । सुमेरुशिखरोद्गच्छ-दच्छचंद्रकलो-

३. पमा । जीमूतकेतुतनयो नियतं दयालुर्जीमूतवाहन इति त्रिजग[त्]प्रसिद्धः । देहं निज (जं) तृणमि-

४. वाकलयन्परार्थे यो रक्षति स्म गरुडान्खलु शंखचूडम् । तस्यान्वये निखिल-भूपतिमौलिल-

५. ग्नरत्नद्युतिच्छुरितनिर्मलपादपीठः । श्रीसाहसांक इव साहसिकः कपर्दी शीलार-वंशतिलको (कौ)

६. नृपतिर्बं (बं) भूव । तस्मादभूत्तनयः पुलशक्तिनामा सीमासमः सुरगुरुदिनराजनीतिः । निजि(जि)-

७. त्य संगरमुख(खे)ऽखिलवैरिवर्गं निष्कंटकं जगति राज्यमकारि येन ॥ ततश्च समभूत्सुतो नृप-

८. सि(शि)रोविभूषामणिः शितः शृणिरिवापरोऽरिकरिणां कपर्दी लघुः । यदीयय-स(श)सा जगत्यति-

९. शयेन शुक्लीकृते न भाति सुरवारणो न च शशी(शी) म(न)दुग्धाब्धिः ॥ तस्मादभूत्यवदिभूतिपदवीपार्थे

१०. पा(प)त्रीकृताशेषक्षमावलयो महीपतिलकः श्रीपद्मपुत्रः सुतः । येषामागल-रंगिणाऽखिलत-

११. या लूनैकदन्ता हठात्सर्वे येन विनायका विरचिता विधि(दे)विणा दन्तिनः ॥ तस्माज्जातस्तनु(नू)जो र-

१२. जनिकर इवानंदिताशेषलोकः श्लाघ्यः श्रीखंझराजो दिवसकर इव व्यस्तनिःशेषदोषः ।

१३. शंभोर्यो द्वादशापि न्यरचयदचिरात्कीर्तनानि स्वनाम्ना सोपानानीव मन्येत्य(प)-गतनुभृतां स्व-

१४. र्गमार्गा(र्गो)यतानां ॥ भ्राता तस्य ततस्तनो(नो)ऽव(ज) इव लयशीमसि(शि)-प्रकासी(शी)कृताशेषक्षमावलयो व(व)ली व(व)ल-

१५. वतां श्रीगोग्गराजोऽभवत् । चापाकर्षणकर्मणि प्रगणतां तस्मिन्गते भूपतौ भीम-द्रोणप्र(पू)-

१६. थामुखप्रभृतयः सर्वे चमत्कारिताः ॥ तस्माद्विस्मयकारिहारिचरितःख्यातःक्षितिं सुतः श्री-

१७. मान्वज्रदेवभूपतिरभूद्भूचक्रचूडामणिः । दोर्दंडैक(व)लस्य यस्य महसा मन्यामहे-गांगणे राज्यश्रीः ॥

१८. स्वयमेत्य वक्षसि रतिं चक्रे मुरारिरिव ॥ जयन्त इव वृत्रारेः पुरारेरिव षण्मुखः ततः श्रीमानभू-

१९. न्नृपः सत्यसायीऽपराजितः ॥ स(श्र)रणागतसामन्ता अपरेपि हि जगति रक्षिता येन । स जयति

२०. यथार्थनामा स(श)रणागतवज्रपंजरो देवः ॥ श्रीमानभूत्तदनु वज्रदेवनामा भूपालम-

२१. स्तकमपिस्तनयो नयज्ञः । अद्यापि यस्य चरितानि जनाः समस्ता रोमांचकंचुकितगात्र-

(2nd PLATE, a.)

२२. लता स्तुवन्ति । तद्भ्रातथ ततोऽरिकेसरिनृपः जातः सतां सम्मतो दृप्तारातिक(कु)-लाचलैकदलने देवो-

२३. लिलीलां दधत् । गत्वा कै(शी)शव एव सैन्यसहितो दृष्ट्वा च सोमेश्व (श्व) रं तस्याधि पितुराज्ञया जगदलं यः

२४. कीलयित्वागतः ॥ तद्भ्रातृजो वज्रदेवसूनुः श्रीचिल्लराजो नृपतिर्(र्ब)भूव । शीलारवंशः शिसु(शु)नापि

२५. येन नीतः परामुन्नतिमुन्नतेन ॥ दृप्तारातिसु(शु) कोपकालदहनः सौभाग्यनारायणो वारस्त्रीषु ततोनुजः

२६. समभवन्नागार्जुनक्ष्मापतिः । यस्याऽमानुषमूर्जितं भुजबलं दूराज्जिस(श)म्य दिशं निद्रातीव रणांगणस्य-

२७. निनी दोर्दण्डकाण्डूलता ॥ तदनु तदनुजन्मा मूर्तिमान्मीनकेतु क्षतरिपुविभवोभू-न्मुन्मुणिक्षोणिपाल-

२८. ः । विजृम्भमाणे यस्मिन्वाजिनीराजनान्ते व(य)लभिदपि व(ब)लीयान्वार्षिके चाप-मौज्झत् । तस्मिन् (न्नु) पे प्रवरकी-

२९. र्त्तिस(श)रोरभाजि नागार्जुनस्य तनयो नयचक्रवर्ती । भूपोभवत्परमधर्मविसु (शु)द्ध-देहः शीलारगोपनृ-

३०. परत्नमनन्तपालः ॥ श्रीनागार्जुनर(रा) जसूनुतनयो जित्वा ततो भूतलं स श्रीमान-पराजिताख्यनृपतिः पातु

३१. समर्थोऽभवत् । पुण्यैरुल्लसितं श्रिया विकसितं तेजोभिरुज्जृं(ज्जृं)भितं शौ(शौ)-र्यै(र्यै)र्मोदितमुच्छ्रितं गुण [ग] णैर्यस्मि-

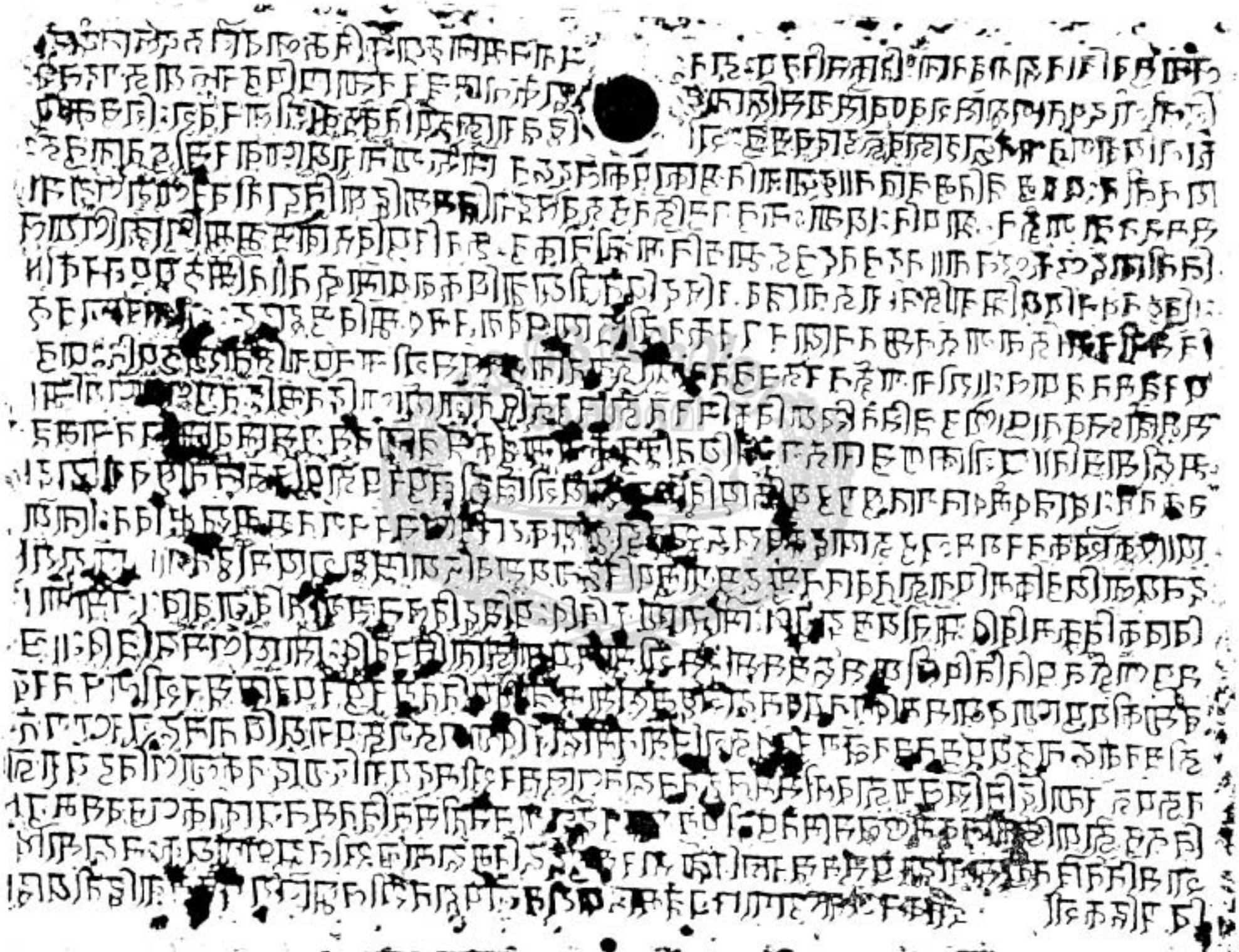
३२. न्महीं शासति ॥ आशी(सी)न्कोप्यसुरो जगदलयितुं चिल्लुक्कनामान्तकस्तस्यैवं समस्तमेव मिलितं सामन्त-

३३. चक्रं ततः । ध्वस्ते धर्मचये गतेषु गुरुषु क्लिष्टे वि[भासंश्च]ये ॥ शीर्णे जीर्ण-पुरप्रजापरिजने नष्टे च राष्ट्रोद-

३४. ये॥ एकश्चैकतुरंगमश्च भुजयोर्द्वंद्वं च खड्गश्च ते शाकृष्ट्वा कठ(ठि)ने रणे सरभस तन्मन्मु(म्मु)खे भावितः ॥ नायो-

३५. द्धुं न पलायितुं किमपि वा ज्ञातंच तेन स्फुटं संग्रामं परिहृत्य यस्य च निया श्लेष्छा-श्वये संस्थितः ॥ धैर्यो(र्यो)दार्य-

३६. विवेकविक्रमविधिर्गांभीर्यसुद्रांबुधिः सौभाग्यैकनिधिः प्रसिद्धविलसत्संगीतविद्यावधिः। शस्त्राणां



३७. सगुणार्जुनपतिनिधिर्जीयान्सहस्रं समाः स श्रीमानपराजितो निरवधिः सौ(शौ)र्येण सत्सन्निधिः ॥ अ-

३८. थ स्व(स्व)कीयपुण्योदया [त्] समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिनगरपुर-परमेश्व(श्व)रशीलारनरं (रे) ज्र-

३९. जीमूतवाहनान्वयप्रभूत सुवर्णगरुडध्वज - भिमानमहोदधिन्यागजगर्ज(र्ज्ज)परायपि-तामह शरणागत-

४०. वज्रपंजरेत्यादिनिखिलराजावलीसमलंकृतमहामण्डलेस्व(श्व)रश्रीमदपरादित्यदेव(वे) कल्याणविजयराज्य-

४१. निजभुजोपार्जितानेकमण्डलसमेतपुरीप्रमुखचतुर्दशग्रामस(श)तोसमन्वितसमस्तकोंक-णभुवं समनु-

४२. शासति तच्चितत्वसादावानसमस्तराज्यचिन्ताभारं समुद्वहति महामात्यश्रीलक्ष्मणनायकः महासान्धि-

४३. विग्रहिक श्री श्रीकरण भाण्डागारि प्रथमच्छेपाटी महाप्रधानश्रीलक्ष्मणैवप्र[भु]स्तथा द्वितीयच्छे-

(and PLATE, b.)

४४. पाटी प्रधान श्रीच्छितमैय प्रभु इत्यादि श्रीकरणे सत्येतस्मिन्काले प्रवर्त्तमाने सति। महामण्ड-

४५. लेस्व(श्व)रश्रीमदपरादित्यदेवराजः सर्वान्ये (ने)व स्वर्सम्बध्यमानकान्यानपि समा-गामिराजपुत्रमंत्रि-

४६. पुरोहितामात्यप्रधानाप्रधाना नियोगिका स्तथा राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिनगरपतिग्रामपतिनि-

४७. युक्तानियुक्तराजपुरुषजनपदास्तथा हंजननगरपौरात्रिवर्गप्रभृतीन् भणतिपुजासत्कृतिस-

४८. मादसौ(शौः)संदिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितंयथा ॥ चला विभूतिः क्षणभंगि यौवनं कृतांत-दंतान्तरवर्त्ति जीवितं ।

४९. तथाप्यवज्ञा परलोकसाधने नृणामहो विस्मयकारि चेष्टितं ॥ तथा चोक्तं भगव-त्य (ता) व्यासेन ॥ समाग-

५० माः सापगमाः सर्वेसुखादि भंगुरं कायः सन्निहितापायः संपदः पदमापदां ॥ मानुष्ये कदलीस्तंभे

५१ निःसारे सारमार्गणं । करोति यःस संमूढो जलबुद्बुदसन्निभो(भे) ॥ अतिदानं तु सर्वेषां भूमिदानमि-

५२. होच्यते । अचला अक्षया भूमिः सर्वान्कामान्प्रयच्छति ॥ अग्निहोत्रादिभिर्य(यै)-रिष्टा विपुलदक्षिणैः । न

५३. तत्फलमवाप्नोति यद्दत्त्वा वसुधां नृप ॥ इति धर्माधर्मविचारचतुरचिरन्तनमुनिवचना-न्यवधार्य

५४. मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च श्रेयोर्थिना मया महामण्डलेश्वरश्रीमदपरादित्यदेवेन शकनृपक-(का)लातीं-

५५. तसंवत्सरशतेषु दशस्वेकोनप(पं)चाशदभ्यधिकेषु प्रवंगस(सं)वत्सरान्तर्गतकार्त्तिक-शुद्धपंचदश्या(श्यां) शुक्रे य-

५६. श्रीकतोपि सकु संवतु १०४९ कार्तिक सु (शु) द्ध १५ शुक्रे स(सं)जात कार्तिक्या
सुपर्वणि महातीर्थे स्नात्वा

५७. गगनैकचक्रचूडामणये कमलिनीकामुकाय भगवते सविते नानाविधकुसुमस्रग्भ्यमर्च्य

५८. दत्त्वा सकलसुरासुरगुरुत्रैलोक्यस्वामिनं भगवन्तं सुमापतिमभ्यर्च्य पजनयाजनाऽध्य-
यनाध्या-

५९. पनादिषट्कर्मनिरताय ऋतुक्रियाकाण्डमौ(शौ)ण्डाय परमब्राह्मणाय तथा वारेषगण-
गोत्राय वाजि-

६०. माध्यंदिनशाखिने अनन्ताग्निहोत्री(त्रि)सुताय त्रिविक्रमयाज्ञिकाय। यजनयाजना-
ध्ययनादिषट्क-

६१. मैकरणाय बलिचरुकर्मैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रक्रतुक्रियादिनिर्माणाय आगतानागतसंवाहनार्थं स्वप-

६२. रिवारपोषणार्थं च करकूटविषयाक(न्तः) पाती वडवलीग्रामो गृहद्रुमोदुदमोत्पादि-
समस्तराजभोग्यस-

६३. हितः। अस्य चाघाटनानि ॥ पूर्वतो राजमार्गो [।] बाडणिमर्यादा च। दक्षिणतो
नेडाक्षेत्रं गाडिमा-

६४. र्गश्च। पश्चिमतो घोरपडनदी तथा श्रीसंगमेश्वरो देवः। उत्तरतो मोक्वलीनदी। तथा

६५. खाजन वने (रे ?) टिकाविषये मोरपानान्तर्वेली ऊसरावकश्च। अस्य चाघाट-
नानि। पूर्वतो दे-

(3rd Plate,)

६६. वक्षेत्रसीमा दक्षिणतो राजीमर्यादा। पश्चिमतो गोपचारावधिः। उत्तरतस्तडागा-
घाटः। एवं-

६७. चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितो स्वसीमापर्यंतो सतृणकाष्ठोदकोपेतो अपराधदण्डसहितो स-

६८. मस्तोत्पत्तिसंयुक्तो अचाटभट्टा(टा)प्रवेश्यो करणापणीपशुल्कव्यतिरिक्तो पूर्व-
दत्त देवदाय-

६९. ब्रह्मदायवर्जं तथोदकातिसर्गेण नमस्यवृत्त्या परमय (या) भक्त्या प्रतिपादितावितिः।
तदस्य स्थानयर्व-

७०. भोर्भुजतो भोजयतो वा न केनापि परिपंथ(थि)ता करणीया। यतः उक्तमेव
महामुनिभिः। बहुभि-

७१. र्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं।
यानीह दत्तानि पुरा न-

७२. रेंद्रदानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि। निर्माल्यवन्ति प्रतिमानितानि को नाम साधुः पुनरा-
ददीत [॥]

७३. दत्त्वा भूमिं भाविनः पार्थिवेंद्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः। सामान्योयं धर्मसेतु-
र्नृपाणां काले

७४. काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ इति धर्माधर्मविचारचतुरचिरंतनमुनिवचनान्यवधार्य सर्वैर-

1. Read द्रुमाप्युदकानि. 2. Read भोजयतो.

७५. पि समागामिभिरस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्वा भूपालैः पालनधर्मकलालोभ एव करणीयः। न पुनस्तमो-

७६. पनपापकलंकापसरेण न केनापि भवितव्यं ॥ यस्त्वेवम-र्थितोपि लोभादज्ञान-तिमिरपटला-

७७. वृतमतिराच्छिद्याद्वाच्छिद्यमानमनुमो देत वा पंचभिरपि पातकैरुप पातकैश्च लिप्तो रौरव-

७८. महारौरवतामिस्रादिनरकाश्चिरमनुभविष्यति । यथोक्तं भगवता व्यासेन । स्वदत्तां पर-

७९. दत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा कृमिभिः सह पच्यते ॥ विंध्याटवीष्वतोयासु

८०. शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । महाहयो हि जायंते भूमिदानं हरन्ति ये ॥ यथा चैतदेवं तथा शासन-

८१. दाता लेखकहस्तेन स्वमतमारोपयति । मतं मम महामण्डलेश्वरश्रीमदपरादित्यदेवस्य

८२. महामण्डलेश्वर श्रीमदनन्तदेवराजसूनोर्यदत्रशासने लिखितं। लिखितं चैतन्मया श्रीम-

८३. त्रासा (जा) नुजया ॥ भण्डाग (गा) रे प्रथमच्छेपाटी महाप्रधान श्रीलक्ष्मणेन यदत्रो-नाक्षरमधि-

८४. काक्षरं वा तत्सर्वं क्षम(मा)नमिति ॥ मंगलमहाश्री [ ]

TRANSLATION.

Hail, salutation to Vinâyaka. May Gananâyaka, removing obstacl s, protect you from harm, who obtains respect by worship in a'l undertakings. May that S'iva ever protect you, on whose crest shines the Ganges resembling the bright digit of the moon rising on the top of good Mêru. In the line of him who was the son of Jîmûtakêtu, really merciful and well-known in the three worlds as Jîmûtavâhana, and who, indeed, accounting his body as straw for the sake of others, protected S'amkhachûda from an eagle, there was born King Kapardi, an ornament of the S'ilâra family, who was as brave as the prosperous Sâhasâmka and whose stainless footstool was variegated by the lustre of the gems set in the crests of all kings. To him there was born a son by name Pulas'akti who attained the highest proficiency in politics taught by Brihaspati, the preceptor of the gods, who, having vanquished the multitude of all his enemies, reigned unmolested in the world; and from him sprang Kapardi the younger, who was the crest-jewel of kings, who was, as it were, another sharp goad to his elephant-like enemies and whose renown illuminating the world, neither the elephant of the gods, nor the moon nor yet the milky ocean shone any more. And to him there was born a son, the glorious Vappuvanna, an ornament of kings who had purified the circle of the whole earth and occupied a position of affluence and, who delighting in the battlefield cut off with a creeper-like sword, the principal tusks of all the elephants of his enemies and deprived them of their drivers suddenly. To him was born a son Jhamjharâja who like the moon had delighted the whole earth, who was praiseworthy and who was free from all defects like the sun which dispels all night, and who quickly built twelve temples of S'iva in his name, which I regard as flights of steps for religious men desirous of attaining to heaven. Next came his brother of still more brilliant fame, the glorious Goggarâja, who had lighted up the wh circle of earth and who was powerful among the powerful. When the king acquired proficiency in the matter of drawing the bow, Bhîshma, Drôna, Arjuna and others were all filled with admiration. After him came his son the prosperous King Vajjadadêva, a crest-jewel of the circle of the earth, whose fame was distinguished by conduct which evoked admiration and was charming. On the breast of him whose sole power lay in his arm, as on that of Murâri, the goddess of sovereignty coming suddenly and of her own accord into the battlefield, disported herself. As Jayanta was born to Indra and as Kârtikêya to S'iva, so there was born to him (Vajjadadêva) a son glorious and of good progress, Aparâjita.

Victorious is he, rightly named King S'aranâgatavajrapamjara, because he protected in the world other feudatory kings who sought refuge with him. After him came his glorious son named Vajjadadêva, well versed in politics and crest-jewel of kings, whose actions are to this day praised by all people whose creeper-like bodies have their hair standing on end. Then his brother Arikêsari became king, highly respected by the good and acting as a thunderbolt in destroying thoroughly his insolent foes resembling great mountains. Accompanied by an army, while still a child, he went and visited Sômês'vara, and in his presence, at the command of his father, he firmly fixed the world (*i.e.* offered it) and came away. His nephew and the son of Vajjadadêva, the glorious Chhittarâja became king, by whom eminent, though a child, the S'ilâra line was raised to a high pitch of eminence. Next came his brother King Nâgârjuna, who was a wrathful and destructive fire to insolent foes, and a Nârâyan in beauty to dancing girls. Having heard at a distance the prowess of his arm which was exalted and superhuman, the eagerness of his foes for fighting, goes, as it were, to sleep, being distressed in the battlefield. After him reigned King Mummuni, an incarnation of the god of love, who had put an end to the prosperity of his enemies. When he drew his bow after the worship of his horses, Indra, powerful though he was, abandoned his rainbow. That king having assumed the form of bright fame, Anantapâla, the son of Nâgârjuna, jewel among the kings of the S'ilâra line, an emperor in politics, whose body was purified by the highest religious performances, became king. After him, the well-known and prosperous king named Aparâjita, the son's son of the glorious Nâgârjuna, after conquering the world, became able to protect it. While he was ruling over the earth, worth, prosperity, beauty, heroism and a multitude of virtues shone forth. There arose a certain giant by name Chhittukka, a very god of death, to destroy the earth. Then the whole confederacy of his feudatory kings thus assembled. The [illegible]y forest being devastated, the elders having perished, the treasury [illegible]ing empty, the prosperity of the country having waned in which towns, subjects and retainers were destroyed, [there was left] only one horse, his two shoulders and his sword. Drawing it quickly in the dreadful battlefield he impetuously faced him [the enemy]. He did not know clearly whether he should fight or take to flight and avoiding the battle, he took refuge with the foreigners through fear of him [Aparâjita]. May that glorious Aparâjita live a thousand years, who is a Brahma in bravery, liberality, wisdom and valour, an ocean in the gravity of his face, the sole repository of good luck, an expert in the well-known and luminous science of music, an image of the virtuous Arjuna in the use of weapons, of limitless heroism and

attended by saints! While the glorious Aparâdityadêva, the great feudatory king adorned with all kingly titles including the following—he who, through the rise of his own merit, has acquired the five great musical instruments, the lord of great feudatories, the lord of the city of Tagara, the great king of the S'ilâras, sprung from the line of Jîmûtavâhana, he who has a banner of a golden eagle, a great ocean of pride unsurpassed in liberality, a Brahma among kings, a cage of adamant to those who sought refuge is ruling over all the Konkana District together with fourteen hundred villages the chief of which was Puri, and several kingdoms won with his arm in his auspicious and victorious reign, there the burden of all the cares of the government obtained through his favour is borne by the glorious Lakshmananâyaka the great minister for peace and war; and the great minister of the first rank at the Treasury is the Lakshmanaiyaprabhu, and the minister of the second rank is the glorious Chchhitamaiya-prabhu. When they formed the ministry at the present time, the great feudatory king the glorious Aparâdityadêva issues the following command with a respectful bow to all persons whether they are his own relations or others, including future princes, ministers, priests, officers in towns, districts and villages, &c., &c., and the three classes of people in the town of Hamjamana.

May it be known to you, prosperity is fickle; youth is momentary; life is at the mercy of the god of death; nevertheless indifference prevails as regards securing a better world. How astonishing is the conduct of mankind! It is also said by the venerable Vyâsa—Unions are attended by separations; everything born is liable to die; the body is in imminent danger of perishing; riches are a source of distress. He who seeks for stability in unstable human life resembling the trunk of a plantain tree and bubbles on the surface of water, is greatly deceived. Here the gift of land is spoken of as the highest of all; for imperishable and stable land yields all wishes: one does not obtain by the performance of Agnishtôma and other sacrifices with liberal offers of money to Brahmins, that fruit which is the reward of a gift of land, O King! Reflecting on these sayings of the ancient sages well-versed in discriminating between what is religious and irreligious, and seeking my own salvation and that of my parents, I the great feudatory king the glorious Aparâdityadêva, took a bath in sacred waters when one thousand and forty-nine years of the era of the S'aka kings had passed away, on Friday the fifteenth of the bright half of Kârtika, in the cyclic year Plavamga, in figures also, S'aka year 1049, on Friday the 15th of the bright half of Kârtika, the full moon being the most auspicious day; made an excellent offering of flowers of various kinds to the venerable sun,

the lover of the lotus-creeper and the crest-jewel of the sole expanse of the sky, worshipped the venerable S'iva, the lord of the three worlds and the father of all the gods and demons, and granted to Trivikrama Yâjnika, the son of Ananta Agnihôtri, of the Vâji-Mâdhyandina S'âkhâ and of Vârêshagana Gôtra the most eminent Brâhmana, well versed in sacrificial ritual and devoted to the performance of six religious acts such as sacrificing, helping in sacrifices, learning, teaching, &c., and also for bali, &c., for the support of guests and his own maintenance the village of Vadavali in the district of Varakûta together with all the king's dues such as houses, trees, &c., &c., and its boundaries are :—To the east, the royal road and the limit of Vâdani ; to the south, the field of Nêhâ and a cart road ; to the west, the Ghôrapada river and the glorious god Samgamês'vara ; to the north, the Movvali river; and also a salt marsh in the village of Môra in the district of Khajjana-Vanêtikâ ; and its boundaries are :—To the east, the limit of the field of the god ; to the south, the limit of the grove ; to the west, the limit of the cows' grazing pasture ; to the north, the limit of the tank. Thus bounded on four sides they were given up to their own limits, as a namasya grant, not to be entered by the king's officers, together with grass wood and water, with fines levied on offences, with all their productions, excepting taxes levied from merchants, &c.

and gifts formerly made to the gods and Brahmins, with libations of water and great devotion. While he together with his relations is enjoying or is allowing others to enjoy it, nobody shall rob him, since it has been already said by great sages : the earth has been enjoyed by many kings beginning with Sagara. Whoever is possessed of the earth, enjoys the fruit of it for the time being. What good man will ever resume gifts which were formerly made by kings, which are calculated to promote religious merits, wealth and fame and which are regarded as leavings ? Having made a gift of land Râmabhadra entreats future kings over and over again "This bridge of religion is common to all kings ; you should protect it from time to time. Having remembered these utterances of ancient sages well versed in discriminating between what is religious and what is not, all future kings, whether of our line or others, should take delight in acquiring the reward of religious act of preservation. On the other hand nobody should take the lead in the simple act of destroying this grant. But though thus entreated he whose mind is obscured by the cloud of darkness of ignorance and who should destroy or consent to destroying it, would be guilty of the five great sins and minor sins and would long feel the torments of hells such as raurava, &c., &c. as is said by the revered Vyâsa : He who

resumes a grant made by himself or others will be born as a worm in ordure and will be tormented with worms. For they who resume a gift of land will be born as large snakes living in the dry hollows of trees in the waterless forests of the Vindhyas. As is described above so the grantor of this edict commits his opinion to writing by the hand of a scribe. Whatever is written in this edict is the opinion of me the great feudatory king the illustrious Aparâdityadêva, the son of the great feudatory king the glorious Ananta dêvarâja. And this is written at the command of the illustrious king by me, the glorious Lakshamanaiya, the great minister of the first rank at the treasury. Whatever may be superfluous or wanting here, this is all authoritative; auspicious, great prosperity.

കേരള സാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

Art. XVII—*Matheran Folk Songs.*

By Professor M. Macmillan, B.A.

(*Read 7th April* 1903.)

Some years ago, in the leafy glades of Matheran, my old friend Mr. Douglas heard the labourers at work on the road beguiling their toil with a song in which the name of Bombay appeared to be of frequent occurrence. This excited my curiosity to know what these poor native workmen had to say and sing about this great city. I determined to investigate the matter; and the result of my enquiries was the discovery of the following song, which as far as I know had never before been printed. I have translated it into English in the metre of the original, except that I have not managed to keep the same double rhyme all through. In the original as you will see the double rhyme often consists in the repetition of the same word at the end of the verse—a liberty which is sometimes taken by Spenser in the "Fairy Queen" and by Italian poets. An extra treble rhyme that appears in the first half of one verse is omitted in the translation of that verse, but partly compensated for by the insertion of a double rhyme in the same position in another verse of the translation :—

Song in Marathi.

Mother. Leka, Bombechi nawri || karun dein tula,
Ghodachi gadi madhye || nein tula.

Son. Bombechi barfi || pahije tila,
Amadabadi lugade || ti magil mala.
Jarichi choli ata || kothun anu tila ?
Bombechi bayko || nako ge mala ;
Char dodayachi pan-supari || magate khayala.

Mother. Leka, khasil ka ? || nahito marin tula,
Sarkari kothari madhye || ghalin tula.

Son. Ai, Jeengi bayko || karun de ge mala,
Na karsil tar, ai || palun jain deshala.
Bombechi bayko || nako ge mala ;
Char dodayachi pan-supari || magate khayala.

Mother. Leka, char paise || dein tula,
Karchyala || pan-suparila.
Talawar malawar || nein tula,
Jambul peru || charin tula,
Khurchi tablewar || baswin tula.

Son. Bombechi bayko || nako ge mala ;
Char dodayachi pan-supari || magate khayala.

ENGLISH VERSE TRANSLATION.

Mother. My son, a wife in Bombay || I've ready for your marriage,
To Bombay I'll take you || with a horse and carriage.

Son. She'd live on Bombay sweetmeats ; || her I'll never marry,
She'd be always wanting || from Ahmedabad a sari,
And how am I to get her || a bodice of phulkari ?
No wife from Bombay || will I ever marry,
She'd want each day an anna || to buy pan-supari.

Mother. My son, I'll beat you || if you more gainsay me,
Or have you put in prison || if you won't obey me,

Son. Mother, my Jingi || you must let me marry,
If you don't here I won't || any longer tarry.
No wife from Bombay || will I ever marry,
She'd want each day an anna || to buy pan-supari.

Mother. My son, an anna || I'll give you when you marry,
To pay your expenses || and buy the pan-supari.
To a lovely garden || near a tank I'll lead you,
Where with jambul berries || and guavas I'll feed you.
A Bombay bed to sleep on || I, my son, will get you,
And beside a table || on a chair I'll set you.

Son. No wife from Bombay || will I ever marry.
She'd want each day an anna || to buy pan-supari.

The song appears to be a Koli song, that is to say, a song composed by a poet belonging to the large caste called Kolis, who have given their name to the two promontories called Colaba near Bombay, and from whom the English word cooly used in Bombay in the sense of porter or bearer of burdens and in the West Indies and South Africa in the sense of labourer imported from the East is generally supposed to be derived, although the derivation is doubtful. The members of the caste are engaged in fishing and agriculture. The fishermen belonging to it are easily recognisable in Bombay by their red caps. They have a natural fondness for composing and singing songs in which they set the fashion to the Marathas in Bombay and elsewhere. Last November Mr. B. L. Welinkar kindly brought some Maratha mill hands to sing before me the song I am bringing to your notice. Two of them danced and marked the time by their steps and by rhythmical movements of their umbrellas. When asked why they waved their umbrellas, they replied that the umbrellas represented oars, thus indicating that the song and the dance originated among Koli fishermen.

The song, as you see, is a dramatic lyric in the form of a dialogue. Inasmuch as it is a dialogue between a mother and son, it rather closely resembles the Scotch ballad song "Oh, where have you been, Lord Ronald my son ?"

It is not however the subject but the metre which is the chief point of interest in the song. On examination it will be found that some of the verses exactly conform to the scheme of the Latin Saturnian metre, while all the verses by their trochaic character essentially resemble that old type of verse. Read for instance the fifth verse with the metrical accent as intoned by the natives, and you will see that it consists of six trochees preceded by an extra syllable or anacrusis just like "Dabunt malum Metelli | Naevio poetae," or "Gnaivod patre prognatus || fortis vir sapiensque," or like the nursery rhymes which Macaulay gives as specimens of English Saturnian verse—

> The queen was in her parlour || eating bread and honey,
> The king was in his counting house || counting out his money,

between which and the Indian verses on account of the double rhyme there is a still closer resemblance than between the Italian and Indian measures.

Only the first, fourth, fifth and eleventh lines of the song before us fit exactly into the Saturnian metrical system. In the fourth line the thesis of the fourth trochee and in the eleventh the thesis of the first trochee are omitted ; but this is in accordance with a license permitted by the rules of Saturnian prosody in all feet but the last, as for instance "Runcus atque Purpureus filii terras." All the other lines resemble the Saturnian verse by their trochaic rhythm, and produce much the same metrical effect as the Saturnian verses, although the number of feet is reduced to four and five and the extra syllable at the beginning is in some cases omitted. As in Saturnian verse, the music of the metre depends upon the metrical accent, which entirely disregards the quantity and the natural accent of the words, so that syllables naturally short and unaccented are accented in the verse just as is done in the recitation of English poetry by many an English schoolboy who would read Milton's line "Burnt after him to the bottomless pit" with heavy accents on "the" and "tom" so as to make it perfectly iambic. The conflict between the metrical and the natural accent of the syllables is less harsh in this song than in the Latin Saturnian verses, because in Marathi, as in Indian languages generally, all syllables are accented about equally. When the song is chanted by Kolis and Marathas the strongest accent is laid upon the first syllable of the last foot, which is further emphasised by the time taken to pronounce it, and this is why the easily prolonged

liquid " u " is the consonant that appears in the rhyming syllables all through. I find the occurrence of such penultimate syllables in " u " not only in the song before us but also in other Koli songs contained in the two song books procured for me by Mr. Mogre. It is interesting to notice a corresponding feature in the Saturnian verse. In the extant specimens of that metre we find that in the body of the verses the metrical accent often leaves unaccented syllables which would naturally be long and accented and falls heavily on what would naturally be the shortest and least accented syllables, as for instance in the line of Naevius which we have already quoted, " Runcus atque Purpureus || filii terras." But this is not the case in the last foot, which in almost every extant Saturnian verse has for its arsis a syllable which would be long and accented without being subject to the stress of the metrical accent. Thus in the 21 extant lines of the first book of the Punica of Naevius all the penultimate syllables except one would be long according to the strictest rules of prosody. The first four verses for instance end with " sorores, " " Anchises," " ponuntur," " pulcram." This indicates that there was an extra stress laid on this penultimate syllable in the Saturnian verses also, and that they were chanted like our Indian song.

It has been remarked before, on the strength of European examples, that the trochaic beat of the Saturnian metre is natural to primitive peoples. We find it not only in Italian verse but also in old English nursery rhymes, in the Cid and in the Nibelungen Lied ; and now from the instance before us it would appear that its range is extended to Asia, and that it may be heard in the songs that the natives of India sing at their work or at their play.

I do not like to leave the subject without pointing out an analogy that has been suggested to me between the early development of metrical composition in Italy, India, and perhaps in Greece. In Italy and India we find in the primitive folk songs the prevalence of the Saturnian metre or similar metres in which the rhythm is determined by the metrical accent with little or no regard either to the natural accent or the quantity of the syllables. Afterwards when the art of poetry was established, an elaborate metrical system dependent on quantity was established in both countries. An ingenious English scholar conjectures that the same process of development from metre determined by the metrical accent to quantitative metre also took place at an early age in Greece. In Italy this change was due to the introduction of foreign Greek metres at the time when " Graecia capta ferum Victorem cepit." We may conjecture that the similar change in India was due to a similar cause, namely, the introduction of

quantitative metre by the Aryan conquerors of India, the main difference being that in the case of India the foreigners were victorious not only over the arts but also over the arms of the dark-skinned aborigines of Ancient India.

I subsequently discovered two other songs sung in Matheran, which are more distinctly fit to be called Matheran songs than the one you have just heard, inasmuch as they are not only sung in Matheran but also are inspired by Matheran. They both give more or less elaborate accounts of the characteristic features of the hill as seen from the point of view of the poorer native inhabitants. As I have not succeeded in getting sufficiently accurate versions of the original songs, I content myself with giving English translations. The first song may be rendered in English prose as follows, leaving one or two gaps where there are omissions in the original or words that I could not make out :—" Matheran is wondrous beautiful ; it is the abode of joyful people. They spend money with pleasure. All kinds of pleasure are enjoyed there by the merchants. They let their houses for money, and show themselves off on horseback. They shout aloud to one another, and delight in going about in palkis and tonjons. The people of the bazaar look on at the fun. I will tell the names of point after point ; so pay attention. Beautiful is Panorama Point ; on this side of it is Hart Point. Near the gymkhana is Artist Point, Porcupine, Louisa, and Landscape Point. By Echo Point there is a footpath. Go along it, and you will find the lake. Its situation is dangerous. By the lake are great numbers of people, crowds of bheesties. The *bails* jostle each other to get to the water. Their drivers have sticks in their hands, and twist their tails. Dhobis and more dhobis assemble there. What shall I say ? It is very beautiful. Below they make gardens and plant all kinds of vegetables, parsley, celery, cabbage, French beans, nolkol, cauliflower, peas. They pour water out of water-pots on the herbs. The rabbits eat the vegetables at night. The malis take great pains in watching them. By day the monkeys give trouble. From there goes a footpath to Danger Point. Beyond that is Chowk Point and Chilka Point with its iron mines. On this side of it is the road to the Rambagh, and beyond that is Alexander Point." The line about spending money with pleasure is repeated at irregular intervals as a refrain. I believe that vestiges of the iron works near Chowk Point mentioned in the song may still be detected by the careful observer. The song ends at Alexander Point, which gives a rather lame and impotent conclusion.

The other metrical description of Matheran that I have to bring to your notice appears to me to be better constructed. I have translated it into anapæstic verse as follows :—

O ! Matheran Hill is fair to behold,
Its water is pure and its breeze is ice-cold.

The views from the Points well deserve admiration,
And the English delight in this lovely hill-station

That wonderful people in proof of their skill
Have raised mighty works on the top of the hill.

Before the gymkhana are mango boughs swaying,
Within are wide spaces devoted to playing.

On Saturday always at four by the clock,
You may see how the *sahib log* thitherward flock.

Fair ladies and gentlemen eager to play,
Whose ponies and tonjons encumber the way.

In the season of May from the dust in the air,
And the hubbub of voices you'd think 'twas a fair.

By the banyas and shopkeepers plying their trade
Of buying and selling great profits are made.

There's the Seth Motiram of his trade at the top,
Who has lakhs upon lakhs of rupees in his shop.

On Sunday what crowds to the temple repair,
Where the white people gather for sermon and prayer !

The bazaar has for master a gentleman grand,
And all in the hill must obey his command.

Then kind doctor Suntaram ! Well do we know
That he loves his best drugs on the poor to bestow.

There are taxes for sweepers, for houses, for grounds,
With police at his back Keshorao goes his rounds.

The policemen have sticks and they carry away
The chatties of all who their rents fail to pay.

Poor folk on the hill little work can procure,
And cruel oppression they're doomed to endure.

Day by day they're in trouble, oppressed by the fear
That their children must starve e'er the end of the year.

Yet the Sirkar shows mercy to young and to old,
And the water is pure and the breeze is ice-cold.

Each Englishman here eats the air like a king,
Go and see for yourselves if you doubt what I sing.

Go, visit the bungalow built of black stone,
And breathe the fresh air to our mountain that's blown.

Pisurnath the great king—to his shrine by the lake,
The people must always their offerings take.

Springs cooler than Malet's can nowhere be found,
Which flows in a plentiful stream from the ground.

A sepoy so stern is on guard at the place,
That all who go there hate the sight of his face.

Clever folk, who the market of Matheran throng,
Would you know who's the poet that made you this song?

Rajaram is his name! When he roams o'er the hill,
The women all greet him with hearty good-will.

In the above verses the bungalow built of black stone is the house that once belonged to Mr. Latham, and is now occupied by a sisterhood. The shrine of Pisurnath by the lake is one of the most striking scenes in Matheran, though many visitors never discover its whereabouts. You turn away from the bund by a woodland path on the Chowk side, and suddenly see before you a wooden frame resembling a gibbet, surrounded by weird standing stones and pillars besmeared with red spots which look like clots of blood, and suggest human sacrifice to the imagination, especially if you see it all at the hour of sunset in the dim twilight of the sacred grove. From one of these stones auguries of good and bad fortune are taken by the worshippers of Pisurnath, who sacrifice cocks in his honour. In the middle of the song the poet seems distracted between a desire to conciliate the powers that be, including Suntaram, the Assistant Superintendent, and sympathy with the woes of his neighbours, so that he becomes somewhat incoherent and inconsistent. At the end of the song he works his own name into the verse according to the common practice of Oriental song-makers. His roving about the hill is a reference to his profession of a barber, which he still pursues on the hill and probably finds more remunerative than verse-making. The way in which he reveals his name and prides himself on the favour he has found in the eyes of the fair sex may remind us of the similar but more elaborate verses in which the author of the Homeric hymn to Apollo claims a place in the memory of the Delian ladies who have heard his song :—

Now be Apollo kind and Dian too;
And ye, fair Delian damsels, all adieu!
But in your memory grant me still a home;
And oft as to your sacred isle may come,
A pilgrim, care-worn denizen of earth,
And ask, while joining in your social mirth,

"Maidens, of all the bards that seek your coast,
Who sings the sweetest and who charms you most?"
Then answer one and all with gracious smile—
"A blind old man who lives in Chios' rocky isle."

Nor need we be surprised at finding analogies between the verses of Rajaram, the Matheran barber, and the famous Homeric hymn to Apollo composed by the blind old man of the rocky isle of Chios. For in spite of differences of time and place and race, the verses of Rajaram and the Homeric hymns resemble each other in being songs composed by men of the people to be sung at popular festive gatherings. They were not intended to be printed in books with the authors' names in gold letters on the binding, but to be recited from mouth to mouth in different places and by successive generations. Under such circumstances authors who wish to escape oblivion do well to cunningly insert their names or descriptions of themselves in the songs they compose.

കേരള സാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

ART. XVIII—*References to China in the Ancient Books of the Parsees.*[1]

BY JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B. A.

[*Read, 13th July* 1903.]

Prof. Douglas, in his article on China in the latest edition of The Encyclopædia Britannica,[2] says :

"The spacious seat of ancient civilization, which we call China, has loomed always so large to Western eyes, and has, in spite of the distance, subtended so large an angle of vision, that, at eras far apart, we find it to have been distinguished by different appellations, according as it was reached by the southern sea-route, or by the northern land-route transversing the longitude of Asia.

"In the former aspect the name has nearly always been some form of the name Sin, Chin, Sinæ, China. . . . . ."

Prof. Douglas then mentions supposed references in Sanscrit and Jewish books to the above names. He makes no reference to the Avesta in the matter, probably because Iranian scholars have not collected sufficient materials about it. The object of this paper is to collect the references to China in the ancient books of the Parsees.

I

The Farvardin Yasht refers to China, and it speaks of it, as Sâini, a name resembling Sin or Sinæ, referred to by Prof. Douglas as an old name of China. It contains a list of the pious departed worthies of ancient Irân before the Sassanian times. As the late Professor Darmesteter said the list is "un catalogue d'Homère du Mazdéisme."[3] It is the most ancient "list of canonization" among the ancient Irânians. At first, some of the worthies of ancient Irân are individually named and commemorated, and then at the end, all the pious worthies of the five countries of the then known world are remembered in general terms, because, as said by Gogoshasp, a commentator of the Vendidâd, it was not Irân alone that was believed to contain pious holy men. Gogoshasp said :

"Âi dayan kolâ dâd âi mardum âhlôbanghân yehavunêt meman min 'Tuiryanâm dakhyunâm paetâk,'"

[1] This paper was at first read before the International Congress held at Hanoi in December 1902. (*Vide* "Compte Rendu Analytique des séances, Premier Congrès International des Études D'Extrême Orient Hanoi (1902)," published in 1903, pp. 76-77.). I beg to express my best thanks to Principal MacMillan for having kindly read my paper at the Congress.

[2] Vol. V., p. 626.

[3] Le Zend Avesta, II., p. 504.

i.e., In every created country there are pious persons, as it appears from the passage, "Tuiryanâm Dakhyunâm, &c."

It is not worthy men alone that are thus honoured, but worthy women also. The countries mentioned, as said above, in the list of the Farvardin Yasht are Airya, Tûirya, Sairima, Sâini and Dâhi.[1]

Airya is the country of Irân; Tuirya is the country of Turkestân; Sairima is the country of Arum (the Eastern part of the Roman Empire) or Asia Minor and Western Asia. Dâhi is the Δάαι of Herodotus and Strabo, and Tahia of the Chinese geographers. It is the country round the Caspian. The remaining country, Sâini, is China.

The passage in the Farvardin Yasht, wherein the departed worthies, both male and female of this country of Sâini (China), are remembered, runs thus :—

"Sâininâm dâkhyunâm narâm ashaônâm fravashayô yazamaidê. Sâininâm dakhyunâm nâirinâm ashaôninâm fravashayô yazamaidê."

i.e., "We remember in the ritual, the Fravashis (*i.e.*, the holy spirits) of the pious men of the country of Sâini. We remember in the ritual, the Fravashis of the pious women of the country of Sâini."

The country of Sâini referred to in the above passage, is variously identified by different scholars. Anquetil Du Perron identifies it with the country of Soanes, referred to by Strabo as situated between the Black and the Caspian Seas. He says: "Les Provinces de Saon ne me paroissent pas différentes du Païs des Soanes, que Strabon (Géograph., L. XI., p. 499) place entre la Mer noire Et la Mer Caspienne. Ptolomée (Géograph., L. V., c. 9. et 12) fait mention d'un fleuve nommé Soana, dont les eaux se déchargeoint la mer Caspienne, au Nord de l'Albanie."[2] Dr. Spiegel says: "We do not know who the Çânians are."[3] Justi thinks it to be the town of Can which Persian lexicographers placed in Bactria. He says: "Besser ist wohl die stadt Çan herbeizuziehen welche nach den pers. Lexicographen in Bactrien oder Kabulistan liegt."[4] M. Harlez is doubtful and thinks it may be Caucasus.[5] Dr. West[6] says it is "probably the territory of Samarkand." Windischmann was the first scholar to identify it with China. Justi thinks, he is wrong in so identifying it. He says: "Windischmann irrt, wenn er in Çâini den Namen der Chinesen erblickt."[7] M. Darmesteter[8] supports Windischmann and identifies Sâini with China. I think this identification is correct.

[1] Yasht XIII., 143-44.

[2] Le Zend Avesta, II., p. 283, n. 3.

[3] Bleek's Translation, Vol. III., p. 107, n. 3.

[4] Handbuch der Zend sprache, p. 293.

[5] Le Zend Avesta, p. 505, n. 2.

[6] S. B. E., Vol. V., Chap. XV, 25, n. 3.

[7] Handbuch der Zend sprache, p. 293.

[8] S. B. E., Vol. XXIII., p. 227, n. 1; Le Zend Avesta, Vol. II., p. 554, n. 312.

Three facts lead us to identify this country of Sâini with China :—

1. The above five countries mentioned in the Farvardin Yasht are referred to in the Pahlavi Bundehesh.[1] There this country of Sâini is spoken of as Sini, and to point out what particular country is meant by that name, it is added "Zak i pavan Chinastân," *i.e.*, "that which is in Chinastân." This Chinastân is the country of China.

2. In some Arabic and Persian books, China is spoken of as "Shin." These very names suggest the identity.

3. According to the Shâh-nâmeh of Firdousi, Faridun had divided among his three sons, Erach, Selam and Tur, the five countries referred to in the Farvardin Yasht.

Firdousi's lines are as follow (Mohl, Vol. I, p. 138, ll. 292—299) :

نخستین بسلم اندرون بنگرید
همه روم و خاور مر اورا گزید
دگر تور را داد توران زمین
ورا کرد سالار ترکان وچین
پس آنگه نیابت به ایرج رسید
مر اورا پدر شهر ایران گزید

M. Mohl thus translates these lines :

"Il jet d'abord les yeux sur Selm, et choisit pour lui Roum et tout l'occident.....Puis Feridoun donna Tour le pays de Touran, et le fit maître du pays des Turcs et de la Chine.....Alors vint le tour d'Iredj, et son père lui donna le pays d'Iran." (Ibid, p. 139.)

Now let us examine the countries named by the Farvardin Yasht, and those named by Firdousi, placing them side by side.

The list of the Farvardin Yasht.	*The list of the Shâh-nâmeh, arranged in the order of the Farvardin Yasht.*
Irân (Airya)	Irân
Turân (Tuirya)	Turân
Sairima (Rum)	Rum
Sâini	Chin
Dâhi	Khâvar

From this list we see, that the Irân of the Shâh-nâmeh, given to Iredj (Erach), the Airyava of the Avesta, is the country of Airya or Irân in the Farvardin Yasht. The country (Airya) is said to have derived its very

[1] S. B. E., V., Ch. XV., 29.

name from this prince Airyava (Iredj). The Turân of the Shâh-nâmeh, is the Tuirya (Turân) of the Farvardin Yasht. This country also is said to have derived its name from the prince (Tuirya or Tur) to whom it was given. The Rum of the Shâh-nâmeh is the Sairima of the Farvardin Yasht. The Pahlavi Bundehesh[1] identifies Sairima with Rum (Saram matâ ait i Arum, *i.e.*, the country of Saram which is Arum). This country also is said to have derived its name from prince Selam to whom it was given. The Khâvar of the Shâh-nâmeh, which together with Rum (Asia-Minor) was given to prince Selam, is the Dâhi of the Farvardin Yasht.

Now the only country of the list of the Shâh-nâmeh, which remains to be identified with one in the Farvardin Yasht is Chin. It then, is the same as Sâini, the remaining fifth country in the list of the Farvardin Yasht.

II

As to what country constituted Sâini or China in the ancient literature of different nations, Prof. Douglas says :

"If we fuse into one, the ancient notices of the Seres (one of the appellations of the people of China) and their country, omitting anomalous statements and manifest fables, the result will be something like the following :—

"The region of the Seres is a vast and populous country, touching on the east the Ocean and the limits of the habitable world, and extending west to Imaus (*i.e.*, the Pamir) and the confines of Bactria."[2]

This is confirmed to a great extent by the Shâh-nâmeh of Firdousi. Therein Turân (Turkestân) and Chin (China) are always associated together. At one time, it is the same ruler who rules over Turân and Chin ; at another time, there are different rulers, but the King of Turân is spoken of as Lord Suzerain over the country of Chin. Again we find that at times Chin had independent sovereigns.

Again it appears from the Shâh-nâmeh that Chin or China was divided into two parts, Chin and Mâchin. Chin seems to be the region near Turân, or Turkestan, and Mâchin, or the greater Chin, the China of the Further East. Again Turân and Chin are generally spoken of together, because the boundary of one began immediately at the place, where that of the other ended. In the wars of Turân against Irân, Chin, *i.e.*, both Chin and Mâchin, generally sided with Turân.

[1] S. B. E., V., Ch. XV. 29. [2] The Encyclopædia Brittanica, V., p. 647.

In the half legendary and half historical wars of Afrâsiâb, the king of Turân, with Kaikhosru, the king of Irân, the former, when hard pressed by the latter, looked to his above two neighbours for aid.

Just as Chin or China was known by two names, Chin and Machin, so its monarchs also were known by two names, *viz.*, Khâkân and Faghfour. They were two different individuals. The Faghfour was at the head of the administration and the Khâkân was next to him. At times, one and the same person was spoken of, under both names. When Afrâsiâb, hard pressed by Kaikhosru, seeks aid from Chin, it is the Faghfour that he writes[1] to, and seeks help and support from. On the defeat and capture of Afrâsiâb, the king of Irân asks them to surrender. They both (the Faghfour and the Khâkân) pay homage to the sovereign of Irân.[2] Kaikhosru went to their country and remained there as their guest for three months.

III

About the derivation of the name Sin, Sinæ, Chin or China, Prof. Douglas[3] says: "the name of Chin has been supposed (doubtfully) to be derived from the dynasty of *Thsin* which a little more than two centuries[4] before our era enjoyed a brief but very vigorous existence, uniting all the Chinese provinces under its authority, and extending its conquests far beyond those limits to the south and the west."

A satisfactory settlement of this question of the derivation of the name Sin, Sinæ or Chin, by scholars of Chinese literature, shall be of great interest and importance to Avesta scholars, because that will supply additional evidence to determine the latest date at which the Farvardin Yasht was written. If it can be satisfactorily settled without

[1] یکی نامه نزدیک فغفور چین نبشتند با صد هزار آفرین

i.e., they wrote a letter to the Faghfour of China with hundred thousand blessings. (Mohl IV. p. 96.)

[2] برفتند فغفور و خاکان چین بر شاه با پوزش و آفرین

i.e., the Faghfour and the Khâkân of China went before the king with excuses and blessings. (Mohl IV., pp. 166-67.)

[3] The Encyclopædia Brittanica, Vol. V., p. 626.

[4] The exact date of the foundation of this dynasty is 255 B.C. Prof. Douglas says on this point (Ibid., p. 643):—"As the Empire became weakened by internal dissensions, so much the more did the power of the neighbouring states increase. Of these the most important was that of Thsin, on the north-west, which, when it became evident that the kingdom of Chow must fall to pieces, took a prominent part in the wars undertaken by Tsoo on the south and Tsin on the north for the coveted prize. But the struggle was an unequal one. The superiority of Thsin in point of size, and in the number of fighting men at its command, carried all before it, and in 255 B.C. Chaou-seang Wang, having silenced his rivals, possessed himself of the imperial states. Thus fell the Chow dynasty."

the shadow of any doubt, that the country of China derived its name Chin, Sin or Sinæ from the dynasty of Thsin, which flourished 200 years before Christ, then it will lead us to conclude, that the Farvardin Yasht, which contains the name of China as Sâini, must have been written after that date, *i.e.*, after the second century B.C.

On the other hand, a satisfactory settlement of the question of the date of the Farvardin Yasht, may lead to a solution of the doubtful question of the derivation of the name of China. As far as the evidence, presented and traced up to now, goes, it appears, that, though the Yasht itself as a whole may be older, its "list of canonization" was open up-to as late as B. C. 195, because the two personages mentioned therein (Yt. XIII, 115) Erezva Srutô Spâdha, and Zrayangha Spento Khratavâo, lived, according to the Dinkard, about 400 years after the traditional date attributed to the age of Zoroaster[1]. This date depends merely upon the evidence of a later book. If we accept this date, then there is a difference of about 60 years between the date 255 B. C. when China began to be ruled by the Thsin dynasty, from which it derived its date, and B. C. 195 the latest date, determined up to now, when additions were made to the list of canonization of the Farvardin Yasht. This makes it probable that China may have derived its name from the Thsin dynasty.

But the probability is, that though new names have been added later on, the Farvardin Yasht, as a whole, was older than the second century. We do not find in it, the names of persons like Ardeshir Bâbegân and his Dastur Tansar, who both took an active part, in what is called the Irânian Renaissance of the early Sassanian times. Again, we do not find the name of Valkhash of the Pârthian dynasty, who, according to the Dinkard, played a prominent part in reviving the religion. This shows that the list was closed long before the second century before Christ. It is believed by many scholars, that the theory of Fravashis or Farôhars, which the Yasht treats in its first part, was one, which suggested to Plato his philosophic theory of "Ideas." Now Plato lived at the end of the fifth century and during the first half of the fourth century before Christ (429-347 B. C.). So, if Plato took his philosophy of "Ideas" from that of the Fravashis in the Farvardin Yasht, the Yasht must have been written prior to the fourth or fifth century before Christ. If so, the fact, that the name of China as Sâini occurs in this old document, throws a doubt on the belief, that it was the Thsin dynasty of the third century before Christ that gave its name to China. It appears, therefore, that the name was older than the third century before Christ.

[1] Dr. West, S. B. E. XLVII, pp. 83, 84. Le Zend Avesta par Darmesteter II, p. 504.

IV.

Coming to the Pahlavi books, we find that, as said above, the Bundehesh refers to the country of Sini, and says that it is Chinistân or China. Again, in the list of mountains given in the Bundehesh[1], a mountain is spoken of as Kuf-i-Chin, *i.e.*, the mountain of Chin or China. It is said to be on the frontiers of Turkestân[2]. It is not certain which particular mountain is meant.

In the Shâyast lâ Shâyast, we find a reference to the religion of Sin or China. There the religions of different peoples are spoken of and classed, as it were, into three classes.—(1) *veh*, *i.e.*, good; (2) *gômizeh* or mixed, *i.e.*, neither good nor bad; and (3) *vadtar*, *i.e.*, worse.

The passage runs thus—

"Avizeh dâd veh din lenman hômanîm va pôryôtkesh hômanîm va gomizeh dâd Sinik vaskardih hômand va vatar dâd zandik va tarsâk va yahud va avârik i denman sân hômand[3]."

Dr. West[4] thus translates it—

"Of a pure law (dâd) are we of the good religion, and we are of the primitive faith; of a mixed law are those of the Sinik congregation; of a vile law are the Zendik, the Christian, the Jew and others of this sort." As Prof. Darmesteter has suggested, the Sinik congregation is a reference to the religion of China. The writer calls his Zoroastrian religion a good religion. He condemns other religions as bad. He does not include the Chinese religion among the bad ones, but he calls it a mixed religion, *i.e.*, a religion containing Zoroastrian elements as well as other foreign elements. This brings us to the question of the influence of Zoroastrian religion upon China.

V.

As pointed out by Prof. Jackson,[5] M. Chavannes in an article entitled "Le Nestorianisme et L'Inscription de Kara—Balgassoun,"[6] quotes several passages from Chinese books referring to Zoroaster and the religion of Persia. These references prove clearly, that the Mazdayaçnân religion of Zoroaster had made its way into China. One of the passages that M. Chavannes quotes on the subject is as follows:—"Autrefois Sou-li-tche (Zarathushtra, Zoroaster) du royaume de Perse, avait institué la religion mo-ni-enne du dieu céleste du feu; un édit impérial ordonna d'établir à la capitale un temple de Ta-ts'in."

[1] Justi Text, p. 22, l. 1. West S. B. E. V., p. 34, Chap. XII, 2. [2] Ibid. Chap. XII, 13.
[3] MS. of Mr. Edalji K. Antia, f 27 b, l. 11. [4] S. B. E. V., p. 236. Shayast la Shayast VI, 7.
[5] Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran, p. 279. [6] Journal Asiatique, Vol. IX, pp. 43.—85 Janvier-Février, 1897.

"Pour ce qui est de la religion mo-ni-enne du dieu céleste du feu, autrefois, dans le royaume de Perse il y eut Zoroastre ; il mit en vigueur la religion du dieu céleste du feu ; ses disciples vinrent faire des conversions en Chine ; sous les T'ang, la 5e année tcheng-koan (631) un de ses sectateurs, le mage Ho-lou vint au palais apporter la religion du dieu céleste ; un décret impérial ordonna d'établir à la capitale un temple de Ta-ts'in"[1].

The work which gives this passage was written between 1269 and 1271 A. D. It says that a Persian temple was established in China in 631 A. D.[2]

Besides the above two passages, which refer to Zoroaster as the founder of the *mo-ni-enne* religion, M. Chavannes gives eleven other passages, wherein this mo-ni-enne religion is directly or indirectly referred to.

Now, what is this religion named mo-ni-enne ? M. Chavannes says, that the religion generally referred by the term mo-ni-enne is the Mussalman or Mahomedan religion. According to this author, in those cases, where it is referred to, as founded by Zoroaster and the Magi, it is the Zoroastrian religion, but the Chinese writer, not being able to draw a line of difference, has used the same word in a wrong sense.

M. Devéria,[3] on the other hand, affirms, that the religion mo-ni-enne, referred to in the above Chinese passages, is the Manichean religion or the religion founded by Mani, which was an offshoot of the Zoroastrian religion.

I beg to suggest that the word "mo-ni-enne" is a corrupted form of "Mazdayaçnân," the appellation, by which the Zoroastrian religion was, and is even now known by its votaries.

It is true, that some of the allusions in the above passages, refer to the introduction of the Persian religion in its Manichean form, but it is possible, that the religion continued to be known by the name of the older parent religion, of which it was an offshoot. Again it is possible, that though the religion of Persia, that was known to China in its early times, was the Mazdayaçnân religion, still by the later authors it was called Manichean, because the religion of Mani also came to them from Persia.

[1] Journal Asiatique, Vol. IX, p. 61, Janvier-Février, 1897.

[2] We must note that this is the time of the Arab conquest of Persia, and tradition says that some of the Zoroastrians of Persia went to China with the son of Yezdejard Sheheriâr, the last king of Persia. (*Vide* Anquetil Du Perron, Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie I, p. 336, note.)

[3] Le Journal Asiatique, Vol X, pp. 415-484, Novembre-Decembre 1897. Article headed Musulmans et Manichéens Chinois."

Among the Chinese passages quoted by M. Chavannes there is the following one, which refers to a king Pirouz III of Persia :—

"Pour ce qui est de l'ancien temple persan à l'est du quartier Li-ts'iuen, la 2e année i fong (677) Pirouze III, de Perse, demande à etablir un temple persan. Pendent la periode *chen-long* (705-707) Tsong Tch'ouk'o sevit designer (ce lieu) par le sort pour y faire sa demeure."[1]

With reference to this passage I beg to draw the attention of Chinese scholars to a Persian book called فیروز نامہ Firouz-nâmeh. It is not printed as yet. I have seen an old manuscript of this book in the possession of Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwâlâ of Bombay. It is a manuscript of 288 folios or 576 pages having 13 lines to a page. I find the following date at the end :—

آنچہ کہ در کتاب تحریر بود تمام شد نسخہ فیروز نامہ روز
ہورمزد ماہ خورداد تاریخ ۲۴ ربیع الاول سنہ الف یک

i.e., Whatever was written in the book—the manuscript of Firouz-nâmeh—is finished on roz (day) Hormazd mâh (month) Khordad (Hijri) date 24 Rabi-ul-aval 1001.

This date shows that the manuscript is more than 300 years old. The date when the original book was written is not known.

Herein, king Firouz is spoken of as Firouz-Shâh, the son of king Dârâb, son of king Bahman, son of king Asfandyâr, son of king Gushtâsp, son of king Lohrasp.[2] Thus this Firouz is said to be the great grandson of Asfandyâr, who is traditionally spoken of among the Parsees, as having gone to China and established several fire-temples there.

In the commencement of the book, the author of the book is said to be one Shaikh Haji Mahmad, son of Maulana Shaikh, son of Maulana Ali, son of Shaikh Maulana.[3]

Herein the king is spoken of as Khâkân and as Wâng وانگ. We find the latter word in the names of some Chinese kings, such as Wei-lee-Wang and Chaou Seang Wang. This Chinese king is hostile to Firouz and the Irânians, and is therefore given the abusive epithet of harâm zâdeh حرامزادہ *i.e.*, born of illegitimate connection.

[1] Journal Asiatique, Tome IX, Janvier-Fevrier 1897, p. 62.

(۲) فیروز شا بن ملک داراب بن ملک بہمن بن شا اسفندیار
بن شاہ گشتاسپ بن شاہ لہوراسپ

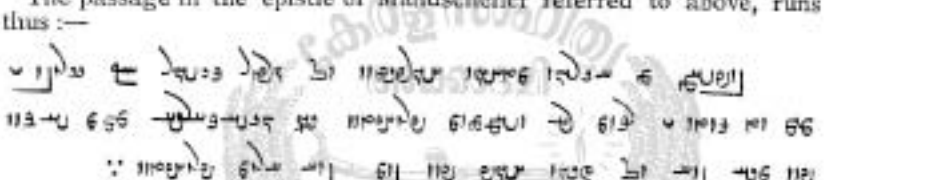
(۳) شیخ حاجي محمد بن مولانا شیخ بن مولانا اعلي بن
شیخ مولانا

VI

It appears from the Pahlavi epistles of Mânuscheher, that in the ninth century, China was considered to be the furthest place to which one could go to from Persia, to avoid domestic anxieties or troubles. Mânuscheher was the head priest of the Zoroastrians of Persia, especially of the country of Pârs and Kirman, in the third century of Yazdajard (ninth century A. D.). He had a brother named Zâdsparam, who was the head priest of the Zoroastrians at Sarakhs in the north-east of Khorasan.[1] This brother was transferred to Sirkan, where he issued some new decrees about the purification ceremony, which were not in accord with the previous injunctions on the subject. These new ideas were considered to be heretical, and he was believed to have taken them from the Tughazghuz[2] when he was staying at Sarakhs.

To avoid all the troubles and anxieties caused by the heretical beliefs of his brother, Mânuscheher wishes, he could go away to China.

The passage in the epistle of Mânuscheher referred to above, runs thus :—



Benafshman min airin matâân agvirazidan val dûrtar keshvar âig sarub madam vad-kardan-i-lakum lâ vashmamunam farvâztan dayan khvishkâriya memanam sukun pavan maya bará val Chin ayûp pavan bûm bará Arum farvaztan.[3]

Dr. West thus translates the passage :—

"And I myself shall have to retire from the countries of Irân and to wander forth to far distant realms where I shall not hear a rumour about your evil deeds. In my occupation, moreover, my fortune may be to wander forth by water even to China or by land even to Arum."[4]

[1] Dr. West, S. B. E., Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 25.

[2] According to Maçoudi (Berbier de Meynard I., p. 274) these Tagazgaz (طغزغز) were a Turkish tribe (peuplade turque), and their country was in the regions where the Ganges had its source, and in the direction of China. Further on (I, p. 288) Maçoudi says of this people:—"Les Tagazgaz qui occupent la ville de Kouchan (كوشان) (Kaotchang) située entre le Khoraçan et la Chine, et qui sont aujourd'hui en 332. de toutes les races et tribus turques, la plus valeureuse, la plus puissante et la mieux gouvernée. Leurs rois portent le titre d'Erkhan et seuls entre tous ces peuples ils professent la doctrine de Manès." It is worth noting that the same tribe of Tagazgaz which spread Manichean religion in China began to spread its tenets later on again among some of the Zoroastrians, who came into contact with it.

[3] Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria's ms. p. 461, ll. 1-4.

[4] S. B. E. XVIII, p. 355.

This passage shows that Persia had an intercourse with China in early times by sea.

The Pahlavi Bahman[1] Yasht refers to China, saying, that according to some, the father of the future apostle, Behrâm Varjâvand will come from the direction of China and according to others from that of India.

In the Pazend Jâmâspi, we find the following reference to China :— "The country of Chinastân is great. It has much of wealth, much of musk, much of jewellery. Its people are under affliction, because among them there is no far-sight as among us." (*Vide* my Pahlavi Translations, Part III, Jâmâspi, p. 120.)

VII.

The Shâh-nâmeh is replete with references to China. It appears that Persia had a frequent intercourse with China. So it is probable that the religion of Persia may have influenced China.

The fortress of Kanga, referred to in the Avesta (Yt. V. 57), and referred to by Firdousi[2] as Kang-dez was founded by the Irânian prince Siâvakhsh. According to the Pahlavi Bundehesh[3] it was under the jurisdiction of Khorshed-cheher, a son of Zoroaster himself. This fortress of Kangdez is, according to Prof. Gutschmid[4], the Khang-kieu of Chinese history.

Arjâsp, who declares war against Gushtâsp, the King of Irân, as a protest against his (Gushtâsp's) acceptance of the new religion of Zoroaster, is spoken of both as the king of Turân and Chin.

From the Shâh-nâmeh we learn, that Aspandyâr, the son of Gushtâsp, went up to the frontiers of China. He defeated king Arjâsp, who is spoken of as the King of Turân and Chin, took his castle of "Ruin daz," and then founded several fire-temples in that locality. Speaking of his conquest of this fortress, Aspandyâr says :—[5]

بر افروختم آتش زرد هشت
که با محمر آورده بود از بهشت

According to Prof. Gutschmid[6] we learn from Chinese sources that a Chinese tribe named Yue-chi had conquered the Persian territories of Bactria and had come into close contact with the Persians. In Sassanian times we find even an instance of matrimonial alliance between Persia and China. King Chosroes I (Noshirwân) married a daughter of the then Khâkân of Chinn.[7]

[1] S. B. E. V., West, p. 220, Ch. III, 14.
[2] Mohl II, p. 342. [3] S. B. E. V., p. 142, Ch. XXXII, 5.
[4] Article on Persia, in The Encyclopædia Brittanica, Vol. XVIII, p. 554.
[5] Mohl IV, p. 620.
[6] Article on Persia in the Encyclopædia Brittanica, Vol. XVIII, p. 592.
[7] Mohl VI, p. 336.

According to Maçoudi, as late as in the ninth century (264 Hijri) there were Magi (مجوس) in China.[1]

Chinese silk was well-known in ancient Persia. The Chinese brocade, دیبای چین, is often spoken of by Firdousi as playing a prominent part in Persian decoration.[2] It appears that the Chinese art of decoration was known in Persia from old times. Sindókht, the mother of Roudâbeh, is represented as decorating a throne in Chinese fashion.

در ایوان یکی تخت زرین نهاد
به آئین و آرایش چین نهاد

i.e., She placed a golden throne in the palace and decorated it in Chinese fashion.[3]

[1] B. de Meynard I, p. 303.
[2] Mohl IV, p. 25.
[3] Mohl I, p. 340.

കേരള സാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

fils de [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

il faut aller au divan pour l'adjanassiz nama car lui & abtavarix en pros[e] [illegible] il y est parlé de pharaon qui se disoit dieu. arastatali, aristote. sous manutcher il est parlé que moise devoit venir. et étoit faux prophète.

djamasp avoit été [illegible] de lohoraspe [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

il faut lire par [illegible] adjanassiz pour savoir ce qui lui [illegible] et ce qui arrivera,

Lohoraspe [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] astrologie [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] prophète [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
le mogol akbar [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] jehanguir [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

pere de jehanguir

le mogol akbar [illegible] à surate il y a 150 ans [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

meherdji [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
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ou ne peut absolument [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

ART. XIX—*Notes of Anquetil Du Perron* (1755-61) ON *King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ.*

BY JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.

(*Read 13th July* 1903.)

I beg to submit this paper as a supplement to my paper on "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ" read before our Society on 19th December 1901 and published as Article VIII. in No. LVIII., Vol. XXI, of the Journal of the Society. (pp. 69-245).

In March 1903 I received from Paris, from Miss Menant, who had come to Bombay in 1900-1901 on a scientific mission from the Government of France to study Parseeism, among other papers, a paper marked as "Important," and with the word "Meherji Rânâ" written on it in red pencil. In it, she said :—

J'ai trouvé en feuilletant à la Bibliothèque Nle les fameux papiers d'Anquetil (No. 18) deux passages curieux que voici. (L' écriture est si mauvaise, l'orthographe si étrange, de plus les lignes sont tellement enchevêtrées que n'ayant pas de loupe, j'ai eu quelque peine à les déchiffrer.)[1]

A hasty perusal of the passages, as she wrote them, showed, that a careful copy would throw great light upon the subject of "Akbar and Meherji Rânâ."

So I wrote to her on 10th March, requesting her to send me a fair clearly-written copy of these notes again, and also an English translation of these notes, as understood by her. I subsequently requested her to send me a photograph of the notes.

In compliance with my request she has kindly sent me a photograph of the whole page, containing the passages about Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ. I beg to place that photograph on the table for the inspection of members present. According to Miss Menant, the photograph was taken at the studio of the National Library of Paris on Tuesday, the 31st of March 1903 (faite à l'atelier de la Bibliothèque Nationale, à Paris, le Mardi 31 Mars 1903).[2] A copy of the facsimile of the photo is attached at the end of this paper.

In a note sent with the photograph she says :—"J'ai trouvé la note par hasard en feuilletant les brouillons d' Anquetil pour revoir ce qui touchait à Surate, lorsque tout à coup ce passage m'a sauté aux yeux."[3]

[1] *i.e.*, "In turning over the famous papers of Anquetil (No. 18) at the National Library, I have found two curious passages, which are as follow :—(The writing is so bad, the orthography so strange, and most of the lines are entangled in such a way, that not having a magnifying glass, I had much trouble in decipherring them)."

[2] Miss Menant's note on the copy made from the photograph.

[3] *i.e.*, "I found the note by chance, on turning over the rough note-book of Anquetil to look for what referred to Surat, when suddenly this passage caught my eyes."

I give here in full what Miss Menant says about this note of Anquetil and about the points which strike her.

"Cette page photographiée provient de la Bibliothèque Nationale, du recueil des mss. d'Anquetil Du Perron catalogués ainsi qu'il suit : LXXIX. Nelles Acquisitions francaises. 8,874. Mélanges sur les Parsis vol. en 4° de 63 pages.

Le page $\frac{1}{10}$ contient les sujets les plus différents. C'est à partir de : le Mogol Akbar . . . . . que commence la citation qui nous occupe. Vous pouvez voir aussi—au bas de la page—une remarque sur les mariages des Parsis avec les étrangères qui n'a rien à faire avec Akbar. Souvenez—vous que ce sont de simples notes de voyage recueillies hâtivement.

Toutefois, vu la parfaite bonne foi d'Anquetil, méditez chaque mot.

J'appelle vôtre attention :

1°. Sur l'orthographe de Merji Rânâ—elle est très bizarre—mais il n'y a pas lieu de douter de l'identité du personnage.

2°. Que M. R. (Merji Rânâ) a été le seul qui pût *expliquer la loi.*

3°. Que c'est d'après son avis qu' Akbar envoya demander à Shah Abbas un dastour du Kerman.

(L'histoire des vers est obscure. . . . .)

4°. Qu' est ce que ce Dastour Schapour-fils de Kekobad ?

Les noms de localités ne soulèvent aucun doute. Nausari (Naucary) est bien lisible. Mais qu'est ce que Kakri-Kari à 1 f ½ de Surate ? Je n'ai rien trouvé dans le Gazetteer.

Ce que je sais c'est que Akbar mit le siége devant Surate le 19 Janvier 1573—le fort ne se rendit qu' au bout de six semaines. Où etait le camp de l'Empereur ?

Il est certain que pendant ces six semaines Akbar eut le temps de voir les Parsis et de faire connaissance avec Meherji Rânâ qui habitait une localité si proche voisine."[1]

I give at the end, the passages in full, as read and translated by Miss Menant, giving my few suggestions or amendations as foot-notes.

Now let us see what points in my previous paper, referred to above, are corroborated by this new find of Anquetil's notes, and what new

[1] TRANSLATION.—This photographed page comes from the National Library, from the collection of manuscripts of Anquetil Du Perron catalogued as follows :—LXXIX. Nelles French Acquisitions 8,874. Miscellaneous over the Parsees, volume in quarto of 63 pages.

Le page $\frac{1}{10}$ contains most different subjects. It is from (the words) "Le Mogul Akbar," that the quotation with which we have to deal, commences. You can see also at the end of the page, a remark over the marriages of the Parsis with foreigners, which has nothing to do with Akbar. Remember that these are the simple notes of a traveller collected hastily. Nevertheless, considering the perfect good faith of Anquetil, consider well each word.

light is thrown on some of the questions in that paper. In my above paper I tried to prove the following points :—

1. That Ardeshir, who is spoken of by the Dabistân, written long after Akbar's time, as having come to Akbar's Court, had come to India, long after the religious discussions were closed, and long after Akbar had adopted the visible forms of Zoroastrian worship, and Zoroastrian calendar and festivals, and so, he had no hand in influencing Akbar towards these things.

2. That Ardeshir had specially come for the purpose of the dictionary, known as Farhang-i-Jehangiri, and not for the purpose of taking part in the religious discussions at the court, and not for the purpose of explaining to the king, the religion of Zoroaster.

3. That it was the Naôsari Parsees, who had attended the Court of Akbar to take part in the religious discussions, which took place there in 1576-79.

4. That Dastur Meherji Rânâ was a leading Parsee of Naôsari, and that as such, he headed the party from Naôsari.

5. That he explained the Zoroastrian religion to king Akbar.

6. That if king Akbar put on the *sudreh* and *kusti* (*i.e.*, the sacred shirt and thread), as referred to in some of the songs, which spoke of Dastur Meherji Rânâ's visit to the court of Akbar, there is nothing to be wondered at, especially as he had put on the sacred symbols of other religions, such as Hinduism and Christianity.

Now let us examine, how far the above points, which I have tried to prove in my former paper, with the help of old documents and manuscripts, are supported by the manuscript notes of Anquetil, which record the tradition he had heard during the period of his visit to India and his stay at Surat from 1755 to 1761, *i.e.*, about 150 years ago. In my first paper, I rested upon the authority of a book by a Parsee Dastur written in about 1765 A.D., which said, that Dastur Meherji Rânâ had gone to the court of king Akbar and had explained to him

I call your attention to (the following) :—

(1) To the spelling (of the name) of Meherji Rânâ. It is very odd. But there is no room to doubt the identity of the person.

(2) That Meherji Rânâ has been the only person who could *explain the Faith*.

(3) That it is on his advice that Akbar sent to ask for, from Shah Abbas, a Dastur from Kerman. (The story of the verse is obscure. . . .)

(4) Who is this Dastur Shapour, son of Kekobad ?

The names of the localities do not raise any doubt. Nausari (Nauçary) is very legible. But what is this Kakri-Kari at 1½ £ (furlong) from Surat ? I have found nothing (about it) in the *Gazetteer*.

What I know is this, that Akbar laid siege to Surat on 19th January 1573. The fort did not surrender, but at the end of six weeks. Where was the camp of the Emperor ?

It is certain, that during these six weeks, Akbar had the time to see the Parsis and to make the acquaintance of Meherji Rânâ, who lived at a place in such a close vicinity.

the Zoroastrian religion.[1] Now this discovery of Anquetil's manuscript notes, enables me to place before the Society, the authority of a French author of great eminence, who had specially come to India to study Parseeism in its home. Anquetil left India in 1761 A.D., so these manuscript notes must have been jotted down in this volume, which formed his notebook, some time before that year. So we have now the authority of a writer who wrote at least four years before Dastur Shapurji, the Parsee author.

We will examine Anquetil's notes in the order in which we find them, and see how they support the conclusions I have arrived at, in my first paper. I will give the notes as translated by Miss Menant. The first passage of the notes refers to the Farhang-i-Jehangiri and Ardeshir. Having found nobody in India, either in his court or out of his court, who could help him in the philological work of the dictionary, he sends for a Dastur from Persia.

Anquetil's first important note is on this point, and it runs as follows :—

"The Mogul Akbar finding no Dastur, who had an answer for every thing (sur tout), according to Dastur Meherji Rânâ's[2] opinion, wrote to Shah Abbas Sophi of Persia to send him one from Kerman. Shah Abbas sent him the Dastur Ardeshir, who began under him the Phar (hang[3]) finished under Djehanguir and which bears his name. (Hyde, p. 4, says that it is Ibn Fakeruddin[4] Angjou who wrote it.)"

Now this passage of Anquetil's notes supports the following two facts, which, I have handled in my previous paper :—

1. That Ardeshir was sent for helping Jamâluddin in the work of writing his dictionary, known as the Farhang-i-Jehângiri, and not for explaining to king Akbar the religion of Zoroaster.

[1] Journal, B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XXI, No. LVIII, p. 214.

[2] Miss Menant considers Anquetil's spelling of the name of Meherji Rânâ as odd (bizarre). It is difficult to determine how Anquetil has spelt the name, but I think, Anquetil has written the name as "Meberiâr fils de Rânâ" *i.e.*, Meherinr, son of Rânâ, which was the Persian form in which some names of Parsees were usually written in former times, *e.g.*, Darab *bin* Rustam, *i.e.*, Darab, the son of Rustam. For a number of illustrations of this kind, *vide* my first paper (Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI., No. LVIII, p. 237). Meherji Rânâ's name occurs again a little lower down (l. 22 of the photographed page), where the form I have suggested appears more distinct. At least the word "fils" appears to me to be clear in the name in both the places. *Vide* Anquetil's Le Zend Avesta Tome I, Part 2, Notices, p. XXVI, where he gives the name of a Dastur as "Darab fils d'Ormuzd." *Vide* also Tome II, pp. 52—53.

[3] In the photo. we read as far as "pharha." The last two letters seem to have been torn out in the margin.

[4] This person was "Mir Jamâluddin Husain an Inju Sayyid" (Âin-i-Akbari, Blochmann's translation, Vol. I., p. 450. ميرجمال الدّين حسين از سادات انجو Blochmann's Text I, p. 226, column 2, l. 4). He was the author of Farhang-i-Jehangiri. Hyde by calling him Ibn Fakeruddin (*i.e.*, the son of Fakeruddin) seems to call him perhaps by his father's name. He is called Angju or Inju, because he belonged to a family of that name.

2. That Ardeshir came long after the discussions of the Ibâdat Khâneh in 1576-79, and long after Akbar adopted the visible forms of Zoroastrian worship.

We will dwell upon these facts at some length.

1. I have handled the first fact at great length in my previous paper (Journal B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI, No. LVIII, pp. 85 to 93), and that, on the very authority of Mir Jamâluddin, the author of the Farhang-i-Jehângiri, and therein showed that Ardeshir had come for the purpose of the Farhang-i-Jehângiri. Anquetil's notes support this fact. Not only that, but Anquetil tells us an altogether new thing, which we had not known from any other source. It is this, that it was at the suggestion of Dastur Meherji Râná himself, that king Akbar wrote to Persia, to get from there a competent man, who could help in the work of the Farhang-i-Jehângiri. King Akbar wrote accordingly, and Ardeshir was sent to him for the purpose.

To understand this passage clearly, we must read the words of king Akbar as given by Mir Jamâluddin in the preface of his Farhang-i-Jehângiri. Akbar said: "Since the time the Arabs had the hand of authority in the country of Persia, the Persian language having been mixed with Arabic words, most of the Parsee and Dari and Pahlavi words have become obsolete, nay, have disappeared altogether. So the explanation of the books, which have been written in old Persian languages, and the meaning of the poems, which poets of old times adorned with ornaments of poetry, have remained concealed and hidden under the curtain of concealment and the veil of privacy. Therefore, before this time, I had ordered some of the members of this court, which protect learned men, to prepare a book containing all the old Persian words and phrases. No one could perform the work as it should be. It is necessary that in this noble branch of learning, you should prepare a book of good fame and sublime name, so that in consequence of its always being united with my good fortune, its effect may remain permanently on the pages of time for day and night (*i. e.*, the book may be connected with my name and prove useful for ever)." (Journal B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI, No. LVIII, pp. 87-88.)

This long statement of Akbar and Anquetil's notes, show that the king was long anxious to get written "a book containing all the old Persian words and phrases." He had ordered the learned scholars of his Court to prepare a book of that kind, but had failed. No learned scholar of his Court could do that work well. He had thought that the Parsee Dasturs might possibly help him in that philological work, but he found that there was, to use the words of Anquetil, "no Dastur who had an answer for everything." He found, that they also could not explain all the old obsolete words in the old Persian literature

required to be explained in the dictionary. Dastur Meherji Rânâ, whose acquaintance he had first made while at Surat, as we will see later on, had advised him to send for a Dastur from Kerman. So, latterly, when he heard that Mir Jamâluddin had made that kind of study his speciality, he encouraged him and ordered the dictionary to be written. To assist him in that subject, *viz.*, in that of explaining all old Persian obsolete words, &c., he sought to get literary help from all quarters. He then remembered the advice which Dastur Meherji Rânâ had given him, some years before, and wrote to the then Shah of Persia, Shah Abbas. In response to this requisition, Shah Abbas sent to him Ardeshir. Anquetil seems to be very careful in jotting down notes of what he had heard and learnt. In this case, the fact of Ardeshir's assisting Jamâluddin in his work of Farhâng-i-Jehângiri, seems to have been misstated or misunderstood, as that of his writing the whole of the dictionary. So he puts down in brackets what Hyde said about it. The author Hyde, referred to by Anquetil, is Thomas Hyde, Professor of Hebrew languages in the University of Oxford, and his book, to the fourth page of which a reference is given by Anquetil, is the "Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum Religionis Historia." On the fourth page of the first edition of his book, published in 1700 A.D., and of the second edition, published in 1760, we find the following words on the subject :—

> Quòd Persæ olim fuerint Sabaitæ, seu Sabii, fidem facit Ibn Phacreddin Angjou Persa in Libro Pharhangh Gjihânghiri de Persis Shemi proneptibus loquens in Prooemio suo.

A friend has kindly translated the passage thus for me : "Because the Persians were formerly Sabaitae Sabii, Ibn Phacreddin Angjou, the Persian, in his book Pharhangh Gjihânghiri about the Persian descendants of Shemus, speaking in his preface, believes. . . . "

2. Now, as to the second fact of the date of Ardeshir's arrival at the Court of Akbar, I have shown on the authority of the preface of the Farhang-i-Jehângiri, that Ardeshir could not have come to the Court at the time, when the religious discussions at the Ibâdat Khâneh were going on (1576 to 1579), and that he came long after that time, and long after Akbar adopted the visible forms of Zoroastrian worship (Journal B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI., No. LVIII., pp. 92-93). Now this fact is corroborated by the above passage of Anquetil's notes. We learn from it—and this is a new fact that we learn here—that the Shah of Persia, to whom Akbar wrote on the matter, was Shah Abbas Sophie. This Shah Abbas Sophie was the well-known king of Persia, known as Abbas the Great. He was called Safawi, because he belonged to the Suffavean dynasty founded by Shah Ismail. The dynasty

took its name from one Shaikh-Suffee-u-deen.[1] He came to the throne in 1585 at the young age of eighteen. According to Markham,[2] "On the death of his wicked uncle, Ismail, in 1577, the incapable father[3] was set aside after a few years, and young Abbas was proclaimed Shah of Persia by the nobles of Khurâsân at Nishapur. In the year 1585 he found himself in peaceable possession of the whole of Persia."

So it is quite clear, that Ardeshir could not have come to India before 1585 when Shah Abbas Çafawi came to the throne. And we know that by that time the religious discussions at the Court were over, and Akbar had already adopted the visible forms of Parsee worship, etc. We must remember, that, if it was in 1585 that Shah Abbas came to the throne—and at that time he was only a lad of eighteen—some time must have taken for the news to come to India, and for the young prince to be sufficiently established in power and influence, so as to carry on correspondence with a great king like Akbar. So the date, 1592 A.D., we have arrived at, as that of his arrival, on the authority of the Farhang-i-Jehângiri, is correct. Anyhow he came after 1585 A.D., *i.e.*, long after the discussions at the Ibâdat Khâneh were over, and long after Akbar adopted the visible forms of Parsee worship, etc.

Now we come to the second passage of Anquetil's notes, which supports the next three points, referred to above, as proved in my previous paper. It runs as follows, as translated by Miss Menant :—

"The Mogul Akbar, Djahanguir's father, came to Kakrikari one f. and a half from Surat one hundred and fifty years (ago) or more. He was curious to know the religion of the Parsees. He found only the Dastur Meherji Râná of Nausari who was able to explain the law[4] to him."

This passage is very important. It very clearly says that Dastur Meherji Râná explained to him the Zoroastrian religion. Anquetil herein says the same thing of Meherji Râná, that is said of him about five years later, by Dastur Shapurji Sanjana in his work, as said above. But another important thing in this passage is this, that it shows that it was at the time when Akbar came to Surat, that he first made the acquaintance of the learned Dastur and learnt from him the principles of the Zoroastrian religion. The place Kakrikari referred to in the passage as being one f. (furlong) and a half from Surat, and as the place up to which Akbar had come, is even now known as કાંકરી ખારી Kânkrâ Khari.

[1] Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. I (1829), p. 320.

[2] A general sketch of the History of Persia by C. R. Markham (1874), p. 273. *Vide* also the Encyclopædia Britannica, I. p. 8; XVIII., p. 637.

[3] Muhammad Mirza, the eldest son of Tahmasp.

[4] *i.e.*, The Zoroastrian law.

Narmadâshankar Lâlshankar, a well-known poet of Gujarat, in his short Gujarati history of Surat[1], says that Akbar pitched his camp near Gopipurâ in Surat. Mr. Edalji Burjorji Patel in his history of Surat[2], says that he had pitched his camp on the banks of the Gopitalâo, just at the place where stand, at present, the suburbs of Sâlabatpurâ and Rustampurâ.

Now Kankrâ Khâri, to which, according to Anquetil, Akbar had come, and which, therefore, must be his place of camp, is situated just close to the above places of Gopipurâ, Salâbatpurâ and Rustampurâ, which, the above authors, who are residents of Surat, say—perhaps on the authority of old traditions—were the camping places of Akbar. While camping there, he may have seen many Parsees of Surat and liked to know something about their religion. He met no Dastur there capable of explaining to him the religion, and so had to send for one from the neighbouring town of Naôsari. Dastur Meherji Rânâ, who was the head priest of the town, then explained to him the religion. Being favourably impressed with the knowledge of Dastur Meherji Rânâ, it is quite natural, that, when later on, he held religious discussions at the Ibâdat Khâneh, he sent for him from Naôsari. It was for this reason, then, that we find that, according to Badaôni and the author of the Dabistân, the Naôsari Parsees were sent for, to attend the Court later on for the religious discussions.

Anquetil's notes then support the fact, that it was Dastur Meherji Rânâ, who explained to Akbar the religion of Zoroaster, and that it was the Naôsari Parsees who took a part in the religious discussions at the Ibâdat-khâneh. Having been thus introduced to this Dastur, and knowing him as the proper person to advise on the subject of the dictionary, over which, according to the above passage in the preface of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri, he had set his heart, he had consulted him, and the Dastur had advised him to send for a learned Zoroastrian from Persia, who, inhabiting, as he did, the mother country, was more likely to be versed with the old forms of ancient and obsolete Persian, Dari and other words. This advice, the king acted upon, when later on, he found, in Mir Jamâluddin, a person capable to undertake the work of the dictionary.

The Tabakât-i-Akbari[3] gives the following date for the conquest of Surat, referred to above:

[1] સુરતની મુખતેસર હકીકત (૧૮૬૬) પા. ૬૫. "અકબરે ૧૫૭૩ની ૧૯ મી જાનેવારીએ સુરતમાં ગોપીપરા આગળ ડેરા તંબુ તાણ્યા."

[2] "સુરતની તવારીખ" (૧૮૯૦) પા. ૨૦. "અકબર પાદશાહે તા૦ ૧૯ મી જાનેવારી ૧૫૭૩ને દિવસે સુરત આગળ આવ્યો. તે બારે ઝરકર લઈ આવ્યો હતો. અને તેના ડેરાં તંબુઓ ગોપીતળાવને કાંઠે (જ્યાં હમણાં સલાબતપરૂ' તથા રૂસ્તમપરૂ' છે ત્યાં) તાણ્યા હતા."

[3] Munshi Nawal Keshore's lithographed edition of 1875 A.D., p. 258, l. 18.

و این فتح عظیم بتاریخ الثالث و عشرین من شوال سنه ثمانین
و تسعمائه سمت ظهور یافته

i.e., "this conquest was effected on 23rd Shawwâl in the year 980."[1]

Now the fact, recorded by Anquetil, that Akbar made the first acquaintance of Dastur Meherji Rânâ, and learnt the principles of Zoroastrian religion from him, when at Surat—though it is new as far as other writers are concerned—has been recorded in a set of verses addressed by Kaikobâd, the son of Dastur Meherji Rânâ, to Jehangir, the son of Akbar.

I beg to produce before the Society, a copy of the Persian verses. It says, that it itself is a copy from an older copy. Of course, in such a case, the production of the first original in Dastur Kaikobâd's own handwriting, is out of the question, as it had gone to the Court of the Emperor. I am indebted to Prof. S. H. Hodiwala for this copy.

We read the following lines in these verses addressed to Jehangir. Portions of the paper of the copy, which has come to my hands, have been torn off.

التماس نمایم باستادگان — بپای سریر شه آزادگان
که در خاطرت پاک روشن روان — که آید حقیقت از این ناتوان
حقیقت چنانست شه نیکبخت — کنم عرض خود پیش خداوند تخت
که چون شاه اکبر عرش آستان — نمود عزم سورت شه داستان
که تشریف مبارک بسورت چون شاه — ارزانی فرمودند عالم پناه
چهل و هشت سنه شد که درآن زمان — گرفتند سورت شه کامران
مرا نیک پدر بود ماهیار نام — ملازمت او کرد شه نیک نام
..... بدرگاه شاه زمین — که سجده نمود و بکرد آفرین
... . ش برو کرد شاه — بپرسید بسیار از دین و راه
در رکاب سعادت ..... — به آگره بیاورد شه کامگار
گرچه که او بود پیر ناتوان — که درپای تختگه شد چون جوان

Translation.—I submit a request to the stable (power of His Majesty), to the foot of the throne of the king of the nobles, so that the case of this powerless person (*i.e.*, my poor self) may come into the consideration of your pious enlightened soul. O fortunate king; the

[1] Elliot's (Dawson) History of India, Vol. V, p. 350. This is about 1573 A. D. Elphinstone's History of India, 5th edition, p. 508.

fact, which I myself beg to submit before the throne of your Majesty, is this : that when king Akbar, nestling at the foot of the Divine Throne,[1] the king of the virtuous, proposed coming to Surat, when (he) the protector of the world bestowed the favour of a visit to Surat—it is 48 years since that time, when the king, whose all desires are fulfilled, took Surat—my good father Mâhiâr was living. He served His glorious Majesty. He . . . . to the Court of the king of the world. He paid his respects and blessed him . . . . . He asked him much about religion and customs. In the happy attendance[2] . . . . . the fortunate king brought him to Agra. Although he was a weak old man, at the foot of (His Majesty's) throne, he became a young man.

These lines from the verses of Kaikobâd then support Anquetil's statement, that it was at the time of Akbar's visit to Surat that Dastur Meherji Rânâ had the honour of seeing His Majesty. The lines add that the king then took him to Agra.

Now the fact that Dastur Kaikobâd knew Persian, and could write it, is shown from an old copy of the Dârâb-nameh, dated 1656 A.D.

The colophon of that manuscript says[3], that the manuscript was copied from one, which Kaikobâd bin Mâhiyâr had copied from the library of king Akbar. This colophon then also says that this Dastur had an access to the Court of the Mogul Emperor.

The next point in my paper, which these notes of Anquetil corroborate, is the sixth point, referred to above, *viz.*, that Akbar put on the Sudreh and Kusti (the sacred shirt and thread), the visible signs of Zoroastrianism. I have shown at some length in my previous paper, that when Akbar put on the visible signs of other religions, such as Christianity and Brahminism, it is no wonder, if he put on the visible signs of Zoroastrianism, from which he had taken into his new religion several important elements. Anquetil corroborates this conclusion, when he says that "he (Akbar) put on the Kusti and had built a *dakma*, because he was curious to know every religion."

Anquetil introduces these remarks by a prefatory remark, saying—"See in Abu Fazl concerning Shah Abbas ; Akbar was defamed by the Mahommedans." We do not find any direct reference to Shah Abbas in Abu Fazl's writings, but we find him defending his king in his Âin-i-Akbari against the attacks made upon him with regard to the reverence paid by him to Sun and Fire.[4]

[1] عرش آشیان is the name given to Akbar after his death.

[2] Lit, the stirrup.

[3] *Vide* my paper "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ," Journal B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI, No. LVIII, pp. 141-42.

[4] *Vide* the Ain-i-Akbari translated by Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 48. Blochmann's text, I., p 42. Âin 18th.

The last part of the photographed page is not clearly legible, but it means to say that "Shah Abbas wrote to him for that purpose (*i.e.*, for his supposed want of faith), that he had forsaken his old religion and had two religions."

Now, there remains to be examined, the intervening passage about Dastur Schapour. (*Vide* the text of the notes at the end.). This passage has nothing to do with the subject of Dastur Meherji Rânâ and Akbar, but it is worth looking into, as it refers to a conversation between him and Dastur Meherji Rânâ. Who was this Dastur Schapour, who, says Anquetil, was Darab's sixth forefather? Anquetil's own work helps us in this matter. In his translation of the prayer known as Dhoup-Nerang,[1] we find his name thus remembered, "Je rappelle l'ame pure et heureuse du Destour Schapour (fils adoptif) de l'Herbad Kekobâd."[2] Then, in the footnote, in reference to the name of Dastur Schapour, Anquetil says: "Darab, dont j'ai pris les leçons à Surate (ci-d Discours prélim no II et III) est le sixiéme descendant en ligne direct de ce Destour qui était fils de Bahman."[3]

This Dastur Schapour and his adoptive father Kaikobâd belonged to Surat. In the above prayer of Dhoup-Nerang, Anquetil also gives the name of a Dastur Ispeniar as that of a brother of Dastur Schapour and son of Bahman. We find the name of this Dastur Aspandyar Bahman as that of a leading Dastur of Surat in the Revâyet of 1626 A.D., known as Bahman Aspandyar's Revâyet[4] and in that of 1627 A.D. known as that of Bahman Poonjieh of Surat.[5] We find the name of Bahman, the father of Dastur Schapour and Dastur Asfandiar as that of a leading Dastur of Surat (Dastur Bahman bin Faridun) in Kâûs Mâhyâr's[6] Revayet of 1601 A.D.

The references in Anquetil's notes to Dastur Schapour, that he was at first locked up by his father Kaikobâd, that he was subsequently released, that he recited some verses before king Akbar, and that he was given some land by the king, require elucidation. I have not been able to get any information about this Dastur of Surat. I have come to know, that a known priestly family of Surat, known as the

[1] Le Zend Avesta Tome II, p. 53.

[2] *i.e.*, I invoke the pious and happy soul of Dastur Schapour (the adopted son) of Herbad Kaikobad

[3] *i.e.*, Darab, before whom I took lessons at Surat, is the 6th descendant in direct line from this Dastur, who was the son of Bahman.

[4] Bombay University's Ms. Revâyet of Dârâb Hormazdyâr, Vol. I, fol. 69 a l. 9

دستور اسفندیار بهمن

[5] Ibid, f. 65 a l. 12. دستور اسفندیار دستور بهمن

Vide also Khan Bahadur Bomanjee Byramjee Patel's Parsee Prakkah, I, pp. 12 13

[6] Parsee Prakash, I., p. 830.

Mirzâ family, had some land given to them by a Mogul king, but the family traditions attribute that gift not to Akbar but to a later king.

The word *gâm* referred to in the conversation between Dastur Schapour and Dastur Meherji Rânâ is the word *gâma* (p. گام), meaning a step. The Parsees are prohibited from making water in a standing posture, lest the splashing of the urine on the lower part of the leg may cause disease, &c. The Sad-dar treats of this subject. (*Vide* S. B. E. XXIV, p. 317, West, Chap. LVI. According to other MSS. this subject forms the 60th chap.)

In conclusion, I beg to thank Miss Menant for kindly drawing my attention to Anquetil's manuscript notes and for sending me a photograph of these notes. I also beg to offer my best thanks to the authorities of the Bibliothéque Nationale for kindly giving all facilities for photographing these notes.

കേരളസാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

APPENDIX.

I give here in full the passages as read by Miss Menant. The footnotes are my own.

The first passage is on the subject of the Farhang-i-Jehângiri for which Ardeshir was sent for from Persia. It is as follows :—

"(1) Le Mogul Akbar ne trouvant pas de Destour qui lui répondit sur tout, de l'avis du Destour Mehernaj. . (?) de nan[1] écrivit à Schah Abbas, sophi de Perse, de lui en envoya un de Kerman. . . . Chah Abas lui envoya le Destour Ardeschir qui commença sous lui le pharh (ang)[2] fini sous Djehanguir et qui en porte le nom. (Hyde, p. 4 dit que c'est Ibn-Fakeruddin Angjou qui l'a rédigé.)"

The second passage is on the subject of Dastur Meherji Rânâ explaining the religion to Akbar. It is as follows :—

(2) "Le Mogul Akbar, père de Djehanguir, est venu à Kakrikari, une fl de Surate, il ya 150 ans ou plus, il était curieux. . . . voulut savoir la religion des parsses ; il ne trouva[3] que le Destour Mehernuj de nan[4] (de Nauçary) qui pût lui expliquer la loi. Ce fut lui qui en voyant pisser le Destour Schapour destour[5] [qui avait été enfermé par son père Kekbad de peur qu'il n'alla réciter 60[6] vers à l'honneur de Akbar et ne pût pas répondre à ses questions, ensuite ayant été délivré il alla les réciter à Akbar qui lui donna des terres à Nauçary[7]] le 6e ayeul de Darab lui dit que la loi ordon (nait) de pisser à un *gam*, auquel le Destour dit que c'était bon pour le Kerman, terre sablonneuse, mais dans une terre ferme comme l'Inde, il fallait pisser plus loin de peur de se salir par le pissat rejailli. Le Destour admira sa sagesse, lui prédit qu'il mourrait. Cinq ans après le Destour Schapour mourut.

(On ne peut absolument épouser une éntrangère avant qu'elle se soit déclarée parssi (e) et mis le sadderé).

Voy[8]. dans Abulfazel au sujet de Schah Abas. Akbar fut diffamé par les Mahométans ; il mettait le Kosti et avait construit un dak (ma ?),

[1] *Vide* above, p. 106, n. 2.

[2] The word pharhang is clear. The last three or rather two and-a-half letters have disappeared in the margin. Half the letter "a" appears in the photo.

[3] The words seem to be "il ne se trouva."

[4] *Vide* above, n. 1.

[5] Miss Menant in her first letter says of this part : "Ici une étrange parenthèse qui s'interrompt."

[6] I do not think the word is 60. It is rather "do." I would translate the passage thus : "And recite some verses."

[7] Miss Menant in her first letter says : "Ici l'étrange parenthèse reprend."

[8] Voyez.

parce qu'il était curieux de savoir toutes les religions. Schah Abas lui écrivit à ce sujet que le rest ?. . . . . et ? ferengui[1] avait abandonné la[2]. . . . . et avait deux religions. . . . . ."

TRANSLATION BY MISS MENANT.

(The first passage on the Farhang-i-Jehângiri and Ardeshir.)

"The Mogul Akbar finding no Dastur, who had an answer for everything, according to Dastur Meherji Rânâ's opinion,[3] wrote to Shah Abbas Sophi of Persia to send him one from Kerman.

"Shah Abbas sent him Dastur Ardeshir who began under him the Pharh (hang) finished under Djehanguir and which bears his name. (Hyde, p. 4, says that it is Ibn Fakeruddin Angjou who wrote it.)"

(The second passage on Dastur Meherji Rânâ explaining the religion to Akbar).

"The Mogul Akbar, Djehanguir's father, came to Kakrikari, one f. (furlong) and-a-half from Surat, one hundred and fifty years[4] or more. He was curious[5] to know the religion of the Parsees. He found only Dastur Meher[6] . . . . . (of Nausari) who was able to explain the law[7] to him. He was the one who, seeing Dastur Schapour making water [who[8] (Dastur Schapour) had been locked up by his father Kekobad lest he should go and recite 60 lines of poetry (verse) in honour of Akbar and not be able to answer his (Akbar's) questions; afterwards having been released, he went and recited them to Akbar who gave him lands at Nauçary][9] Darab's 6th forefather[10] told him that the law enjoined to make water at a *gam* to whom the Dastur said that it was right for Kerman, a sandy land, but that in a dry land like India, it was necessary to make water farther in order to avoid pollution (lest you should be polluted) by the splashing of the urine. The Dastur admired his wisdom, foretold him his death. Five years after Dastur Schapour died.

[11] (It is absolutely impossible to marry a foreign wife before she has confessed herself a Parsi and put on the sadderé.)

[1] Miss Menant says of this part that it is "Illisible (illegible)."

[2] Miss Menant adds "Illisible, écrit sur la marge."

[3] "De l'avis du Meher. . . . ." *i.e.*, on the advice of Meherji Rânâ.

[4] *i.e.*, 150 years ago.

[5] Add after this "and wished to" omitted to be translated.

[6] Meherjiâr, the son of Rânâ, *vide* above, p. 106, n. 2.

[7] *i.e.*, the religion of the Parsees.

[8] Miss Menant says: Here a strange parenthesis intervenes.

[9] Here the parenthesis closes.

[10] This refers to Dastur Schapour. The proper translation would be—

"It was he who, seeing Dastur Schapour, the 6th ancestor of Darab, making water, told him, &c.

[11] This passage has nothing to do with the subject.

See in Abu Fazl, concerning Shah Abbas. Akbar was defamed by the Mohammedans. He put on the Kusti and had built a dâk (ma),[1] because he was curious to know every religion.

Shah Abbas wrote to him for that purpose that? . . . . . had forsaken . . . .[2] and had two religions.[3] . . . . . ."

[1] Tower of Silence.

[2] Miss Menant says about the word that it was "impossible to read even with a magnifying glass.

[3] Miss Menant says of her translation, that she has submitted it to Miss Williams, Professor of English, at the Sorbonne, and she has found it correct. She says: "Je joins á l'épreuve une copie en français que j'ai faite à la loupe, et ma traduction anglaise que j'ai soumise á Miss Williams, Professeur d'Anglais á le Sorbonne et membre de l'Ed. B.D. á Londres. Elle l'a trouvé bonne."

കേരളസാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

Art. XX—*On the Cyropædia.*

By R. K. Dadachanjee, B.A., LL.B.

(*Read 22nd September* 1903.)

1. The Cyropædia, says Cicero (Fratr. 1-1-8) was written "not in conformity with the truth of history, but to exhibit a representation of an excellent government;" and Dr. Smith (Classical Dic., art. on Xenophon) apparently following Cicero, calls the work a "political romance;" while Rawlinson refers to it casually as a "romance." (Foot-note No. 9 to p. 277, Bk. I. of Translation of Herodotus.). Aulus Gellius was of opinion, that the work was composed in opposition to the "Republic" of Plato; while the learned author of the article on Xenophon in the Encyclopædia Britannica remarks, as to the work :— "A distinct moral purpose to which literal truth is sacrificed runs through the work." But it has been generally believed that there is an admixture of historical truth and fiction in the Cyropædia. Says Dr. Smith (Classical Dic., art. on Cyrus the Elder) :—"The history of his (Cyrus the Elder's) life was overlaid in ancient times with fables and romances, and is narrated differently by Herodotus, Ctesius, and Xenophon. . . . Xenophon's account is preserved in the Cyropædia." Now the questions, that this paper will discuss, are, whether this view as to the bearing of the Cyropædia on the life of the historical Cyrus the Elder, or Cyrus the Great, is correct; whether the hero of the said work is the historical Cyrus, the Persian, or whether he is really a Grecian, except in being labelled with a Persian name, and represented to be a grandson of Astyages, the Mede, and as having conquered Lydia and Babylon;—whether the author, himself, has composed the work with the object of recording, at all, any facts of history relating to the Persian historical personage, Cyrus the Elder, or whether he has produced the work with certain other objects. The prevailing view on these questions, as above noted, has, owing to the well-deserved popularity of the Cyropædia among students of the classics, been the source, direct and indirect, of much general misconception as to the history, not only, of Cyrus the Elder, but also of the Persians of his times, and of the ancient Persians in general, especially as to the institutions that prevailed amongst them, and their religious and social ideas, and beliefs. It is, therefore, necessary to demonstrate the incorrectness of the hitherto accepted view as to the historical value of the Cyropædia.

2. Xenophon was, like all other disciples of Socrates, devotedly attached to the memory of his great preceptor, and never ceased lamenting over his untimely sad end. He says in the Memorabilia of

Socrates (IV-8-11) :—" Of those who knew what sort of man Socrates was, such as were lovers of virtue, continue to regret above all other men, even to the present day, as having contributed in the highest degree to their advancement in goodness." And he composed the Memor., which contains a record of the sayings and doings, and of the qualities and character of Socrates, with the object of vindicating the character of that great teacher of virtue, and that of his noble teachings.

3. Socrates had mourned over the fallen state of the Athenians of his times. They had become degenerate ; honor and virtue had fled from their city ; the elders and magistrates were not respected, but were set at naught ; mutual envy, distrust and contests prevailed ; the Athenian cavalry and infantry, both, knew no obedience—no discipline ; generals, commanding the army, were incompetent and ignorant ; and every right-minded Athenian feared the happening, at any time, all on a sudden, of a catastrophe to the state. This picture of the state of Athens of the times of Socrates has been painted in its darkest colors in the discourse between Socrates and Pericles, a son of the great Pericles, and a disciple of Socrates, as recorded in the Memor. (III-5-1 to III-5-14). And when asked by Pericles as to the means by which " the Athenians could recover their pristine glory," the great sage replied :—" If they [*i.e.*, the Athenians] imitate those, who are at the head of Greece [*i.e.*, the Spartans], adhere to their institutions, and attend to the same duties with diligence equal to theirs, they [the Athenians] will stand not at all below them, and if they use greater exertion, even above them."

4. Our author, therefore, had both as a disciple of Socrates, and a patriotic Athenian, two tasks set before him—the first, of completing the vindication of the teachings and character of his great teacher ; and the second, of applying the remedies prescribed by the great reformer for reforming the Athenians, and renewing their lost virtue and glory. The author attempts in the Cyropædia to accomplish both these tasks by pretending, that Cyrus, who was known to the Greeks of his times through Herodotus at least, if not by report and tradition, as the greatest conqueror of the world, owed his unprecedented greatness and glory to the possession of qualities, possessed or admired by Socrates, and to the influence of practices similar to those followed by Socrates, and to educational institutions similar to those recommended by Socrates, and to knowledge of military tactics and art acquired in the way taught by Socrates ; and that the Persians, as a nation, also, were indebted for their greatness to the same circumstances. Our author had, in effect, through the pages of the Cyropædia, thus addressed the Athenians :—" Observe, how Cyrus and the Persians became so great, what qualities and institutions they possessed. Do you have the same

qualities and institutions; and you will, also, be as great as the Persians under Cyrus." And that our author did aim at teaching the Athenians, through the medium of the Cyropædia, by what means a nation could attain to greatness, and at inciting them to try to be great by adopting those means, is clear from the very first chapter of the work. Our author observes :—(I-1-5 and 6) "Cyrus attached to himself so many nations, as it would be a labour to enumerate, which way so ever, we should commence our course from his palace, whether towards the east, west, north or south. With respect to this man, therefore, as worthy of admiration, I have inquired what he was by birth, what qualities he possessed from nature, and with what education he was brought up, that he so eminently excelled in governing men. Whatever, accordingly, I have ascertained, or think, that I understand, concerning him, I shall endeavour to relate."

5. The following observations lead us to conclude, that Cyrus, the hero of the Cyropædia (who will hereafter be referred to as Cyrus, or as the hero, while his Persian original will be spoken of as the Persian Cyrus) is not a Persian at all, except in name, and in being represented as the grandson of Astyages, and the conqueror of Lydia and Babylon, but is an imaginary personage, who is a Grecian in every particular and is, moreover, a Grecian of the school of Socrates, possessed of qualities and accomplishments, possessed, admired, or recommended by Socrates, and guided by principles and beliefs, practised and believed in, by Socrates, and who had his character formed under institutions, recommended by Socrates, and that similarly, the Persians, described and referred to in the Cyropædia, are an imaginary nation, who are, really, Grecians, and who possess qualities similar to those possessed by, and have been brought up under the same institutions as, Cyrus, the hero of the work.

6. *Firstly*, the Memorabilia says : (IV-5-11) "Socrates was so pious, that he did nothing without the sanction of the gods (I-2-64). He was seen frequently sacrificing at home, and frequently on the public altars, nor was it unknown, that he used divination (II-7-10) . . . . if any one desired to attain to what was beyond human wisdom, he (Socrates) advised him to study divination, for, he said, that he who knew by what signs the gods give indications to men respecting human affairs, would never fail of obtaining counsel from the gods." We find, that Cyrus, also, was pious, offered sacrifices to gods before doing anything of importance, and resorted to divination for ascertaining their wishes and advice. When he started on his first military expedition, his father said to him, at the time of parting from him (I-6-1) : "That the gods send you forth propitiously and favorably is evident, my son, both from the sacrifices, and from the signs from the heaven ; and

you, yourself, know it to be so, for, I have, purposely, taught you these things, that you might not learn what the gods advise from other interpreters, but that you, yourself, seeing what is to be seen, and hearing what is to be heard, might understand for yourself, and not be in the power of augurs, if they should wish to deceive you, and that moreover, you might not be at a loss to profit by the divine signals, but understanding by your knowledge in divination, the advice given you by the gods, you might follow it." And when Cyrus was admonished by a dream to prepare for death, he offered sacrifices, and uttered this prayer: "O Jupiter Patrius! thou sun, and all ye gods, receive this sacrifice as an acknowledgment of assistance in the achievement of many honorable deeds, and as an offering of gratitude to you for having signified to me by victims, by signs from heaven, by birds, and by omens, what it became me to do."

7. The omens considered propitious by Cyrus are "lightning and thunder" (I-6-1), an eagle appearing to the right and leading the way (II-1-1),—thunder on the right,—being, omens, in which the Grecians believed.

8. *Secondly*, the gods and goddesses worshipped by Cyrus are Grecian gods and goddesses, and objects of worship, and the modes in which he worshipped them are also Grecian. Thus, Cyrus "made supplications to the gods and heroes, who presided over the land of Persia" (II-1-1). . . "sacrificed to Jupiter the King, and afterwards to the other deities, and, likewise, invoked the heroes, who dwelt in, and protected Media" (III-3-21). . . "performed propitiatory rites to the Earth with libations" (III-3-22). . . "with crown upon his head, made a sacrifice" (III-3-34). And after the conquest of Babylon, Cyrus "celebrated games in all exercises practised by men with a view to war, whenever he made a sacrifice, or solemnized a festival." (VIII-1-25). Before entering upon the occupation of his palace in Babylon, he "first sacrificed to the goddess Vesta, then Jupiter the King." (VII-5-57). There is a picturesque description given in the Cyropædia of the first grand public religious procession led in the Grecian style to the temples by Cyrus, and the sacrifices offered, and celebrated, there, in the same style. (VIII-3-11 to 24). Now, Herodotus had declared:—"They (the Persians) have no images of the gods, no temples, nor altars, and consider the use of them a sign of folly. This comes, I think, from their not believing the gods to have the same nature with man."

9. *Thirdly*, the division in the Cyropædia of the so-called Persians into 4 classes according to age, *viz.*, (i) boys, (ii) youths, (iii) full-grown men, and (iv) men beyond the years for military service (I-2-4),—the training and education in public schools (I-2-15) of the boys and the

youths, to be just (I-2-6) to practise self-control, to obey their officers, to be temperate in eating and drinking, and to shoot with the bow, and to throw the javelin, the institution of the Elders, being those Persians, who were above the age for rendering military service, and who "had the dispensation of public justice, and took cognizance of matters of life and death" (I-2-8), and who controlled the King and possessed the power of making war and peace, and appointing the commander of troops levied for the purposes of any war, are institutions, which are in every main detail, Spartan, and which had no existence outside Lacedæmon. In the public schools of his country Cyrus was educated, until he attained the age of 28 years, except for a short interval of time, during which he was stopping at the court of Astyages, when he was 12 years old; and his active career in life, and in the world, commenced, after he had entered the class of full-grown men. Thus, the education received by Cyrus, and the institutions he was brought up under, are manifestly Grecian, and not at all Persian.

10. *Fourthly*, Socrates was of opinion,—according to the Memor. (III-3-11) that "a commander of cavalry in addition to his other qualifications should study to acquire some ability in speaking." And we find, that our hero had acquired very great ability in speaking. He constantly delivers addresses to his officers, and troops, and companions. He, also, frequently discourses on moral subjects,—has when yet a boy, a discourse with his mother on justice (I-3-16 to 18). He was trained by his father in the art of holding discourses; for the latter reminded him, when he started on his first military expedition: "Have you forgotten, my son, those other matters, on which you and I used to discourse" (I-6-7). And Cyrus "always took care, that when he entertained any of the men in his tent, the most agreeable subjects of discourse, and such as might excite them to good conduct should be introduced." The hero, also, discusses pychological and metaphysical questions. To a companion, he said: (III-1-17) "You say, then, that discretion is a passion of the mind, as grief is, and not a matter of knowledge," and on his death-bed, he expressed his belief in the immorality of the soul in these words:—"For my part, my sons, I have never been persuaded, that the soul lives as long as it is in a mortal body, and dies, when it is separate from it." And our author records in detail the philosophical reasons, the hero had, for introducing every new institution amongst the so-called Persians. And almost every chapter of the work bristles with discourses, mostly on moral subjects, similar to those to be met with in the Memor.

11. *Fifthly*, Cyrus and the so-called Persians spoken of in the Cyropædia are characterized by qualities possessed, or admired, by

Socrates. The qualities possessed by Socrates are, thus, touchingly summed up by our author in the Memor. (IV-8-10) :—" To me, being such as I have described him, so pious, that he did nothing without the sanction of the gods, so just, that he wronged no man even in the most trifling affair, but was of service in the most important matters to those who enjoyed his society ; so temperate, that he never preferred pleasure to virtue; so wise, that he never erred in distinguishing better from worse, needing no counsel from others but being sufficient in himself to discriminate between them, so able to explain and settle such questions by argument, and so capable of discerning the character of others, of confuting those who were in error, and of exhorting them to virtue and honor, he seemed to me such as the best and happiest of men would be." Cyrus exhibits, pre-eminently, each and every one of these qualities, and lives and dies " the best and happiest of men." Some of these qualities of Cyrus have already been noticed, *viz.*, his piety, his capacity for holding discourses, and leading men to virtue and honor. He was also just, one of his companions, thus, testifying to his justice (II-3-12.) :—" It greatly animates me, my friends, to enter the lists against the enemy, that Cyrus is to be our judge, a man who judges not partially or invidiously." And his discourse with his mother on justice, when almost a boy, has already been mentioned. Several instances of his justice are given in the Cyropædia, notably his treatment of the King of Armenia (IV-1-34 to 42 and III-3-2), and his fair and equal distribution of all spoils, taken in battles, amongst " all those who were concerned in capturing them " (IV-2-42). After he assumed the imperial state, he regulated his own conduct so as to " set a good example to his followers and subjects, by manifesting that he esteemed it of great importance to do no injury to any friend or ally, but to adhere strictly to justice." (VIII-1-26).

12. Cyrus was of service to those, who enjoyed his society, from his early age. When he was living in Media with his grandfather Astyages, during his boyhood, " he for the most part passed his time, contributing much pleasure and service to everyone, without doing the least harm " (I-4-15). And on his death-bed, he said :—(VIII-7-25) " I have hitherto borne an affection to men."

13. *Sixthly*, the Memor. says (I-3-5): " He (Socrates) was so frugal, that I do not know, whether anyone could earn so little by the labor of his hands, as not to procure sufficient to have satisfied Socrates. He took only so much food, as he could eat with a keen relish, and to this end, he came to his meals so disposed, that the appetite for his meal was the sauce to it." Cyrus, and the Cyropædic Persians, acted on the same principle. That work says, that (I-2-16) " there remain to the present day proofs of the spare diet used among the

Persians, and of their carrying it off by exercise," and that (IV-1-29) Cyrus "took care, that his troops should never go to their dinner or supper without previous exercise."

14. *Seventhly*, the Memor. says:—"As to love, his (Socrates's) counsel was to abstain rigidly from familiarity with beautiful persons, for he observed, that it was not easy to be in communication with such persons, and observe continence." Cyrus was also of the same opinion, and followed the same rule of conduct. When a most beautiful woman, called Panthea, fell to his share at a certain distribution of spoils, amongst the allied armies, that he led, he was told (V-1-7), that "whoever saw her, thought, that never was yet born, or produced of mortals, such a woman throughout Asia;" and he was asked to go and see her; but his reply was: "Certainly not, much less, if she be such a one, as you say;" and he entrusted her to one Arespes, a Mede, and "rigidly abstained from having any communication with her," except afterwards on business.

15. *Eighthly*, the Memor. states, that "Socrates was not only superior to all corporeal pleasures, but also to those attendant on acquisition of money" (I-5-6), and that he preached, (II-5-405) that "a good friend appeared far more valuable in comparison with all other possessions, for the reason, (II-5-6) that a good friend was ready to supply what was wanting on the part of his friend, whether in his private affairs, or for the public interests." Similarly, Cyrus despised possession of riches, and regarded possession of friends to be a most valuable possession. He said reproachfully to Crœsus:—(VIII-2-19) "You bid me hoard up treasures in my own possession to be envied and hated for them, and to set hired guards over them, and trust in them; but by making my friends rich, I consider them as my treasures, and as guards both to myself and to all things of value that belong to me." And Cyrus proved the correctness of this opinion, and the fidelity of his friends, in the following manner:—He called upon each of them separately to assist him with money, pleading a sudden want therefor. The amounts, that his friends, then, offered to him, and placed at his disposal, came, according to the calculations of Crœsus to "many times the sum, that he had told Cyrus, he might have had, then, in his treasury, if he had hoarded."

16. *Ninthly*, Socrates rigidly required the performance by children of their duties to their parents. His censure to his son, who acted undutifully towards his mother was, says the Memor. (II-2-14) as follows:—"You will have regard to the opinion of men, lest observing you to be neglectful of your parents, they should all contemn you." Cyrus was, also, a most dutiful son. After he had conquered Babylon, and adopted the rank and dignities of an emperor, his uncle Cyaxares

offered to him the hand of his daughter in marriage. The reply of Cyrus was : " I am ready to accept your offer, with the consent of my father and mother," though he and his cousin were attached to, and loved, each other from an early age.

17. It will be clear, now, that our author intended the Cyropædia to serve, for the most part, as a moral romance—teaching the doctrines of Socrates in moral philosophy. But that the work, also, seeks to teach the Athenians how to cure their moral and military and educational defects by applying the remedies, prescribed by Socrates, is apparent from the following points.

18. *Firstly*, the educational system of the so-called Persians is described in detail, and the advantages reaped by them therefrom are theoretically explained, and practically illustrated, in the words and acts of Cyrus, and the so-called Persians.

19. *Secondly*, our author attempts to convey to the Athenians a knowledge of military science,—of the art of managing an army in war and peace, by putting into the mouth of the father of Cyrus an elaborate and lengthy lecture on that subject to Cyrus, when he departed on his first military expedition, and also by giving detailed descriptions of the military regulations of Cyrus, and of military tactics, and strategy employed by him in his campaigns. The expositions appear to be profound and sound, and of value even in these days.

20. *Thirdly*, the Memor. records the opinion of Socrates, (III-5-14) that " as some other nations had grown indolent through excessive exaltation and power, so, likewise, the Athenians after attaining great pre-eminence had grown neglectful of themselves, and had consequently become degenerate." And the evils of indolence are dwelt and dilated upon, in a lengthy speech by Cyrus (VII-5-72). He was never tired of impressing upon his people the necessity and importance of constant activity and preparedness.

21. *Fourthly*, the Memor. recorded the following opinion expressed by a disciple of Socrates with his approval, that the " Athenians did not reverence their elders as the Spartans did, ... and did not obey the magistrates like the Spartans, and made it their pride to set the magistrates at nought." Hence Chrysantas, an equal-in-honor of Cyrus, delivers a lengthy harangue on the incalculable benefits to be derived by an army, and a nation, from obedience to superiors, and duly constituted authorities.

22. *Fifthly*, the Cyropædia describes how, and why, Cyrus taught those about him to be religious and pious, (VIII 1-23 to 25) to be just, VIII-1-28) never to say or do anything unbecoming (VIII-1-28), to practise natural modesty, (VIII-1-29-31) to exhibit great respect and politeness

of behaviour" (VIII-1-33), to "inure themselves to military arts and exercises" (VIII-1-37). Of course, these as well as all other lessons, were intended by our author for the edification of the Athenians.

23. Our author, thus, touches upon moral, military, and educational subjects. He does not profess to describe any ideal political state worthy of imitation. He, only, cursorily, observes, that the Kings of Persia were subject to the authority of the magistrates, which was supreme in the state. But he, nowhere, suggests, that the Persians derived any special benefit from having the institution of a limited monarchy amongst them, as Sparta had; nor does Socrates praise it in the Memor. No doubt, our author describes in detail the institutions established by Cyrus, after he exalted himself to the imperial rank. But these were expressly intended for the government of the provinces conquered by Cyrus, and not for the government of the so-called Persians. For our author says (VIII-1-43): "Such as Cyrus thought worthy to govern, he of himself trained in this manner both by exercise and by presiding over them with dignity. But those whom he trained for servitude, he never incited to practise any liberal pursuit, or allowed them to possess arms." And if Cicero meant to refer to the constitution of the empire founded by Cyrus, when he said, that the Cyropædia was written "to exhibit an excellent form of Government," that constitution, so far from being excellent, is wholly despotic and execrable. For Cyrus withdrew himself from intercourse with his former friends and equals, (VII-5-37), purposely made them dance attendance at the doors of his palace (VIII-1-6), employed spies designating them "eyes and ears of the King," so that "people were afraid everywhere of saying anything offensive to the King," (VIII-2-10 and 12), established a corps of body-guards of eunuchs (VII-5-65-66), and 10,000 spearmen (VII-5-66) for the safety of his person, and for inspiring his subjects with awe for him and for his despotism, appointed ministers, and Satraps, and inspectors of Satraps, for the conquered provinces, without consulting, or taking any orders from, the Elders in Council of Persia, who had in the first instance, appointed him at the head of the victorious Persian army, and had the power of depriving him of the command of that army at any time. This autocratic system of Government devised by Cyrus the Emperor seems to lend colour to the opinion of Gellius, that our author wrote the Cyropædia in opposition to the republic of Plato. But why—that is, with what objects—our author composed the work, has been shewn.

24. That the Cyropædia has been cast in a mould similar to that of our modern romance, is evident from the following considerations:—

25. *Firstly*, the hero's career is traced from his birth to his marriage. He is ideally perfect in virtue, wisdom, and as a great military com-

mander, gains wonderful victories and successes, apparently without much difficulty, and dies, as a hero should die on the stage.

26. *Secondly*, characters are introduced into the story, who assist the hero in carrying out the plot of the story; and one of them is duly married; virtue is everywhere triumphant in the work, and the best characters for temperance, chastity, generosity, magnanimity, justice, and every kind of virtue are given.

27. *Thirdly*, every incident, as a rule, is linked with the earlier and later ones, and carries the story forward towards the end. Jests, and light conversations, are introduced to maintain the interest of the story.

28. *Fourthly*, five episodes, which are obviously fictitious, have been woven into the plot of the story, to enhance its interest. One of these, which relates to the chaste and heroic Panthea, and her chivalrous and heroic husband, and their sad tragic end, is very pathetic. Two episodes —one relating to Gobrayas (IV-6-1 to 8), and the other relating to Gadatas (V-2-27), are sensational at the outset. The fourth episode refers transparently to the death of Socrates, and explains its cause (III-1-38), while the fifth one (VIII-3-46 to 50) bears a resemblance to a scene described in the Memor. (II-9).

29. The institution of equals-in-honor is fictitious, and this name, it is suggested, resembles the name of a Spartan institution. Again, the origin of horsemanship amongst the Persians, as described in the Cyropædia is, also, fictitious; because the Avesta writings bear testimony to the use of horses amongst the ancient Persians, and Herodotus, also, says: "The sons of the Persians are carefully instructed from their fifth to the 20th year in three things alone—to ride, to draw the bow, and speak the truth" (I-135).

Art. XXI.—*Discovery of Ancient Brāhmi Script in Kashmir.*

By Rev. J. E. Abbott, D.D.

(*Read 17th December* 1903.)

I have the pleasure of announcing to this Society my discovery in Srinagar, Kashmir, of short inscriptions in the ancient Brāhmi, or Aśoka script, dating about 150 B.C., the first of their kind ever brought to light in that country. The importance of this discovery will at once be realized by all Indian archæologists.

On the 22nd of June 1903, as I was leaving Srinagar, and floating down the Jhelum, I remembered that I had neglected to visit the tomb of Zainu-l-ābidin, just below the fourth bridge. Our boats were therefore moored at the landing, and the ruins examined. My eye at once fell on an inscription of four letters in the ancient Brāhmi script, on the right wall of the entrance gate to Zainu-l-ābidin's tomb. Closer examination revealed other short inscriptions of three letters each. Continuing my search to the East entrance gate of the enclosure to Zainu-l-ābidin's mother's tomb, I found both the right and left entrance walls had letters on them in the same Brāhmi script. There were also other letters of a more modern type. As these inscriptions are very plain to the sight, it is difficult to account for the fact that their existence has escaped the notice of the archæologists who have visited these ruins, and who would have at once recognized their importance. These ruins were visited and described by Cunningham (see J., R. A. S., Bengal, 1848, page 241 and following). They were photographed by Lieut. H. H. Cole in 1868 (see Illustrations of Ancient Buildings in Kashmir, by Henry Hardy Cole, Lieut., R.E., page 15). In 1865, Rev. W. G. Cowie, Chaplain on duty in Kashmir, made a study of Kashmir temples and described those omitted by Cunningham. (See Notes on Some of the Temples of Kashmir by W. G. Cowie in J., R. A. S., Bengal, 1866, Part 1, page 91). Mr. Cowie makes no mention of these ruins, though it is hardly likely that he did not visit them. In 1875, Dr. Geo. Bühler visited Kashmir in search of Sanskrit manuscripts (see his report in the J., R. A. S., Bombay, Extra number, 1877), but he does not mention these ruins, and perhaps did not visit them. Dr. M. A. Stein visited Kashmir in 1888, 1889, 1895, 1896, 1898 for the archæological study of that country in connection with his great work on the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, but these inscriptions escaped his notice. There have, of course, been many other visitors to these ruins, but either these inscriptions have not been noticed, or, if noticed, none have realized their importance sufficiently to make their existence public.

I have here to express my deep regret that my discovery of these inscriptions was at a time when I felt I had not an hour to spare to take squeezes, and otherwise secure materials for their proper study, all arrangements having been completed for leaving Baramulla the next day. I had, therefore, to reluctantly continue my journey. My regret however is less keen from the fact that the content of the inscriptions is doubtless of little consequence as compared with the discovery of the fact that the form of the letters are the ancient Brāhmi script of about 150 B. C. This proves that that script was anciently used in Kashmir, and also gives evidence as to the early date of the ruins on which the letters are inscribed. A hasty pencil copy of the letters on the gateway to Zainu-l-ābidin's tomb, and a photograph of the left wall of the gateway to the enclosure of Zainu-l-ābidin's mother's tomb, was all I had time to obtain to carry away for study. I trust, however, that these gateways will now be carefully examined, and facts to be learned be more certainly determined than can be done from the data supplied by my single hour's investigation, and my rough copies of these inscriptions.

I have assumed that the form of the letters indicates a date about 150 B. C., but I think that it would be safer to say that the letters in these inscriptions are too few in number to make one sure within a century or two, since they happen to be letters that in the history of alphabetic development kept their original form the longest. And again, as this is the first discovery of this script in Kashmir, we are as yet without data as to the history of alphabetic development in Kashmir itself as distinguished from the alphabetic development in India. These two considerations should for the present leave deductions from the form of these letters open to further light.

The Inscriptions.

1. On the panel under the pediment of the left wall of the gateway leading into the enclosure of Zainu-l-ābidin's mother's tomb, are three letters, *de tā ka*, I am not able to conjecture what the meaning may be. It does not look as though these letters were a part of a longer inscription; and yet there are faint traces of a possible line above in a smaller hand.[1]

2. On the same side wall, to the right of the upper angle of the pediment, is another inscription of three letters. I had depended on my Kodak to preserve a record of this inscription, as it was very distinct. Unfortunately in my photograph the first letter of the inscription is partially hidden behind the upper angle of the pediment. The

[1] Prof. Bendal has suggested the possibility of the reading being *de-su-ka*, "preacher."

other two letters are *sā kka*, or possibly *sā ko*. The first letter does not seem to be *de*, as in the inscription mentioned above. One is naturally tempted as a trial to conjecture Sākka, the Pali for Sākya.[1]

3. There are detached letters on other parts of this wall apparently also in the same script, and others again in, I think, a later script.

4. On the right hand wall there are also detached letters of apparently a later date.

5. On the entrance gate to Zainu-l-ābidin's tomb, on the right wall, and to the right of the upper angle of the pediment, is an inscription with the following consonants *th. b. k. t.* The vowel marks were not distinct enough to my eye to make me feel sure what were the original, and what have come from the accidents of time. With the exception of the first letter *th* the same inscription seems to occur in two other places; one on the pilaster to the right of the pediment, and the other a little below this second inscription. On account of this uncertainty of vowel marks I cannot definitely decide what the words may be. I conjecture however the Pali words *Thubo kato*, in Sanscrit स्थूप : कृत : "made the Stupa."[2]

IMPORTANCE OF THE DISCOVERY.

The oldest script hitherto found in Kashmir has been on the coins of Toramāna and Pravarasena, and on a fragment of Didda Rani's time (980—1004 A.D.), (now in the Lahore Museum), all in the Gupta character. All other specimens of ancient script are in the later Śarada character. My discovery therefore of the Brāhmi Script on these ruined gateways establishes the fact that the Brāhmi or Aśoka script was also in use in Kashmir, as was suspected, but the evidence of which has hitherto been wanting.[3]

Secondly.—The importance of this discovery lies in the fact that it settles the approximate date of these gateways. They may for the present be considered the oldest architectural ruins in Kashmir, about 150 B. C. It is interesting to note that Cunningham (*see* J., R.A.S.,

[1] In Professor C. Bendal's inaugural address, Oct. 30th, 1903, on Aims and Methods of Recent Indian Research, he mentions the interesting fact of the discovery of an image of Buddha of the 1st century A.D. with the Greek legends Βοδδο and Σακαμα.

[2] By the use of a magnifying glass these letters can be easily seen in Cole's photograph No. 5.68, to the right of the upper angle of the upper pediment, and on the pilaster to the right. Cole's photograph 4.18 is of the right side of the gateway to the enclosure of Zainu-l-ābidin's mother's tomb. There are only detached letters on this side wall.

[3] *See* Dr. Geo. Bühler's Report, J., R. A. S., Bombay, 1877. On page 31, he says :—

"The Sharada characters now in use appear first on the coins of Avantivarman (845—884 A.D.). The older coins of Toramana and Pravarasena show pure Gupta characters. They occur also in all Kashmir inscriptions which have been found, the oldest among which is probably the fragment of the time of Didda Rani (980—1004 A.D.) preserved in the Lahore Museum."

Bengal, 1848) on purely architectural grounds regarded the gateway into the enclosure of Zainu-l-ābidin's tomb, together with the enclosing wall as a little later than the original temple on the Takht-i-Sulaiman which he dated 200 B. C. Cole (see Notes on Ancient Buildings in Kashmir, by Lieut. Cole 1868) following Cunningham, dates these gateways 400 A.D. Fergusson (*see* History of Indian and Eastern Architecture,[1] page 281) disputes this early date of Cunningham on the ground that both enclosing walls, namely, that of the Takht-i-Sulaiman and that of Zainu-l-ābidin's tomb, are of very late date, not earlier than 1416 A.D. He also concludes from descriptions and photographs, that the gateways of the enclosures is of the same age as the enclosing walls.

It is evident however from my discovery that both Fergusson and Cunningham are mistaken as to the age of the gateways, though Cunningham is much nearer right. The enclosing wall may perhaps be of modern date, and built by Zainu-l-ābidin or later, as Fergusson suggests, since the using of old Hindu temples in Mahomedan buildings is common throughout Kashmir. The question of the age of the enclosing wall I must leave to those who have more expert knowledge in the history of architectural development. But the inscriptions leave little room for doubt that the gateways I have described belong to a period B.C. and furnish us with a fixed starting point for the study of the development of Kashmir architecture. There is no reason to

[1] History of Indian and Eastern Architecture by Fergusson, page 281. "The first and most misleading mistake that has been made with reference to Kashmiri Architecture, was the assumption by General Cunningham that the enclosure to Zein-ul-abad-din's tomb in Srinagar originally belonged to an ancient Kashmiri temple. Lieutenant Cole boldly prints on his plates, "probable date A. D. 400 to 500." A mistake as nearly as may be of 1,000 years, as it is hardly doubtful that it was erected for or by the prince whose name it bears, and who, in A. D. 1416, succeeded his father Shikandar, who bore the ill-omened nickname of Bhutshikan, the idol breaker. As will be seen from the woodcut (No. 156), it consists of a series of small pointed arches in rectangular frames, such as are very frequently found in Mahomedan art, and the peculiarities of the gateways and other parts are just such as are found in all contemporary Moslem art in India. All the mosques and tombs, for instance, at Ahmedabad, A. D. 1396-1572, are made up of details borrowed from the architecture of the Jains, and the bases of their minarets and their internal pillars can only be distinguished from those of the heathen by their position, and by the substitution of foliage for human figures in the niches or places where the Hindus would have introduced images of their gods.

In this instance there is no incongruity, no borrowed features; every stone was carved for the place where it is found. There are niches it is true on each side of the gateway, like those found at Martand and other pagan temples; but like those at Ahmedabad they are without images, and the arch in brick which surmounts this gateway is a radiating arch, which appears certainly to be integral, but, if so, could not possibly be erected by a Hindu. When General Cunningham visited the valley in 1848, he was not so familiar as he has since become with the ruins of Gour, Juanpore, Ahmedabad, and other Moslem cities where the architectural forms adopted by the Moslems are with difficulty distinguished from those of the Hindus. With the knowledge we now possess it is not likely that any one can mistake the fact that this enclosure was erected by the prince whose name it bears to surround his tomb, in the Mahomedan cemetery of the city in which it is found."

suppose that the radiating arch of brick was an integral part of the original gateway as Fergusson assumes. These late brick arches to old Hindu gateways are to be frequently seen in Srinagar. Had Fergusson used his magnifying-glass on Cole's photograph No. 5.68 he would have been saved the blunder of condemning Cunningham's conclusions drawn from architectural considerations which he had gained from observation on the spot. These ancient letters are very plain in Cole's photograph, when once attention is called to them. Fergusson regards the temple at Martand as the oldest known specimen of Hindu architecture in Kashmir, about 700 A.D., my discovery therefore now puts back the date of the oldest known remains in Kashmir to about eight centuries earlier, and brings us nearer the point of the connection with the Greek influence, which is noticed in Kashmir ancient architecture.

Thirdly.—My discovery of the Brāhmi script, establishing its use in Kashmir, makes it almost certain that a careful search would be rewarded by the discovery of other inscriptions in that script, which might throw much needed light on the most ancient period of that country's history. Ancient ruins are abundant. Stones that have an ancient look are frequently seen, and in Srinagar are in great abundance. One cannot but think that a careful search by eyes trained to detect inscriptions would be certainly fruitful. That inscribing on stone was not only an ancient custom, but abundantly employed, we have also reason to believe from Kalhana's statement, that in writing his great history of Kashmir, the *Rājatarangani*, he made use of old inscriptions. His statement in I. 15 is as follows :—

"By looking at the inscriptions recording the consecration of temples, and grants by former kings, at the laudatory inscriptions, and at written works, the trouble arising from many errors has been overcome."[1]

[1] To this text of Kalhanas I, 15, Dr. Stein adds the following note:—"In the note appended to the translation reproduced above Prof. Bühler rightly distinguishes four kinds of records as referred to by K. (1) The Pratishthaśasana edicts, *i.e.*, inscriptions recording the erection and consecration of temples or other buildings and monuments, such as are to be found on almost all temples, religious or even profane buildings (such as palaces), on images, funeral monuments, and so forth; (2) the Vastuśasana edicts, *i.e.*, inscriptions regarding grants of things, chiefly of land, and, perhaps, also of allowances, such as are found engraved on copper-plates; (3) Praśastipattas, tables containing laudatory inscriptions of persons or places, such as now are found sometimes in temples or other public buildings (regarding such inscriptions, comp. now Prof. Bühler's remarks in the Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. II. p. 80); (4) the Sastras, the works on the various sciences, or, to use a short expression, the manuscripts of Sanscrit Books, which in Kashmir mostly give at the end some information regarding the author and the King under whom the author wrote, together with the date.

"Of the first class of documents only a small number of specimens has been found in Kashmir, and none of them, except a fragmentary inscription of the time of Queen Didda in the Lahore Museum, can be ascribed with certainty to a period earlier than K. For some brief undated inscriptions of this kind, seen by Prof. Bühler at Khunamuh and Varahamula, comp. Report, pp. 6, 12. Others of a similar character have been found by me at Vijabror, Bavan (Martand) and a few other places. It is likely that K obtained a portion of the ample data his work contains as to the foundation of particular temples, Mathas, Viharas, and other religious buildings, from such inscriptional records.

"No inscription of the kind described under (2) and (3) has come to my knowledge in Kashmir. That inscriptions, probably on copper-plates, were used for the record of land-grants also in Kashmir, we see from the story of Kanga related v. 397 sq."

This statement is so clear that the existence of many inscriptions in his day must be assumed, and doubtless many still exist, hidden in the earth, or built into Mahomedan buildings. Perhaps many are lying open to the sight, but yet unnoticed by archæologists. I would like therefore to throw out the suggestion that it might not be out of the province of this Society to encourage in some practical way the work of exploration in Kashmir with the special purpose of finding inscriptions. Prof. Bühler was sent to Kashmir to find Sanscrit MSS. and all know of his great success. Prof. Stein was sent to Kashmir in connection with the study of the *Rājataraṅgaṇī*, and the identification of its mentioned places, and accomplished a great and lasting work. No one has yet however been sent to Kashmir with the special purpose of hunting for inscriptions. There is therefore a well defined opportunity for valuable contributions to be made to our knowledge of ancient Kashmir, if a careful search should be made for the inscriptions of that interesting country.

കേരളസാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

APPENDIX.

കേരള സാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

BOMBAY BRANCH

Royal Asiatic Society.

Classified List of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library,

WITH AN INDEX OF WORKS.

COMPILED BY

THE LIBRARIAN.

No. I.

(The Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji Collection.)

Bombay:
PRINTED AT THE
EDUCATION SOCIETY'S STEAM PRESS
1903.

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS.

Number of the Ms.	Name of the Work.	Name of the Author.	No. of Leaves.	No. of Lines on each Page.	Date of Ms.	REMARKS.
	MEDICINE. वैद्यकम्.					
1	Yogataraṅgiṇi ... ... योगतरंगिणी.	Trimalla	116	11	Samvat 1781	Complete.
2	Rasendramaṅgala ... ... रसेंद्रमंगलम्.	Nâgârjuna	24	15	.....	Incomplete.
3	Śârîranibandhasaṁgraha ... ... शारीरनिबंधसंग्रहः	.....	64	11	.....	Do.
4	Âtreya Saṁhitâ ... ... आत्रेयसंहिता.	Hârita	288	9	.....	Do.
5	Guṭikâdhikâra ... ... गुटिकाधिकारः	Gaṇapati	34	9-12	Samvat 1911.	Complete.
6	Charakasûtrasthâna-ṭîkâ (Tattva-prakâśikâ). चरकसूत्रस्थानटीका (तत्त्वप्रकाशिका.)	Śivadâsa	126	13	Samvat 1928.	Incomplete.

	साहित्यग्रंथाः					
7	Gîta-Govinda, Commentary on, .. गीतगोविंदटीका.	.....	2	10	.....	Incomplete.
8	Âryâ-śataka ... . आर्याशतकम्.	Mudgala Sûri	15	8	.....	Complete.
9	Krishṇa-śataka ... . कृष्णशतकम्.	Keśava	19	12	.....	Do. Edges of leaves torn.
10	Vîrachintâmaṇi ... . वीरचिंतामणिः	Śârûgadhara	12	10	Samvat 1926.	Complete.
11	Vâsavadattâ ... . वासवदत्ता.	Subandhu	46	9	Samvat 1692.	Do.
12	Upavanavinoda ... ... उपवनविनोदः	Śârûgadhara	12	9	Samvat 1923.	Do.
13	Bhâva-śataka ... ... भावशतकम्.	Nâgarâja	15	11	.....	Incomplete.
14	Gîta-Govinda ... . गीतगोविंदम्.	Jayadeva	29	18	.....	Complete.
15	Nala-champû ... ... नलचंपूः	.....	21	19	.....	Incomplete.

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS—(*continued*).

Number of the Ms.	Name of the Work.	Name of the Author.	No. of Leaves.	No. of Lines on each Page.	Date of Ms.	REMARKS.
	RHETORIC, POETRY, &c.—(*Continued.*) साहित्यग्रंथाः					
16	Kâmasamûhakâvya ... ... कामसमूहकाव्यम्.	Ananta	20	9	Samvat 1558	Incomplete, two leaves wanting.
17	Śabdabhedaprakâśa ... ... शब्दभेदप्रकाशः	Maheśvara	19	8-10	.....	Do. Leaves 7-10 wanting.
18	Śabdabhedaprakâśa ... ... शब्दभेदप्रकाशः	Do.	7	16-18	Samvat 1677.	Do. 1st leaf wanting.
19	Aûgadavishṭi ... . अंगदविष्टिः	.....	9	12	.....	Complete.
20	Siddhadûtakâvya ... ... सिद्धदूतकाव्यम्.	Avadhûta Râma	13	12	Samvat 1485.	Incomplete. 1st two leaves wanting.
21	Vṛishabhânujâ-nâṭikâ ... ... वृषभानुजानाटिका.	Mathurâdâsa	30	9	.....	Complete.

22	Kumârasambhava ... ... कुमारसंभवम्.	Kâlidâsa	47	7-9	Samvat 1672.	Incomplete. Leaves 7-10 & 19-23 wanting.
	KÂMA-ŚÂSTRA. कामशास्त्रम्.					
23	Ratirahasya ... ... रतिरहस्यम्.	Kukkoka	28	9	.....	Incomplete.
24	Vâtsyâyana-Sûtra-Vṛitti (Praudhapriyâ.) ... ... वात्स्यायनसूत्रवृत्तिः (प्रौढप्रिया.)	Bhâskara Nṛisiṁha Śâstrin.	143	10	Samvat 1926.	Complete.
25	Vâtsyâyana-Sûtra-Bhâshya ... वात्स्यायनसूत्रभाष्यम्.	Jayamaṅgala	344	9	Samvat 1933.	Complete.
	YOGA. योगपथाः					
26	Yogavârtika ... . योगवार्तिकम्.	Vijñânabhikshu	222	13	.....	Complete.
27	Yoga-sûtrabhâshya with Commentary. योगसूत्रभाष्यं व्याख्यासहितम्.	Vâchaspati Miśra (Com.)...	112	13-15	Samvat 1821.	Do.
28	Śivasaṁhitâ ... ... शिवसंहिता.	.....	30	11	.....	Do.

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS—(*continued*).

Number of the Ms.	Name of the Work.	Name of the Author.	No of Leaves.	No. of Lines on each Page.	Date of Ms.	REMARKS.
	YOGA.—(*continued.*) योगग्रंथाः					
29	Pâtañjalasûtravṛitti ... ... पातंजलसूत्रवृत्तिः	Bhoja-Râja	41	12	.....	Complete.
30	Pâtañjalasûtravṛitti (Maṇiprabhâ). ... .. पातंजलसूत्रवृत्तिः (मणिप्रभा).	Râmânanda Sarasvatî ..	48	11	.....	Do.
31	Haṭayoga-Goraksha-śataka ... हठयोगगोरक्षशतकम्.	Goraksha	26	9	.....	Do.
32	Gheraṇḍasaṁhitâ ... ... घेरंडसंहिता.	.....	19	11	Samvat 1928.	Do.
33	Dattâtreya-Goraksha-saṁvâda ... दत्तात्रेयगोरक्षसंवादः	.....	31	9	.....	Do.

	SANKHYA PHILOSOPHY.					
	सांख्यशास्त्रम्.					
34	Sâṁkhyachandrikâ ... ... सांख्यचंद्रिका.	Nârâyaṇa	29	7-10	Samvat 1898.	Complete.
35	Tattvasamâsâkhyasûtravṛitti ... तत्वसमासाख्यसूत्रवृत्तिः	.....	13	10	Samvat 1925.	Do.
36	Tattvayâthârthyadîpana ... ... तत्वयाथार्थ्यदीपनम्.	Gaṇeśa	26	7	Samvat 1927.	Do.
	PROSODY.					
	छंदःशास्त्रम्.					
37	Vṛittaratnâkaraṭîkâ ... ... वृत्तरत्नाकरटीका.	Sulhaṇa	61	7	Samvat 1547.	Do.
38	Vṛittaratnâkara ... ... वृत्तरत्नाकरः	Kedâra	16	9	.....	Do.
	GRAMMAR.					
	व्याकरणम्.					
39	Śabdânuśâsana ... ... शब्दानुशासनम्.	Hêmachandra	203	8	.....	Do.
39A	Śabdânuśâsana (Prakrit) ... ... शब्दानुशासनम् (प्राकृत.)	Do.	49	15	.....	Incomplete?

Number of the Ms.	Name of the Work.	Name of the Author.	No. of Leaves.	No. of Lines on each Page.	Date of Ms.	REMARKS.
	GRAMMAR.—(*continued.*) व्याकरणम्.					
40	Syâdiśabdasamuchchaya ... ... स्यादिशब्दसमुच्चयः	Amarachandra	35	17	Samvat 1548.	Complete.
41	Ashṭâdhyâyî ... ... अष्टाध्यायी.	Pâṇini	35	9	.....	Complete.
41A	Vyâkaraṇa-khaṇḍana ... ... व्याकरणखंडनम्.	Vâchaspati	2	15	.....	Do.
41B	Kâtantra, a Bâlâvabodhavṛitti on, कातंत्रस्य बालावबोधवृत्तिः	Merutuṅga	19	13	Samvat 1403.	Do.
41C	Do. do. (Copy of above)	Do. ...	245	11	Samvat 1932.	Do.
	LAW, RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL. धर्मशास्त्रम्.					
42	Gotrapravaranirṇaya ... ... गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णयः	.....	9	14	Samvat 1283.	Do.

43	Kapilâshashṭhîvratapaddhati ... कपिलाषष्ठीव्रतपद्धतिः	.....	4	9-10	.....	Complete.
44	Kapilâshashṭhîpûjana ... ... कपिलाषष्ठीपूजनम्	.....	11	9-10	.....	Do.
45	Śukraniti ... ... शुक्रनीतिः	.....	2	9	.....	Incomplete.
46	Śivapûjana ... ... शिवपूजनम्	.....	10	8	Samvat 1852.	Incomplete. 1st leaf wanting.
47	Śûdrakamalâkara ... . शूद्रकमलाकरः	.....	25	11	.....	Incomplete.
48	Âturasaṁnyâsa .. .. आतुरसंन्यासः	.....	3	11	Samvat 1789.	Complete.
49	Kuṇḍaratnâkara with Commentary कुंडरत्नाकरः सटीकः	Viśvanâtha	39	12	.....	Do.

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Number of the Ms.	Name of the Work.	Name of the Author.	No. of Leaves.	No. of Lines on each Page.	Date of Ms.	REMARKS.
	LEXICOGRAPHY.					
	कोशाः					
50	Abhidhâna-chintâmaṇi Nâmamâlâ —Deva Kâṇḍa.	Hemachandra	14	14	Samvat 1842	Complete.
	अभिधानचिंतामणौ नाममालायां देवकांडः					
51	Abhidhâna-Chintâmaṇi Nâmamâlâ (first four parts.)	Do.	72	9	.....	Incomplete.
	अभिधानचिंतामणिनाममालाः (चतुर्थकांडावधि.)					
	VEDIC AND SACRIFICIAL LITERATURE.					
	श्रुतिभेदाः सूत्राणि प्रयोगाश्च.					
52	Śâṅkhâyana-Gṛihyasûtra	.....	57	7	Samvat 1325.	Do. (In bad condition).
	शांखायनगृह्यसूत्रम्.					
53	Âśvalâyana-Gṛihyasûtra with Commentary.	(Com.) Nârâyaṇa.	204	11	.....	Complete.
	आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्रं नारायणीयवृत्तिसहितम्.					

54	Kauśikasûtra ... ... कौशिकसूत्रम्.	.....	81	8	.....	Incomplete.
55	Kauśika Śrautasûtra ... ... कौशिकश्रौतसूत्रम्.	.....	103	8	.....	Do. 1st 10 pages wanting.
56	Âśvalâyana Śrautasûtram ... आश्वलायनश्रौतसूत्रम्.	.....	63	9	.....	Complete.
57	Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa, Kâṇḍa X. (Agnirahasya). शतपथब्राह्मणेऽग्निरहस्यं नाम दशमकाण्डम्.	.....	59	9	Samvat 1634.	Do.
58	Paśubanda-Prayoga ... ... पशुबन्धप्रयोगः	.....	18	10	Samvat 1813.	Do.
59	Pitṛimedha ... ... पितृमेधः	.....	14	7	Samvat 1663.	Do.
60	Râmapûrvatâpanîya and Râmottaratâpanîya Upanishads. रामपूर्वोत्तरतापनीयोपनिषद्.	.....	9	10-12	.....	Do.
61	Mahânârâyaṇopanishad ... ... महानारायणोपनिषद्.	.....	26	11	.....	Do.
62	Amṛitanâdopanishad ... .. अमृतनादोपनिषद्.	.....	15	10	.....	Incomplete.
63	Râmottaratâpanîyopanishad—Vyâkhyâ. रामोत्तरतापनीयोपनिषद् व्याख्या.	Râmakṛishṇa	25	14	.....	Complete.

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS—(*continued*).

Number of the Ms.	Name of the Work.	Name of the Author.	No. of Leaves.	No. of Lines on each Page.	Date of Ms.	REMARKS.
	VEDIC AND SACRIFICIAL LITERATURE.—(*continued*).					
	श्रुतिपंथाः सूत्राणि प्रयोगाश्च.					
64	Sarvopanishad of Atharva Veda ... अथर्ववेदे सर्वोपनिषद्.	.....	3	8	Samvat 1857.	Complete.
64A	Yogaśikhopanishad of Atharva Veda. अथर्ववेदे योगशिखोपनिषद्.	.....	1	8	.....	Do.
64B	Yogatattvopanishad of Atharva Veda अथर्ववेदे योगतत्त्वोपनिषद्.	.....	1	10	.....	Do.
	TANTRA.					
	तंत्रपंथाः					
65	Chakrarâja-nyâsa... ... .. चक्रराजन्यासः	.....	18	16	.....	Do.
66	Tantrarâja ... ... तंत्रराजः	.....	36	11	.....	Incomplete.
67	Bhûśuddhi ... . भूशुद्धिः	.....	3	12	.....	Complete.

68	Râjarâjêśvaryâdi-mantrapaddhati... राजराजेश्वर्यादिमंत्रपद्धतिः	.....	20	12-13	.....	Do.
	VEDÂNTA. वेदांतशास्त्रम्.					
69	Vâkyavṛittiprakâśikâ ... ... वाक्यवृत्तिप्रकाशिका.	Viśveśvara Paṇḍita ...	42	12-16	Samvat 1915.	Do.
70	Gîtâ-vyâkhyâ ... ... गीताव्याख्या.	.....	178	10	.....	Incomplete.
71	Bhakti-sûtras (with Commentary). भक्तिसूत्राणि (सटीकानि).	.....	11	10-12	.....	Do.
72	Adhikaraṇamâlâ ... ... अधिकरणमाला.	Bhâratîtîrthamuni ..	49	12-18	Samvat 1784.	Do.
73	Mâyâvâdasaddûshaṇî ... ... मायावादसद्दूषणी.	Pûrṇânanda	4	9	Samvat 1817.	Complete.
74	Madhusûdanî ... ... मधुसूदनी.	.....	12	12	Samvat 1815.	Incomplete. Leaves 6 and 10 wanting.
75	Tattvabodha ... ... तत्त्वबोधः	Vâsudeva Svâmin ...	9	8	.....	Complete.
	ARCHITECTURE. शिल्पशास्त्रम्.					
76	Samarâṅgaṇasûtradhâra or Vâstu-śâstra. समरांगणसूत्रधारापरनाम वास्तुशास्त्रम्.	Śrî Bhojadeva	120	10	.....	Incomplete.

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	ARCHITECTURE—*(contd.)* शिल्पशास्त्रम्					
77	Râjavallabhamaṇḍana ... ... राजवल्लभमंडनम्.	.....	58	9	.....	Incomplete.
78	Vâstuprakâśa ... ... वास्तुप्रकाशः	.....	57	8	.....	Complete.
79	Vâstuvidhi krama ... ... वास्तुविधिक्रमः	.....	6	11	.....	Do.
80	Prâsâdamaṇḍana ... ... प्रासादमंडनम्.	Sûtradhâramaṇḍana ...	14	11	Samvat 1926.	Incomplete. 1st leaf wanting.
81	Do. do. ... ... तदेव	Do. do. ...	29	8	Samvat 1926.	Complete.
82	Râjavallabhamaṇḍana ... ... राजवल्लभमंडनम्.	Sûtradhâramaṇḍana ...	106	19	Shaka 1718.	Complete. (Several leaves torn.)
	ASTRONOMY, ASTROLOGY, &c. ज्योतिषम्.					
83	Vivâhavṛindâvana ... ... विवाहवृंदावनम्.	Keśavârka	17	9	.....	Incomplete.

84	Grahaṇa-paṭa ... . ग्रहणपटः	.....	13	11	Samvat 1615.	Incomplete.
85	Shoḍaśa-yoga ... . षोडशयोगः (सिंहावलीतात्रिके).	.....	4	9	.....	Complete.
86	Jâtaka-Vivaraṇa ... . जातकविवरणम्.	Mahîdhara...	84	12	Shaka 1520.	Do.
87	Ratnâvalî-vivaraṇa ... ... रत्नावलीविवरणम्	.....	21	12	Samvat 1754.	Do.
88	Strîpuṁsajanmakuṇḍalî ... .. स्त्रीपुंसजन्मकुंडली.	.....	3	9	.....	Do.
89	Ratnâvalî-paddhati ... .. रत्नावलीपद्धतिः	Gaṇeśa	14	10	Samvat 1692.	Do.
90	Sâmudrikatilaka ... ... सामुद्रिकतिलकम्.	Durlabharâja	23	16	Samvat 1744.	Do.
91	Makara-saṁkrântiphalavichâra ... मकरसंक्रांतिफलविचारः	.....	8	15	.....	Incomplete. 2nd leaf wanting.
92	Gargamanoramâ ... ... गर्गमनोरमा.	.....	8	23	Samvat 1814.	Complete.
93	Jâtakâlaṁkârâkhyakarman... ... जातकालंकाराख्यकर्म.	.....	4	9	.....	Do.

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	ASTRONOMY, ASTROLOGY, &c.—(*continued*). ज्योतिषम्.					
94	Vivâhavṛindâvana ... ... विवाहवृंदावनम्.	Keśavârka	88	7	Shaka 1650.	Complete.
95	Bṛihajjâtakavivaraṇa ... ... बृहज्जातकविवरणम्.	Mahîdhara	151	10	.....	Incomplete. 1st leaf wanting.
96	Karaṇakutûhala ... ... करणकुतूहलम्.	Bhâskara	39	12	Samvat 1674.	Incomplete. 7th leaf wanting.
97	Samarasâraṭîkâ ... . समरसारटीका.	Râmachandra Somayâjin ...	36	12	.....	Complete.
98	Grahâgama... ... ... ग्रहागम.	Bhâskara	34	13	Samvat 1627.	Do.
99	Lîlâvatîṭîkâ ... ... लीलावतीटीका.	Moshadeva	109	12-16	Samvat 1802.	Do.
100	Lîlâvatî ... ... लीलावती.	Bhâskarâchârya	39	9	.....	Incomplete. 1st leaf wanting.

101	Grahaprakaraṇa (from Mahârṇava-Karmavipâka). महार्णवे कर्मविपाके ग्रहप्रकरणम्.	Mândhâtṛi	4	11	Samvat 1576.	Complete.
102	Ramala-śâstra ... ... रमलशास्त्रम्.	Chintâmaṇi Paṇḍita ...	24	11	Samvat 1877.	Do.
103	Sâmudrika ... ... सामुद्रिकम्.	.....	14	9	.....	Do. Edges of leaves torn.
104	Sâmudrika ... ... सामुद्रिकम्.	.....	4	12	Samvat 1807.	Do. Edges of leaves torn.
105	Grahalâghava ... ... ग्रहलाघवम्	.....	...	...	Samvat 1911.	Lithographed.
106	Bhâveśaphala or Bhâvadîpa ... भावेशफलम् (भावदीपः)	Mahâdeva	14	9	Samvat 1903.	Complete. Leaf-13 slightly torn.
107	Râjâmantri-nirṇaya ... ... ज्योतिर्निबंधे राजामंत्रिनिर्णयः	.....	5	9	.....	Incomplete. 2nd and 3rd leaves wanting.
	PURÂṆAS. पुराणग्रंथाः					
108	Bhâgavata, Sk. X., Gloss on, (Subodhinî). श्रीमद्भागवते दशमस्कंधस्य सुबोधिनी-टिप्पणी.	.....	69	12	.....	Incomplete.

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109	Bhâgavatîya-râsapañchâdhyâyîṭippaṇa. भागवतीयरासपंचाध्यायीटिप्पणम्.	.....	13	13-15	.....	Complete.
110	Mathurâ-mâhâtmya ... ... मथुरामाहात्म्यम्.	.....	46	15	Samvat 1625.	Do.
111	Pâṇḍuraṅga-mâhâtmya ... ... पांडुरंगमाहात्म्यम्.	.....	29	12	.....	Do.
112	Gaṇapatikhaṇḍa ... ... गणपतिखंडः.	.....	123	9	.....	Do.
113	Prakṛitikhaṇḍa ... ... प्रकृतिखंडः.	.....	245	9	.....	Complete (portions of two leaves torn).
114	Vishṇupurâṇa ... ... विष्णुपुराणम्.	.....	243	7	.....	Complete.
115	Harilîlâṭîkâ ... ... हरिलीलाटीका	Bopadeva	47	8	.....	Incomplete.

116	Brahmavaivarta-Brahmakhaṇḍa ... ब्रह्मवैवर्तब्रह्मखंडः	.....	100	9	.....	Complete.
117	Kapilâshashṭhîvratakathâ ... कपिलाषष्ठीव्रतकथा.	.....	11	9	.....	Do.
118	Râsa-krîḍâ ... ... (From Bhâgavata, Skandha X.) भागवते दशमस्कंधे रासक्रीडा.	.....	16	7-9	Samvat 1876.	Do.
119	Bhâgavata, Sk. X, Chapter V, Prakaraṇârthasandarbha of. भागवते दशमस्कंधे पंचमाध्याये प्रकरणार्थसंदर्भः	.....	7	10	.....	Incomplete.
120	Mâgha mâhâtmya, 4th, 5th and 6th Chapters. माघमाहात्म्य-चतुर्थपंचमषष्ठाध्यायाः	.....	5	8-9	.....	Complete.
121	Jâtismaraṇatîrtha-mâhâtmya ... (From Skanda-Purâṇa.) जातिस्मरणतीर्थमाहात्म्यम् (स्कं. पु.)	.....	4	9	.....	Do.
122	Subodhinî Ṭippaṇî on Bhâgavata-Sk. X. ... ... भागवते दशमस्कन्धे सुबोधिनीटिप्पणी.	Viṭṭhala	16	9	.....	Do.
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123	Jâmamañjarî ... ... जामंमंजरी.	Vâṇinâtha	10	10	Samvat 1627.	Do.

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124	Saptapadârthî ... ... सप्तपदार्थी.	Śivâditya	15	7	Samvat 1537.	Complete.
	SECTARIAN WORKS. मतग्रंथाः					
125	Ahikârasaṁgraha with Commentary अधिकारसंग्रहटीका. (रामानुजीया.)	Śrî Vedântâchârya ...	24	19	.....	Do.
126	Bâlabôdhaprakâśa ... ... बालबोधप्रकाशः	Devakînandana	24	9	.....	Incomplete, first three leaves wanting.
127	Bhaktihêtunirṇayaṭîkâ ... ... भक्तिहेतुनिर्णयटीका.	.....	6	12	.....	Incomplete, in bad condition.
128	Kaulâdarśa ... ... कौलादर्शः	Viśvânanda	15	10	.....	Complete.
129	Saṁnyâsanirṇaya ... . संन्यासनिर्णयः	Raghunâthaji	13	9	.....	Incomplete, first leaf wanting.
130	Vivekadhairyâśrayadîpikâ ... विवेकधैर्याश्रयदीपिका.	Raghunâtha	10	9	.....	Do.

131	Pushṭipravâhamaryâdâvivaraṇa ... पुष्टिप्रवाहमर्यादाविवरणम्.	Vallabha	26	8	.....	Complete.
132	Śrîkṛishṇâśraya with commentary. श्रीकृष्णाश्रयः (सटीकः)	Vallabha	6	10	.....	Incomplete.
133	Râmanâma-mâhâtmya ... ... रामनाममाहात्म्यम्.	Achyutâśrama	38-300	9	.....	Do.
134	Siddhântamuktâvali-yojanâ .. सिद्धांतमुक्तावलीयोजना.	.....	17	10	Samvat 1814.	Do.
135	Tattvatraya ... . तत्त्वत्रयम्.	Râmânuja	12	12	Samvat 1917.	Complete.
136	Vivṛittiprakâśa ... ... विवृत्तिप्रकाशः	Viṭṭhala Dîkshita	7	9	.....	Do.
137	Bhâgavata, Skandha X., Chap. xviii., with commentary. श्रीमद्भागवते दशमस्कंधे अष्टादशोऽध्यायः (सटीकः)	.....	9	10	.....	Do.
138	Archirâdimârga-vaibhava ... अर्चिरादिमार्गवैभवम्.	.....	7	14	.....	Do.
139	Harilîlâ-Viveka ... ... हरिलीलाविवेकः	Bopadeva	25	13	Samvat 1928.	Do.

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140	Vedânta-tattvasâra ... .. वेदांततत्त्वसारः	Râmânuja...	26	10	Samvat 1916.	Complete.
141	Vallabhîya-stotrâṇi ... ... वल्लभीयस्तोत्राणि.	Vallabhâchârya	23	...	Samvat 1689.	Do.
142	Vaishṇavadharmasâra ... .. वैष्णवधर्मसारम्.	Varadâchârya	6	9	.....	Do.
	Varadâchâryastotra ... .. वरदाचार्यस्तोत्रम्.					
	Varadâchârya-kavacha ... ... वरदाचार्यकवचम्.					
143	Pushṭimârga-lakshaṇâni ... ... पुष्टिमार्गलक्षणानि.	.....	3	13	.....	Do.
143A	Yamunâshṭakavivṛitti ... .. यमुनाष्टकविवृत्तिः	Haridâsa	24	8	Samvat 1762.	Do.

143a	Chaurâsi Vaishṇavonki Vârtâ (Hindi.) चौरासीवैष्णवोंकी वार्ता. (हिंदी.)	.....	190	24	.....	Complete.
143c	Gaṇapatistotra ... . गणपतिस्तोत्रम्.	.....	10	7	Samvat 1797.	Incomplete, nine leaves wanting.
	NÎTI. नीतिशास्त्रम्.					
144	Nîti-Mayûkha ... . नीतिमयूखः	Nîlakaṇṭha	31	12-14	.....	Complete.
145	Śukra Nîti ... . शुक्रनीतिः	.....	96	9	.....	Complete.
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146	Bhagavatî-sûtra ... ... भगवतीसूत्रम्.	.....	636	11	Samvat 1693.	Complete.
147	Kalpasûtra with commentary ... कल्पसूत्रम् (सटीकम्).	.....	87	9	.....	Do.
148	Kalpasûtra ... ... कल्पसूत्रम्.	.....	75	9	.....	Do.
149	Navatattva ... ... नवतत्त्वम्.	.....	23	11	.....	Incomplete (2 copies).

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150	Sûtrakṛitâṅgadîpikâ with commentary. ... सूत्रकृतांगदीपिका (सटीका.)	.....	171	15	Samvat 1740.	Incomplete.
151	Pravachana-Sâroddhâra-Vṛitti ... प्रवचनसारोद्धारवृत्तिः	.....	185	11	.....	Do.
152	Râjapraśnîyasûtra... ... ... राजप्रश्नीयसूत्रम्.	.....	41	15	Samvat 1565.	Complete.
153	Pariśishṭaparvan ... ... परिशिष्टपर्वन्.	Hemachandra	39	12	.....	Incomplete.
154	Jîva-vichâra-prakaraṇa ... ... जीवविचारप्रकरणम्.	.....	7	15	Samvat 1691.	Do.
155	Daśavaikâlika ... . दशवैकालिकम्.	.....	37	11	.....	Do.
156	Chatuḥśaraṇakuśalabandhîyâdhyayana, Bâlabodhavṛitti on. ... चतुःशरणकुशलबन्धीयाध्ययनस्य बालबोधवृत्तिः.	.....	16	11	Samvat 1600.	Do.

157	Brihatkalpavṛitti (1st Part) ... बृहत्कल्पवृत्तौ प्रथमखंडः	.....	3	23	.....	Do.
158	Prajñâpanâsûtra ... ... प्रज्ञापनासूत्रम्.	.....	311	11	.....	Do.
159	Kalpasûtraṭîkâ (Kalpalatâ) ... कल्पसूत्रटीका (कल्पलता)	Samaya-Sundara	209	15	Samvat 1797.	Do.
160	Jñâtâvṛitti ... . ज्ञातावृत्तिः.	.....	95	12-15	.....	Incomplete.
161	Uttarâdhyayana-Sûtra ... ... उत्तराध्ययनसूत्रम्.	.....	211	5	.....	Do., first fifty-four leaves wanting.
162	Uvâisûtra ... ... उवाईसूत्रम्.	.....	41	11	.....	Complete.
163	Anuttarovâyî-Sûtra ... ... अनुत्तरोवायीसूत्रम्.	.....	13	13	.....	Do.
164	Saṁdêhadôlâvalî-prakaraṇa ... संदेहदोलावलीप्रकरणम्	Jinadatta	12	12	.....	Do.
165	Jîvâbhigama-Sûtra ... ... जीवाभिगमसूत्रम्.	.....	75	17	.....	Do.
166	Samavâyâṅga-Sûtra ... ... समवायांगसूत्रम्.	.....	40	15	Samvat 1552.	Do.

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167	Bṛihatkshetrasamâsa ... ... बृहत्क्षेत्रसमासः.	.....	23	12	.....	Incomplete, first four leaves wanting.
168	Pravachanasâroddhâra with commentary. प्रवचनसारोद्धारः (सटीकः)	.....	28	15	.....	Incomplete.
169	Uvâiyasûtra ... ... उवाईयसूत्रम्.	.....	35	13	.....	Do.
170	Madhyamasaṁgrahaṇî .. ... मध्यमसंग्रहणी.	.....	5	17	.....	Complete.
171	Uttarâdhyayanasûtra ... ... उत्तराध्ययनसूत्रम्.	.....	27	12	.....	Incomplete.
172	Sâdhupratikramaṇasûtra ... साधुप्रतिक्रमणसूत्रम्.	.....	5	22	.....	Complete.
173	Bhairavapadmâvatî-Kalpa ... भैरवपद्मावतीकल्पः.	Mallisheṇa	6	17	.....	Incomplete.

174	Bhaktâmarastotra ... ... भक्तामरस्तोत्रम्.	.....	4	12	.....	Complete.
175	Sarasvatî-stotra ... ... सरस्वतीस्तोत्रम्.	.....	1	14	.....	Do.
176	Saṁgrahaṇîsûtra ... ... संग्रहणीसूत्रम्.	.....	19	10-15	Samvat 1840.	Incomplete, first leaf wanting.
177	Shaḍdarśanasamuchchaya ... षड्दर्शनसमुच्चयः.	.....	4	14	Samvat 1920.	Complete.
178	Râjaprasûtyavṛitti ... ... राजप्रश्नीयवृत्तिः	Malaya	66	15	.....	Do.
179	Vratakathâ ... ... व्रतकथा.	Merutuṅga	4	18-23	1434	Do.
180	Bauddhadarśana ... ... बौद्धदर्शनम्.	.....	3	12	.....	Incomplete.
181	Dvyâśraya-vṛitti ... ... द्व्याश्रयवृत्तिः.	Abhayatilakagaṇi	60-132	20	.....	Do.
182	Deśînâmamâlâ ... . देशीनाममाला.	Hemachandra	86	15	.....	Do.
183	Kumârapâlaprabandha ... ... कुमारपालप्रबंधः	Jinamaṇḍana	86	14-17	Samvat 1943.	Complete.
184	Tîrtha-Kalpa ... . तीर्थकल्पः	....	47	20	.....	Do.
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185	Sindûraprakaraṇasûtra ... .. सिंदूरप्रकरणसूत्रम्.	Somaprabhâchârya ...	7	15	Samvat 1674.	Incomplete.
186	Bṛihatkalpa ... . बृहत्कल्पः.	.....	24	24	.....	Do.
187	Jinavallabhasûriprabandha ... जिनवल्लभसूरिप्रबंधः	Gaṇadhara	11	14-18	.....	Complete.
188	Sukṛita-saṁkîrtana-kâvya, Canto XI सुकृतसंकीर्त्तनकाव्ये एकादशः सर्गः	Amarapaṇḍita	43	11	.....	Do.
189	Karṇachampû ... ... कर्णचंपूः	Kakkâbhaṭṭa	12	10	Samvat 1752.	Do.
190	Maṇḍalîkanṛipacharita .. मंडलीकनृपचरितम्.	Gaṅgâdhara	34	12-14	.....	Incomplete.
191	Maṇḍalîkanṛipacharitakâvya, 1st Canto. मंडलीकनृपचरितकाव्यस्य प्रथमसर्गः	Gangâdhara	10	7	.....	Do.

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192	Mahâvaṁsô ... . महावंसो.	.....	401	11	.....	Incomplete.
193	Bôdhicharyâ .. .. बोधिचर्या.	.....	84	7	Samvat 992	Complete. Nepal Ms.
194	Kâraṇḍavyûha ... . कारंडव्यूहः	.....	93	5	Samvat 830.	Do. do.
195	Samâdhirâja-Mahyâṅgasûtra .. समाधिराजमह्यांगसूत्रम्.	.....	232	6	Samvat 835.	Do. do.
196	Kriyâsaṁgraha ... ... क्रियासंग्रहः	Kuladatta	137	7	Samvat 810.	Do. do.
197	Laṅkâvatâra Mahâyânasûtra .. लंकावतारमहायानसूत्रम्	.....	137	7	.....	Do. do.
198	Gaṇḍavyûha ... ... गण्डव्यूहः.	.....	211-292	9	.....	Incomplete. Nepal Ms.
199	Daśabhûmîśvara Mahâyâna-sûtra. दशभूमीश्वरमहायानसूत्रम्	.....	175	8	Samvat 803.	Complete. Nepal Ms.
200	Vasudhârâ-Vrata-Kathâ ... ... वसुधाराव्रतकथा	.....	47	5	Samvat 964.	Do. do.

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS.—(*continued.*)

Number of the Ms.	Name of the Work.	Name of the Author.	No. of Leaves.	No. of Lines on each Page.	Date of Ms.	REMARKS.
	BAUDDHA WORKS-(*continued*). बौद्धग्रंथाः					
201	Guhyasamâja ... ... गुह्यसमाजः	.....	28	9	.....	Complete. Nepal Ms.
202	Svayambhu chaitya-Mâhâtmya .. स्वयंभुचैत्यमाहात्म्यम्	.....	104	5-6	Samvat 870.	Do. do.
203	Sâdhanamâlâ ... ... साधनमाला	.....	44	7	Samvat 993.	Do. do.
204	Suvarṇapra bhâsottama-Sûtrendra-râja. सुवर्णप्रभासोत्तमसूत्रेंद्र राजः	.....	99	6	Samvat. 959	Do. do.
205	Karuṇâpuṇḍarîka ... ... करुणापुण्डरीकम्.	.....	228	6	.....	Do. do.
206	Avalokiteśvarasya Karuṇâstava-stotram. अवलोकितेश्वरस्य करुणास्तवस्तोत्रम.	.....	5	5	Samvat 377.	Do. do.

207	Sâdhanamâlâ ... ... साधनमाला.	.....	44	7	Samvat 993.	Complete. Nepal Ms.
208	Gaṇḍavyûha-Mahârṇavastotra ... गण्डव्यूहमहार्णवस्तोत्रम्.	.....	210	7	.....	Incomplete. Nepal Ms.
209	Kapisâvadâna* ... ... कपिसावदानम्.	... ...	41	5	Samvat 875.	Complete. Nepal Ms.
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PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. 1901.

The annual meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 7th March 1901.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice E. T. Candy, President, in the Chair.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, referred to the death of the Queen-Empress, and suggested that an address should be presented on behalf of the Society to His Majesty the King-Emperor on his accession to the Throne of England. He also referred to the death of Mr. Justice Ranade, who took a great interest in the affairs of the Society.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Chandavarkar then proposed a resolution referring to the loss sustained by the Society in the death of Mr. Justice Ranade. He suggested that the resolution should be communicated to the widow of the deceased gentleman, and also placed on the records of the Society. In support of his proposition, Mr. Justice Chandavarkar said that the late Mr. Justice Ranade was one of those who, in living, lived for others more than for themselves. He was one of the best products of British India, and the Society had lost in him a prominent member.

Mr. K. R. Cama seconded the proposition, which was carried. The Honorary Secretary then read the following Report for 1900:—

THE ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1900.

MEMBERS.

Resident.—42 new members were elected during the year under review, and 4 non-resident members having come to Bombay were added to the list of the resident members. 42 members resigned, 6 died, 29 retired and 8 having left Bombay were placed on the list of non-resident members. The total number at the end of the year was 295 against 334 at the end of the preceding year. Of these 41 were absent from India for the whole year or portions of the year.

Of the resident members who resigned during the yees, the larger number were Military and Medical Officers engaged on Plague duty in Bombay, who withdrew from membership as soon as they left Bombay.

Among the members shown as retired are included several gentlemen who have been absent from India for a number of years, and from whom no intimation of their wishes had been received.

Non-Resident.—4 gentlemen joined under this class and 8 were transferred from the list of resident members. 5 members withdrew, 2 died, 1 retired, 4 were added to the list of resident members, and the names of 3 were removed from the roll for non-payment of subscription. The total number at the close of the year was 52, the number at the end of 1899 was 55.

OBITUARY.

The members, whose loss by death the Society have to regret, were—

RESIDENT.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha.
G. Geary, Esq.
Maneksha J. Talyarkhan, Esq.
Lieut.-Col. Freeman.
Rev. J. D. Ozanne.
Lieut. Adams Wylie.

NON-RESIDENT.

Rao Saheb P. B. Parakh.
Dewan Bahadur Manibhai Jassabhai.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The following papers were contributed to the Society during the year :—

A New Medal of King Behram Gour (Behram V.) of Persia, by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Esq.

Sanhita of the Rig-Veda Searched, by Rajaram R. Bhagwat, Esq.

Introduction to the Peishwa's Diaries, by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade, M.A., C.I.E.

On the Jain Poem called Raghavapandaviya: a reply to Prof. Max Müller, by K. B. Pathak, Esq., B. A.

"Sanjan," a Parsee town on the B. B. & C. I. Railway, 94 miles from Bombay. Is it the Sindan of the Arab Geographers of the 10th and 11th centuries as stated by the Bombay Gazetteer? (Vol. XIV., Thanna.) Is it the town Hanjamana (हंजमन) referred to in the three Silâhâra grants (*) of the 10th and 11th centuries? By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Esq.

(*). (a). Asiatic Researches I., p. 357. Paper by General Carnac. (b). Indian Antiquary V., p. 276. Paper by Bühler. (c). Indian Antiquary IX., p. 38. Paper by Mr. Justice Telang.

Apastamba and Baudhayana, by K. B. Pathak, Esq., B. A.

Astronomy in its bearing on the Antiquity of the Aryans, by V. B. Ketkar, Esq.

A Peep into the Early History of India from the foundation of the Maurya dynasty to the fall of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty, by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, M. A., C. I. E.

The Coins of Ahmedabad, by Rev. G. P. Taylor, M. A.

LIBRARY.

The total issues of books during the year were 35,029 volumes; 23,991 of new books including periodicals and 11,038 of the old. The issues during the preceding year were 34,741 volumes, 23,774 of new books and 10,967 of the old.

A detailed statement of the monthly issues, together with the daily average, exclusive of Sundays and Holidays, is subjoined.

	Old Books.	New Books.	Daily Average.
January	1,105	2,034	125
February	988	2,154	130
March	942	2,109	127
April	885	1,997	125
May	894	1,977	115
June	856	1,970	113
July...	993	2,292	126
August	986	1,960	123
September	896	1,961	119
October	897	2,166	127
November	667	1,743	105
December	929	1,619	123

The volumes of issues of the old and the new books arranged according to classes are shown in the subjoined table :—

Classes.	Volumes.
Novels	11,113
Miscellaneous	1,620
Biography	1,611
Voyages, Travels, &c.	1,088
History	996
Military Subjects	716
Oriental Literature	559
English Poetry and Dramatic Works	512
Transactions of Learned Societies, Journals, &c.	498
Politics, Political Economy, &c.	409
Theology	335
Medicine, Surgery, &c.	272
Foreign Literature...	250
Metaphysics, Moral Philosophy, &c.	231
Fine Arts and Architecture	226
Philology, Literary History, &c.	219
Natural History, Geology, &c.	198
Classics	196
Government Reports, Public Records, &c.	191
Antiquities, Numismatics, &c.	173
Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, &c.	161
Grammatical Works, Dictionaries, &c.	118
Botany and Agriculture	81
Jurisprudence	54
Logic, Rhetoric, &c.	42
Periodicals, Magazines, &c.	13,161

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

During 1900 the Library received an addition of 956 volumes or parts of volumes. Of these 666 were purchased and 290 were presented chiefly by the Bombay Government, the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, and the other Local Governments, and a few by individual authors and other donors.

The Volumes of each class of books purchased and presented are noted in the subjoined table :—

	Purchased.	Presented.
Theology and Ecclesiastical History	21	1
Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy	11	1
Logic, and Works on Education	1	1
Classics	17	...
Philology, Literary History and Bibliography	5	...
History and Chronology	43	...
Politics, Political Economy, &c.	8	25
Jurisprudence	4	3
Biography	75	3
Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry, &c.	4	4
Voyages, Travels, Geography, &c.	39	4
English Poetry and Dramatic Works	9	1
Novels, Romances, &c.	243	...
Miscellaneous	39	...
Foreign Literature...	5	...
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, &c.	8	...
Fine Arts and Architecture	9	4
Military Subjects	48	1
Natural History, Geology, Chemistry, &c.	19	9
Botany, Agriculture, &c.	7	3
Medicine, Surgery, &c.	17	5
Encyclopædias, Annuals, &c.	15	30
Dictionaries and Grammatical Works	6	...
Oriental Literature	13	52
Public Records, Government Reports, &c.	...	145

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The Newspapers, Periodicals and Journals of Learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during the year, were :—

Literary Monthlies	17
Illustrated	15
Scientific and Philosophical Journals, Transactions of Learned Societies, &c.	36
Reviews	14
English Newspapers	21
English and French Registers, Almanacs, Directories, &c.	16
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals	10
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Indian Journals, Reviews, &c.	28

A meeting of the Society under Article XX. of the Rules was held in November for the revision of the Newspapers, Periodicals, &c., taken by the Society. At this meeting it was resolved to subscribe to the following from the commencement of 1901:—

Chambers' Journal.
Architectural Review.
Imperial and Indian Monthly Review.
Journal of Education.
Bramhavadin (for one year only).
Hindu (Weekly Edition).

And to discontinue—

The Daily Mail.
Crampton's Magazine.
Longman's Magazine.
The Building Supplement to Scientific American.

COIN CABINET.

The additions to the Coin Cabinet made during the year consist of 1 Gold, 11 Silver and 17 Copper, altogether 29 Coins. Of these 3 Silver and 2 Copper were presented by Shrimant M. V. Kibe, of Indore, and the rest were received from different Governments under the Treasure Trove Act.

They comprise the following varieties :—

Presented by Shrimant M. V. Kibe :

1 Silver Coin current in Jeypur.

1 Silver Coin bearing the name of Shah Zaman Alum Shah Ali Abdulla, and emblems of Umbrella and Fish.

2 Copper Coins current in Southern States of Central India.

1 Silver Coin bearing the name of Udeypur and Chitrakote.

Presented by the Government of N.-W. Provinces and Oudh :

15 Old Indian Copper Coins.

Presented by the Bombay Government :

1 Gold Coin, Padmatinka, found in the Bijapur District.

1 Silver Coin of Shah Allam, found in the Kaira District.

1 Silver Coin of Mahammad Shah, found in the Kaira District.

Presented by the Resident at Hyderabad :

1 Silver Coin of Ghiyas-ud-din Taghlag, found in Wun District.

1 Silver Coin of Ala-ud-din Mahammad Shah of Delhi, found in the Wun District.

2 Silver Coins of Mahammad bin Taghlag, found in the Wun District.

2 Silver Coins of Qutub-ud-din Mubarak Shah of Delhi, found in the Wun District.

JOURNAL.

An extra number of the Journal containing "the Origin of Bombay," by Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, was published during the year. No. 56 being the 3rd regular number of Vol. XX. of the Journal is all but ready and will shortly be issued. It contains the following papers and abstracts of Proceedings of the Society from January to December 1900, and a list of books, pamphlets, &c., presented to the Society during the period :—

A Kushana Stone Inscription, by D. R. Bhandarkar, Esq., B. A.
On the Date of Poet Magha, by K. B. Patak, Esq., B. A.
Sanhita of the Rig-Veda Searched, Part I., by Rajaram R. Bhagwat, Esq.

A Peep into the early history of India from the foundation of the Maurya Dynasty to the fall of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty, by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, M.A., C.I.E.

The Coins of Ahmedabad, by Rev. G. P. Taylor, M.A.

Introduction to the Peishwa's Diaries, by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade, M.A., C.I.E.

The following is a list of Governments, Learned Societies and other Institutions to which the Journal of the Society is presented :—

Bombay Government.
Government of India.
Government of Bengal.
Government of Madras.
Punjab Government.
Government, N.-W. Provinces and Oudh.
Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces.
Chief Commissioner, Coorg.
Resident, Hyderabad.
Chief Commissioner, Burmah.
Geological Survey of India.
G. T. Survey of India.
Marine Survey of India.
Bengal Asiatic Society.
Agricultural Society of India.
Literary Society of Madras.
Provincial Museum, Lucknow.
Bombay University.
Madras University.
Punjab University.
Mohabodhi Society, Calcutta.
Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.
Royal Society of Edinburgh.
Deutsche Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig.
Literary and Philosophical Society, Liverpool.
British Museum, London.
Royal Society, London.
Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland.
Academie Real das Sciences de Lisboa.
Société de Géographie Commerciale de Bordeaux.
Société de Geographie de Lyons.
Hungarian Academy of Science (Buda Pest).
Sociedad Geografica de Madrid.
Royal Dublin Society.
Société Geographie de Paris.
Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences.
United States Survey.
Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna.
United Service Institution.
Government Museum, Madras.
Indian Journal of Education, Madras.
R. A. Society, Ceylon Branch.
R. A. Society, North-China Branch.
The Asiatic Society of Japan.
Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences.
Strasburg Library.
Geographical Society, Vienna.
London Institution of Civil Engineers.
Royal Geographical Society, London.
Statistical Society, London.
Royal Astronomical Society.
Literary and Philosophical Society, Manchester.
Imperial Academy of Science, St. Petersburg.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
Minnesota Academy of Natural Sciences.
India Office Library.
London Bible Society.
Vienna Orientalische Museum.
Boston Society of Natural History.
Musee Guimet, Lyons.
Victoria Institution, London.
Royal Institution, Great Britain.
American Geographical Society.
American Oriental Society.
Hamilton Association, America.
Editor, Journal of Comparative Neurology, Granville, Ohio, U. S. A.
American Museum of Natural History.
Société Asiatique, Paris.
Geological Society, London.
Royal Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam.
American Philological Association, Cambridge.
Royal University, Upsala (Sweden).
Franklin Institute, Philadelphia.
University of Kansas, U. S. A.
Director, Missouri Botanical Garden.

Revision of the Rules.—Certain alterations in the Rules of the Society having appeared necessary to the Honorary Secretary, he directed the attention of the Committee of Management to the matter. A Sub-Committee, consisting of the President, Mr. K. R. Cama, Sir Bhalchandra K. Bhatavadekar, Kt., Dr. MacDonald and the Honorary Secretary, was then appointed. These gentlemen after carefully going over the Rules, framed a draft of the alterations to be made. The proposed changes were afterwards submitted to the Members of the Society and unanimously adopted by them at the last Annual Meeting. A revised edition of the Rules has accordingly been published.

ACCOUNTS.

A statement showing in detail the items of income and expenditure of the Society, for 1900, is appended.

The actual total receipts by subscription from members during the year under report, amount to Rs. 10,673-5-5. The subscriptions in 1899 amounted to Rs. 11,487-5-4. There was a sum of Rs. 120 received on account of life subscription from one non-resident member, which has been duly invested in Government Securities as required by the Rules.

The balance to the credit of the Society at the end of the year was Rs. 485-11-2.

The invested funds of the Society amount to Rs. 14,200.

On the motion of Mr. W. H. Sharp, seconded by Mr. J. E. Aspinwall, the report was adopted.

The President said that they owed a deep debt of gratitude to their Honorary Secretary, who, in the course of the next week, would be leaving India, and would not return. He hoped that the Rev. Mr. Gray would carry to his native land—Bonny Scotland—a happy recollection of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. He was sure that in his turn the Rev. Mr. Gray would always remember them.

Mr. James Macdonald proposed, Mr. Justice Chandavarkar seconded, and it was carried, that as a token of their appreciation of the services rendered by the Rev. Mr. Gray for a period of four years to the Society, a set of the journals of the Society nicely bound be presented to him.

The Rev. Mr. Gray briefly thanked the members for their kind appreciation of his services.

The following Committee of Management, proposed by Mr. James MacDonald and seconded by Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, was unanimously appointed.

President.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice E. T. Candy.

Vice-Presidents.

James Macdonald, Esq.
K. R. Cama, Esq.
M. Macmillan, Esq.
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Chandawarkar.

Members.

Dr. D. MacDonald.
Camrudin Amirudin, Esq.
F. R. Vicajee, Esq.
Sir Balchandra Krishna, Kt.
Shams-ul-Ulma J. J. Modi.
K. G. Desai, Esq.
Shams-ul-Ulma Dastur Darab P. Sanjana.
A. L. Covernton, Esq.
R. M. Watson Smyth, Esq.
Khan Bahadur D. R. Chichgar.
W. H. Sharp, Esq.
J. E. Aspinwall, Esq.

Honorary Secretary.

The Rev. R. Scott.

Auditors.

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.
Framroz Ardasher Vakil, Esq.

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

Bombay Branch of the

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements

	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Balance on 31st December 1899	.....			872	1	10
Subscription of Resident Members	9,898	5	5			
Do. of Non-Resident Members	775	0	0			
Do. of Non-Resident Life Member ...	120	0	0			
Government Contribution	4,200	0	0			
Sale proceeds of waste papers	17	4	0			
Do. of Journal Numbers	282	5	0			
Do. of Catalogues	41	12	0			
Interest on Society's Government Paper	504	4	3			
				15,838	14	8
Total ...Rs.				16,711	0	6

Examined and found correct.

DARASHA RUTTONJI CHICHGAR, }
H. R. H. WILKINSON, } Auditors.

Royal Asiatic Society.

from 1st January to 31st December 1900.

	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Books purchased in Bombay	3,133	11	9			
Remittances to Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.: Books ... ...Rs. 413-6-2 English Newspapers and Periodicals...Rs.1,959-11-0	2,373	1	2			
Subscription to Newspapers paid in India	335	2	6			
Printing	907	10	0			
Printing of Journal No. 55	945	2	5			
Binding	876	6	8			
General Charges	322	12	0			
Stationery	5	2	9			
Postage and Receipt Stamps	102	14	0			
Shipping and Landing Charges	41	13	6			
Office Establishment	6,133	8	0			
Gas Charges	93	8	9			
Insurance Charges	312	8	0			
Government Paper purchased	100	0	0			
Pension	300	0	0			
Grain Compensation	102	0	0			
				16,225	5	4
Balance in Bank of Bombay	451	12	3			
Do. in hand	33	14	6			
				485	11	2
Total ...Rs.				16,711	0	6

Invested Funds.		Rs.	Rs.
Government Paper of the Society	... ...	11,200	
The Premchand Roychand Fund	... ...	3,000	
			14,200

R. M. GRAY,
Honorary Secretary.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 29th March.

Mr. K. R. Cama, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The Honorary Secretary, Rev. R. Scott, read the minutes of the last Meeting, which were confirmed.

Mr. P. A. Wadia then read a Paper on the "Time and Place of the Composition of the Gathas."

A vote of thanks to Mr. Wadia for the interesting Paper he had read was proposed by Mr. J. J. Modi, and seconded by Mr. James MacDonald, and carried.

The Chairman, in concluding the discussion, expressed a hope that Mr. Wadia would continue the study of the Parsee Religion which he had commenced, and favour the Society from time to time with Papers embodying the results of his researches.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 1st of August 1901.

Mr. K. R. Cama, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Papers were then read.

(1) "An Untranslated Chapter of the Bundehesh." By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Esq., B.A.

(2) "A new Chalukya Grant of Kirtivarma II." By K. B. Pathak, Esq., B.A.

On the propositions of the Chairman and Mr. S. T. Bhandare, seconded by Mr. James MacDonald and Mr. R. S. Jayakar, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Modi and Mr. Pathak for the interesting Papers they had contributed.

A General Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 28th November 1901.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice E. T. Candy, President, in the Chair.

The proposals about the Newspapers and Periodicals received from members were placed before the Meeting.

It was resolved to subscribe to the following from the next year:—

Country Life.

Benares Chaukhamba Series (for one year only).

East and West.

and to discontinue the following from the same date:—

Comptes Rendus des Sciences de l'Academie des Sciences.

India.

St. James' Budget.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 19th December 1901.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi then read a Paper on "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastoor Meherjee Rana". He also exhibited a number of valuable original documents referred to in the Paper.

Mr. K. R. Cama, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Modi for the interesting Paper he had read, observed that as Mr. Modi had controverted the views expressed by Mr. R. P. Karkaria in the Paper he contributed to the Society in 1896, on "Akbar and the Parsees," Mr. Karkaria would naturally desire to reply. But as the hour was late, he thought it would be desirable to postpone the discussion to a future meeting.

This was agreed to, and the vote of thanks was passed by acclamation.

LIST OF PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

(FROM JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1901.)

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ABRAHAM, Lincoln — An Address by I. S. Choate.
The Author.

ACCOUNTS of the Trade carried by Rail and River in India, 1899-1900.
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ACTS, Government of India, 1900.
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ADI Purána of Pampa.
Government of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore.

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——— Report, Madras Presidency, 1899-1900.
Madras Government.

——— Report, Punjab, 1899-1900.
Punjab Government.

——— Report, Burma, 1899-1900.
Chief Commissioner, Burma.

——— Report, Central India Agency, 1899-1900.
Government of India.

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Resident at Hyderabad.

——— Report, N.-W. P. and Oudh, 1899-1900.
Government, N. W.-P. and Oudh.

——— Report, Bengal, 1899-1900.
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——— Report, Persian Gulf Political Residency and Maskat Political Agency, 1900-01.
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Trustees, Bombay Port Trust.

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AMERICAN Museum of Natural History Report, 1900.
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ANNALS of the Royal Botanical Garden, Calcutta, Vol. IX.
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Government of India.

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Trustees, Parsee Panchayat.

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—— Speech of Spitama Zarathushtra.
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Plague Research Laboratory, Parel.

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Punjab Government.

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Secretary of State for India

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Bombay Government.

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Government of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, 1902.

THE Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 6th March 1902.

Present.

His Excellency Lord Northcote, G.C.I.E., Patron of the Society.

The Hon. Mr. Justice E. T. Candy, President, in the chair.

The Hon. Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar, Mr. James MacDonald, Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, Dr. D. Macdonald, Mr. H. O. Quin, Mr. V. D. Thackersey, Mr. M. D. Thackersey, Mr. B. N. Sirvai, Mr. M. R. Bodas, Mr. N. M. Cama, Mr. K. R. Cama, Mr. P. V. Mawjee, Mr. Furdoonjee Jamsetjee, Mr. S. T. Bhandare, Mr. J. S. Sanjagiri, Mr. R. S. Rastamjee, Shamsul Ulma Jivanji J. Modi, Shamsul Ulma Dastur Darab P. Sanjana, Mr. R. P. Karkaria, Mr. J. E. Aspinwall, Rev. R. Macomish, Rev. W. G. Robertson, Mr. Nanabhai N. Saher, Mr. P. A. Wadia, Rev. Fr. Wallrath, Rev. Dr. B. DeMonte, Mr. H. S. Lawrence, Mr. H. Kennard, Dr. G. B. Kher, Mr. Shamrao Vithal, Mr. R. Taylor, Mr. C. D. M. Limjee, Col. G. W. Mitchell, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. F. A. Vakil, Mr. J. M. Dick, Mr. J. E. Modi, and the Rev. R. Scott—*Hony. Secretary.*

Visitors.

The Hon. Mr. Raleigh, The Hon. Mr. Justice Gooroodas Banerjee and Mr. A. Pedler, Members of the Indian Universities Commission, and Mr. J. H. Du Boulay (Private Secy. to H. E. Lord Northcote).

The Honorary Secretary read the following Report for 1901 :—

THE ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1901.

MEMBERS.

Resident.—Fifty-four members were elected during the year, and 2 non-resident members returned to Bombay and were added to the list of Resident Members. Twenty-seven members resigned, 21 retired, 5 died and 7, having left Bombay, desired to be transferred to the non-resident list. The total number of members at the close of 1901 was 291. The number at the end of 1900 was 295.

Non-Resident.—Six new members were added to this class and 7 were transferred from the list of Resident Members : 1 died and 2 were placed on the resident list. The number on the roll at the end of the year was 62. The number at the end of the preceding year was 52.

OBITUARY.

The Society regret to announce the loss by death during the year of the following members :—

RESIDENT.

Sir Dinshaw Manockjee Petit, Bart.
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade.
J. Jackson, Esq.
F. G. Parrott, Esq.
Col. C. B. Maitland.

NON-RESIDENT.

C. G. Dodgson, Esq., I.C.S.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The papers contributed to the Society during the year were :—

Time and Place of the Composition of the Gathas, by P. A. Wadia, M.A.

An Untranslated Chapter of the Bundehesh, by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

A New Chalukya Grant of Kirtivarma II, by K. B. Pathak, B.A.

Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastoor Meherji Rana, by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

A Note on the six Chalukya Gold Coins, found in the Bijapur District, by Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.

LIBRARY.

The total issues of books during the year were 36,648 volumes ; 25,137 of new books including periodicals and 11,511 of the old. The issues during 1900 were 35,029 volumes ; 23,991 of new books and 11,033 of the old.

A detailed statement of the monthly issues, together with daily average, exclusive of Sundays and Holidays, is subjoined.

	Old Books.	New Books.	Daily Average.
January	934	1,623	102
February	1,043	1,705	119
March	1,092	1,634	109
April	1,203	2,623	153
May	892	2,761	140
June	982	2,224	128
July...	1,065	2,293	124
August	1,058	2,125	122
September	865	2,221	128
October	904	2,282	122
November	657	1,779	101
December	816	1,867	112

The volumes of issues of old and new books arranged according to subjects are shown in the following table :—

Classes.	Volumes.
Novels	11,194
Miscellaneous and works on several subjects by the same Authors....	1,538
Biography and Personal Narratives	1,505
Voyages, Travels, &c.	1,067
History and Chronology	1,042
Oriental Literature	911
Naval and Military	595
Transactions of Learned Societies, Reviews, Magazines, &c.... ...	575
Politics, Political Economy, &c.	567
English Poetry and Drama	493
Religion and Theology	440
Philology, Literary History, &c.	350
Foreign Literature...	317
Medicine, Surgery and Physiology	310
Fine Arts, Architecture, &c.	276
Natural History, Geology, Chemistry, &c.	273
Archæology, Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry, &c....	216
Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy	205
Classics and Translations	190
Government Publications and Public Records	161
Botany, Agriculture and Horticulture	141
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Astronomy, &c.	105
Jurisprudence	91
Grammatical Works...	32
Logic and Rhetoric	27
Periodicals, in loose numbers	13,317

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library during 1901 were 1,043 volumes or parts of volumes. Of these 758 were added by purchase and 285 by presentation. The presents as usual were chiefly by the Bombay Government, the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, and the other Local Governments, and a few by individual authors and other donors.

The volumes of each class of books purchased and presented are shown in the subjoined table:—

	Purchased.	Presented.
Religion and Theology	13	1
Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy	6	...
Classics and Translations...	11	...
Philology, Literary History and Bibliography	10	...
History and Chronology	33	2
Politics, Political Economy, Trade and Commerce	9	20
Jurisprudence	4	6
Government Publications and Public Records	17	131
Biography and Personal Narratives	50	...
Archæology, Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry, &c. ...	5	6
Voyages, Travels, Geography and Topography...	29	2
English Poetry and Dramatic Works	15	1
Novels, Romances and Tales	247	...
Miscellaneous, and works on several subjects by the same Authors	51	3
Foreign Literature...	1	1
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics and Astronomy	6	2
Fine Arts and Architecture	14	3
Naval and Military Subjects	30	...
Natural History, Geology, Mineralogy and Chemistry ...	13	...
Botany, Agriculture and Horticulture	4	2
Medicine, Surgery and Physiology	7	3
Encyclopædias, Transactions of Learned Societies, Annuals and Serials, &c.	162	60
Dictionaries and Grammatical Works	5	...
Oriental Literature	16	42

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The Newspapers, Periodicals, and Journals and Transactions of Learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during the year were:—

Literary Monthlies	16
Illustrated Papers and Magazines	17

Scientific and Philosophical Journals, Transactions of Learned Societies, &c.	36
Reviews	14
English Newspapers	20
English and French Registers, Almanacs, Directories, &c.	14
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals	10
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals	11
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazettes ...	22
Indian Journals, Reviews, &c.	31

At a meeting of the Society called for under Article XX of the Rules for the Revision of the Newspapers, Periodicals, &c., taken by the Society, it was resolved to subscribe to :—

Country Life,
Benares Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series (for one year),
East and West;

and to discontinue—

Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Academie des Sciences,
India,
St. James' Budget,

from the beginning of 1902.

COIN CABINET.

The accessions to the Coin Cabinet during the year were 21; 2 gold, 11 silver, 4 copper, and 4 lead. All the coins were received from different Governments under the Treasure-Trove Act.

A detailed descriptive list of the coins is subjoined :—

Presented by the Bombay Government—

6 Silver coins of Aurangzeb, found in the Ratnagiri District.
1 Silver coin of Shah Jehan, found in the Ratnagiri District.
1 Silver coin of Shah Alam, found in the Ratnagiri District.
1 Gold coin of the Khaliffs, A. H. 80, found in the Ratnagiri District.
1 Copper coin of Ahmad Shah II., King of Gujerat, found in the Ahmedabad District.
1 Copper coin of Muzaffar Khan II., King of Gujerat, found in the Ahmedabad District.

1 Copper coin of Muzaffar Khan III., King of Gujerat, found in the Ahmedabad District.

1 Chalukya gold coin of Jagadekamalla, found in the Bijapur District.

Presented by the Government of the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh—

1 Silver coin of Asata Pala, King of Kabul.

2 Silver coins of Shah Alam II.

Presented by the Government of Madras—

1 Copper coin of Aurangzeb, found in Pattikondad Taluq, Kurnool District.

4 Leaden coins of the Andhra Dynasty (Horse Type), found in the village of Bathalapalli, Anantapur District.

JOURNAL.

Number 57 being the first number of a new volume (Vol. XXI), has been published and will be issued in a few days. With it will also be issued Index, Title-page, and Contents of Volume XX., which has been completed.

The new number contains the following papers and abstract of Proceedings of the Society for 1901, and a list of Books, Pamphlets, &c., presented to the Society during the period :—

On the Jaina Poem Rághavapándaviya, a Reply to Prof. Max Müller, by K. B. Pathak, B.A.

The Ancient Name of Sanjan, by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

Apastamba and Baudháyana, by K. B. Pathak, B.A.

Astronomy in its bearing on the Antiquity of the Aryans, by V. B. Ketkar, Esq.

Time and Place of the Composition of the Gathas, by P. A. Wadia, M.A.

An Untranslated Chapter of the Bundehesh, by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

A Note on some Chalukya Gold Coins, found in the Bijapur District, by Shridhar R. Bandarkar, M.A.

The following is a list of Governments, Learned Societies and other Institutions to which the Journal of the Society is presented :—

Bombay Government.
Government of India.
Government of Bengal.
Government of Madras.
Punjab Government.
Government, N.-W. Provinces and Oudh.
Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces.
Chief Commissioner, Coorg.
Resident, Hyderabad.
Government of Burmah.
Geological Survey of India.
G. T. Survey of India.
Marine Survey of India.
Bengal Asiatic Society.
Agricultural Society of India.
Literary Society of Madras.
Provincial Museum, Lucknow.
Bombay University.
Madras University.
Punjab University.
Mahabodhi Society, Calcutta.
Government Museum, Madras.
Indian Journal of Education, Madras.
R. A. Society, Ceylon Branch.
R. A. Society, North-China Branch.
The Asiatic Society of Japan.
Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences.
Strasburg Library.
Geographical Society, Vienna.
London Institution of Civil Engineers.
Royal Geographical Society, London.
Statistical Society, London.
Royal Astronomical Society.
Literary and Philosophical Society Manchester.
Imperial Academy of Science, St. Petersburg.
Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.
Royal Society of Edinburgh.
Deutsche Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig.
Literary and Philosophical Society, Liverpool.
British Museum, London.
Royal Society, London.
Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland.
Academié Real das Sciences de Lisboa.
Societé de Géographie Commercial de Bordeaux.
Societé de Géographie de Lyons.
Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Buda Pest).
Sociedad Geografica de Madrid.
Royal Dublin Society.
Societé Géographie de Paris.
Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences.
United States Survey.
Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna.

United Service Institution.
Minnesota Academy of Natural Science.
India Office Library.
London Bible Society.
Vienna Orientalische Museum.
Boston Society of Natural History.
Musee Guimét, Lyons.
Victoria Institution, London.
Royal Institution, Great Britain.
American Geographical Society.
American Oriental Society.
Hamilton Association, America.
Editor, Journal of Comparative Neurology, Granville, Ohio, U. S. A.
American Museum of Natural History.
Société Asiatique, Paris.
Geological Society, London.
Royal Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam.
American Philological Association, Cambridge.
Royal University, Upsala (Sweden).
Franklin Institute, Philadelphia.
University of Kansas, U. S. A.
Director, Missouri Botanical Garden.

ACCOUNTS.

A statement of receipts and disbursements during 1901 accompanies the Report. The total amount of subscriptions received from members during the year was Rs.11,509-14. The subscriptions in the year preceding amounted to Rs.10,673-5-5. There was besides a sum of Rs.500, on account of life subscription received from one Resident Member which has been duly invested in Government Securities as required by the Rules.

The balance at the end of the year was Rs.397-9-2 and the invested funds of the Society amount to Rs.14,700-0-0.

Address of Condolence to His Majesty the King on the death of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria.

The Committee of Management at their meeting on the 21st of February, resolved that an address, on behalf of the Society, expressing sorrow at the death of the Queen-Empress and offering condolence be sent to King Edward VII.

In accordance with this resolution, the following address was prepared and forwarded to the King, through His Excellency the Governor, the Patron of the Society : —

To

His Most Gracious Majesty Edward VII, By the Grace of God, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.

THE HUMBLE AND LOYAL ADDRESS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—We, the President and the Members of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society beg to offer to your Majesty our humble and sincere condolence on the death of your revered Mother of Glorious Memory, our late Queen-Empress.

This Society is a Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, having become incorporated therewith in the year 1829. The Royal Asiatic Society has always profited by the favour and sympathy of the reigning Sovereign, and our Great Empress, deeply interested as she was in all that concerned the welfare of her Indian subjects, never failed to give her gracious and warm encouragement to those whose labours were devoted to the languages and literatures of the East. The object of the Society had Her Majesty's approval and all earnest efforts to unlock the secrets of the past and to bring to light the thoughts of the ancestors of the peoples of this land were sure of her sympathy and of such furtherance as was in her power to give.

In common with your Majesty's subjects in all parts of the Empire, we bewail the loss of one so deeply revered and so greatly beloved as was the late Queen, while at the same time we give thanks to the memory of a life so gracious and so noble, and we beg to offer our respectful and sincere sympathy to Your Majesty and to Your Majesty's House in a sorrow which is shared by British subjects over all the world.

In conclusion we would respectfully tender our most earnest assurance of devoted loyalty to Your Majesty's throne and person.

(Sd). E. T. CANDY,
President.

(Sd). R. M. GRAY,
Hony. Secretary.

The Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan proposed the adoption of the Report.

The proposition being seconded by Mr. H. O. Quin, was carried.

On the motion of Mr. James MacDonald, seconded by Mr. K. R. Cama, the following Committee and Auditors were appointed for 1902:—

President.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice E. T. Candy, I.C.S.

Vice-Presidents.

James MacDonald, Esq.
Kharsetji Rastamji Cama, Esq.
M. Macmillan, B.A.
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandawarkar, B.A., LL.B.

Members.

D. MacDonald, M.D., B.SC., C.M.
Camrudin Amiruddin, B.A.
Framji R. Viccaji, B.A., LL.B.
The Hon'ble Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, KT.
Shams-ul-Ulma Jivanji Jamsetji Modi, B.A.
K. G. Desai, L.C.E.
Shams-ul-Ulma Dastur Darab P. Sanjana, B.A.
Prof. A. L. Covernton, M.A.
R. M. Watson-Smyth, Esq.
Khan Bahadur Darasha R. Chichgar.
Prof. W. H. Sharp, M.A.

J. E. Aspinwall, Esq.

The Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, M.A., D.D., LL.D.

A. M. T. Jackson, M.A., I.C.S.

Honorary Secretary.

The Rev. R. Scott, M.A.

Auditors.

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.

Framroze Ardesir Vakil, B.A., LL.B.

The President then briefly addressed the meeting, explaining the many advantages of the Society's library, as well as the lectures delivered by native scholars, offered to those who became members of that body. In conclusion he requested His Excellency the Governor, who was their patron, and who had kindly attended the meeting, to address a few words to them.

THE GOVERNOR'S SPEECH.

His Excellency the Governor then addressed the meeting as follows :—Though I have *ex-officio* the honour to be its patron, yet in attending the meeting to-day of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, let me premise that I am here as a *chela* and not as a *guru*. When we were originally constituted in 1804 I read that the subjects of our inquiries were to be divided into two classes—physical and moral. The former branch was to include Natural History, Mineralogy, Botany, Climatic Conditions, and Medicine. Our moral studies were to comprise every branch of information contained in the modern census—plus the origin and distribution of public wealth, prices of commodities, system of land tenure, rates of interest, commercial statistics of all sorts—these were only some of the problems the Asiatic Society was invited to solve. Well might Sir James Mackintosh point out the advantages Government would derive from an accurate knowledge of these problems—though I respectfully differ from the view he then expressed as to the facility with which the

investigations could be carried out. Indeed could our original programme have been fulfilled, the post of Governor of Bombay might well have been merged in that of patron of the Royal Asiatic Society. As a matter of fact, the Society has taken up its natural position of one for the promotion of the study of Oriental literature, antiquities, and geographical research; and if I may take the last report I have read as a fair average specimen of its proceedings, I think we are well justifying our existence. The class of readers to whom the Society's publications appeal must necessarily be limited, but the contributors to our reports work rather, we know, for the honour of the Society than for popular recognition. But even a person like myself, who has no pretension to claim more than the most superficial acquaintance with early Indian history or traditions must read with pleasure such lights as are thrown on the rise of the priestly and decline of the Kshatriya class in the interesting article on the "Samhita of the Rig Veda.' Again in the "Peep into the Early History of India" not only do I for one gather more accurate information than I possessed as to the circumstances of the foundation of the great Gupta Dynasty, but incidentally I find the illustrious law-giver King Asoka justifying the practices of modern Viceroys and Governors, by his instructions to his officers "to go on tour every five years for the inculcation of Dharma or righteousness, and for other matters," to which other matters I fear modern officials pay the most attention nowadays. And I need hardly say that the late Mr. Justice Ranade's "Introduction to the Peshwa's Diaries" is a paper, the interest and importance of which is fully appreciated by many who are not members of the Asiatic Society. If our financial circumstances hereafter should permit I should be very glad to see Government take part in the cost of the translation of the Diaries now at Poona, but this at present is unfortunately not practicable. One thing is certain, that for years to come there is an ample field in India for the labour of such a society as this; and most earnestly do I hope that its members in Bombay will continue to labour successfully to disseminate their valuable stores of learning amongst an increasingly appreciative public.

The Hon. Mr. Raleigh, in a few words, thanked the Chairman and members for offering him and his colleagues such hearty welcome.

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

Bombay Branch of the

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Balance on 31st December 1900	.....	485 11 2
Subscription of Resident Members	10,481 14 0	
Do. of Non-Resident Members	1,028 0 0	
Do. Resident Life Members	500 0 0	
Government Contribution	4,200 0 0	
Sale proceeds of Journal Numbers	242 1 6	
Do. of Catalogues	38 8 0	
Do. of Waste-papers	6 8 0	
Interest on Society's Government Paper	496 8 8	16,993 8 2
Total ... Rs.	.....	17,479 3 4

Examined and found correct.

H. R. H. WILKINSON,
FRAMROZ ARDESIR VAKIL, } *Auditors.*

Royal Asiatic Society.

from 1st January to 31st December 1901.

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Books purchased in Bombay	1,819 13 0	
Remittances to Messrs. Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.— Books ... ... Rs. ...584-15-5; English Newspapers and Periodicals ... ... „ 2,169-9-5	2,754 8 10	
Subscription to Indian Newspapers	315 0 0	
Printing Charges	668 4 0	
Do. of Journal Numbers	2,350 1 0	
Binding Charges	869 3 0	
Office Establishment	6,178 12 0	
General Charges	559 1 6	
Stationery	86 15 6	
Postage and Receipt Stamps	114 14 6	
Shipping and Landing Charges	12 14 6	
Gas Charges	77 10 4	
Insurance	312 8 0	
Grain Compensation	162 0 0	
Pension	300 0 0	16,581 10 2
Balance in Bank of Bombay	351 7 8	
Do. in hand	46 1 6	397 9 2
		16,979 3 4
Government Promissory Note Purchased	.....	500 0 0
Total ... Rs.	.....	17,479 3 4

Invested Funds.	Rs.	Rs.
Government Paper of the Society	11,700	
The Premchand Roychand Fund	3,000	
		14,700

R. SCOTT,
Honorary Secretary.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 13th November 1902.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following papers were then read:—(1) "The History of Gurjars and their Final Settlement in Gujerat," by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., and (2) "Portuguese Documents of the 17th and 18th Centuries relating to Parsees," by Mr. J. Godinho.

On the proposition of Mr. R. P. Karkaria, seconded by Mr. S.T. Bhandare, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Bhandarkar and Mr. Godinho for the papers contributed by them.

With regard to Mr. Godinho's paper, which contained translations of documents testifying to services rendered by Parsees to the Portuguese during their wars with the Marathas, there was considerable difference of opinion as to the light thrown on the history and the social position of the Parsees about the period to which the documents referred.

Mr. Karkaria, Mr. Bhandare, and Mr. Modi took part in the discussion.

A General Meeting of the Society, under Article XX of the Rules, was held on Thursday, the 28th November 1902, for the revision of the papers and periodicals, &c., taken by the Society.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

It was agreed first to consider the list for the present year.

After going over this list it was resolved that the following be discontinued from the commencement of the next year :—

Churchman.

Record.

LeMuseon.

Granthamâlâ.

The proposals from members with regard to new periodicals were then put to the vote, with the result that the "Hibbert Journal" was added to the list (for one year) and the "Revue de Paris" was substituted for the "Nouvelle Revue."

കേരള സാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി

LIST OF PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

1902.

Titles of Books. *Donors.*

ACCOUNTS of the Trade carried by Rail and River in India, 1901-02.
Government of India.

ACTS passed by the Governor-General of India in Council in 1901.
Government of India.

ADMINISTRATION Report, Bombay Improvement Trust, for the year ending 31st March 1902.
The Trustees.

——— Report, Bombay Jail Department, 1901.
Bombay Government.

——— Report, Bombay Port Trust, 1901-02.
The Trustees.

——— Report, Meteorological Department, Government of India, 1901-02.
Government of India.

——— Report, Municipal Commissioner of Bombay, 1900-01.
Municipal Commissioner, Bombay.

——— Report, N.-W. P. and Oudh, 1900-01.
N.-W. P. and Oudh Government.

——— Report of Irrigation Works in the Bombay Presidency, 1900-01.
Bombay Government.

——— Report, Persian Gulf Political Residency and Muscat Political Agency, 1901-02.
Government of India.

——— Report, Punjab Registration Department, for 1899-1900, 1900-01 and 1901-02.
Punjab Government.

——— Report, Railways in India for 1900-01.
Government of India.

——— Report of Bengal, 1900-01.
Bengal Government.

——— Report of the Bombay Presidency for 1900-01.
Bombay Government.

——— Report of Burma, 1900-01.
Chief Commissioner, Burma.

——— Report of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts, 1900-01.
The Resident.

——— Report of the Madras Presidency, 1900-01.
Madras Government.

ADMINISTRATION Report of the Punjab and its Dependencies for 1900-01.

Punjab Government.

——— Report, Central India Agency, for 1900-01.

Government of India.

——— Rajputana States and Ajmer-Merwara, 1900-01.

Government of India.

AGRICULTURAL Ledger, 1901, Nos. 13 & 14.

Government of India.

——— Ledger, 1902, Nos. 1—7.

Government of India.

——— Statistics of India, 1896-97 to 1900-01.

Government of India.

ANNOTATED Returns of the Dispensaries in Central India for 1900.

Government of India.

ANNUAL Report, Stamp Department, 1901 & 1902.

Bombay Government.

AREA and Yield, 1891-92 to 1901-02.

Government of India.

AUSTRALASIAN Association for the Advancement of Science, Report, 1900.

The Association.

BOMBAY Gazetteer—Gujerath Population—Hindus, Vol. IX., Part I.

Bombay Government.

——— Quarterly Civil List, January, 1902.

Bombay Government.

BRITISH Guinea Medical Annual, 1902. By A. T. Ozzard and C. P. Kennard.

The Authors.

BULLETIN of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XI., Part IV., 1901.

Smithsonian Institution.

——— of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XIV., 1901, and Vol. XV., Part I., 1901.

Smithsonian Institution.

——— of the Lloyd Library of Bostan, Pharmacy and Materia Medica, 1902.

Lloyd Library.

BUNDEHESH.

The Parsee Punchayat.

CINDRA-Vyakarana by Bruno Liebiet.

Duetschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.

CALENDAR, Bombay University, 1902-03.

Bombay University.

CALENDAR, Madras University, 1902-03.

Madras University.

——— Punjab University, 1902-03.

Punjab University.

CATALOGUE of Berlin Library, Latin MSS.

Berlin Library.

——— of Greek Coins, British Museum.

British Museum.

——— of Pali Singhalese and Sanskrit MSS. in the Colombo Museum Library.

Colombo Museum and Library.

CENSUS of India, 1901. Reports :—

Ajmer-Merwara, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Assam, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Baluchistan, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Baroda, 3 parts.

Bombay Government.

Bombay (Town and Island), 3 parts.

Bombay Government.

———(Presidency), 3 parts.

Bombay Government.

Berar, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Central India, 3 parts.

Bombay Government.

Central Provinces, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Coorg.

Bombay Government.

Gwalior, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Kashmir, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Madras, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

North-West-Provinces and Oudh, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Punjab, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Rajputana, 2 parts.

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عشر آخر ماه اسفندارمذ الهی سنه ۴۰

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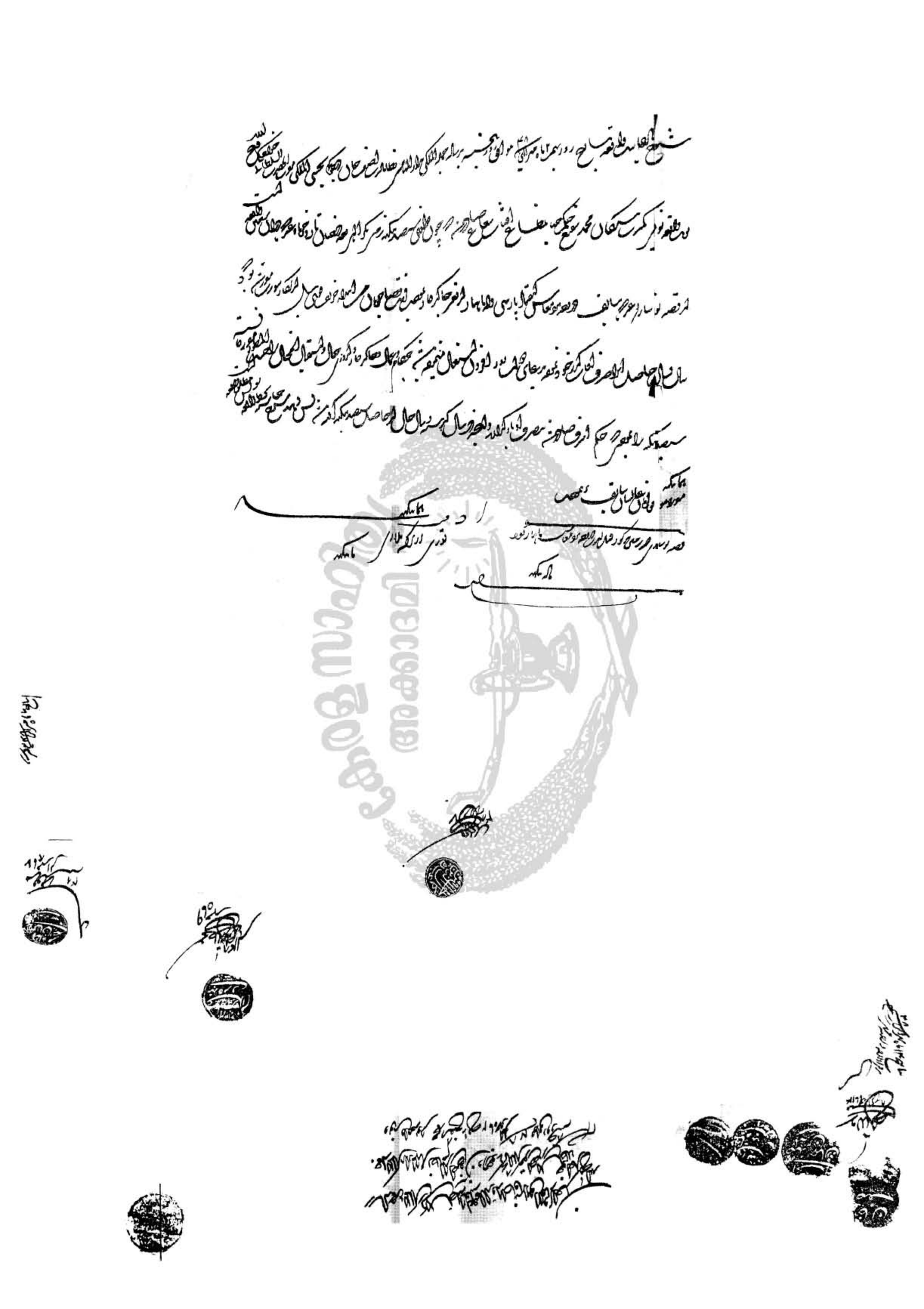

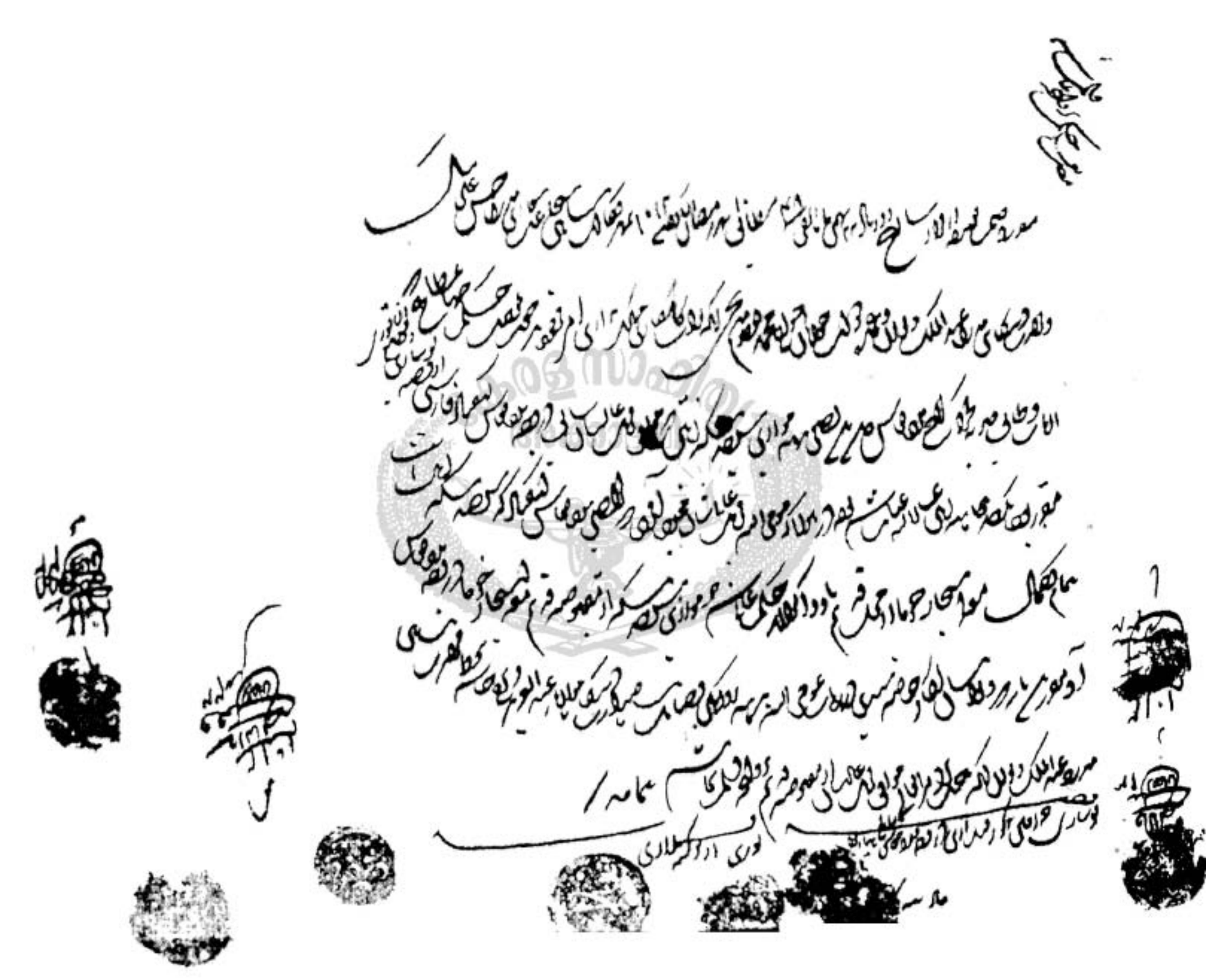

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الواحد

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मिस्त्र श्रीजमेननुसारीनीजोजत
मस्त केरबुद्धजत श्रीमत नवखो
नवाछिजे केरबुद्ध आपसनी नुअस्त
राछिते ए श्रीमहिरजीरीखी निरन्ह
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ते श्रीजमेननुगुनारुगार श्रीमईजि
त नवखोदईते ए श्रीमहिरजीवा
छानिपूछीदईते श्रीजमेननुगुनारुग्य
रशोजगु आदमाकतीरभीवतादउमर्के
कतबिसीमस्त केरबुद्ध

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१ प्रोवदफुरसे दस्ता
१ चौदखोआमाम ———
१ मदमउमभमत ———
१ प्रोवदमाईर ———
१ बहिरीमजेखेंग ———
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१ श्रीवदनोनबहिरंश

श्रीजीने मैं नुसारीनी जोगवेलो हेरमूं स्मरतन
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यावत संतानीन नवसो तपालगरत अंजीया
रीमधीजीकांई आवेते ए श्रीमहिरजीवाछनीन
सलीमकीहर ए श्रीमेहेरजीवाछानीमजेरजाके
ई अजीयारसमधीहुवाते वैतापू छेकांमकरेते वर
या१ इहलजेतागधीमलगुमेयीनन चूगपरे
ते होकु१लीइते हेनीमैंतीमेयीनन आपे इनीमू
ए श्रीमहिरजीवाछनीनसलीमकीहरहलमापाहू
केते अंतमैंनुगुकुने गारइनीमू ए महिरजी
नीचेहेते रहेसही रोजमिहिरमा१ हेइ स्वत
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१ बुसीनचांदामनु

१ आपेसीतनचांदा
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१ अंबकामंडेमंग
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१ आलिइकबारेमहीनमा
र

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१ सुलतानाबकोमही
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१ आलाआपुरआया

१ आ. आ. चांदपाकीम
हीनब नमाहाआप

१ आ. आमुरमेहमहि
रीमनाहीआर

१ बुयेरवीनयारे
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१ चांदमांडीफतह

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जिदिनीनीप्रस्तआपणशीकरीआप
णमिधिपेइलइतेअंबमनुगुनाहगा
रअनिदीयांतनीजेअंतसमारिजीव
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पुहुरमांजजबरिजिपुरमांशीशरव
जाबधरिजाबधरतांतजशीरनदीक
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तसमारिजीवनगारयांहितेजा
बधरिआपाजिनहीयांहिजाबध
रीशरवयांहिजइमहीहरमयपज
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१ अतजिमप्रस्तहेरबुद्धअध्यत्र

१ पीमहीआस्वाछ
१ जलेतशायांहाबुं
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यर्वेंत १५२९ उगागत्रीयो
ल्रावरमेरोण्होरमहामा
रुटरेवर ऊघेश्रीनागभेड
पश्वरऐपादआरा श्रीकेपक्ष
रस्माडावेण्राणेद्यापभीन
श्रीकृपेयमहपसोन्वापारे
पेयकुपधाल्पतोपयेया
मंनो यटेरमातनाआपोग
उज्भोगंमुल्थान्वयरवा
तयांगान्थाये देकेआंत्राय
दीत तथारुपूरेरज्भयेद
लेयमयरवजेदेतक्जंभेनु
आरी नीत्रेमभेदरवाछाणोय
लो ऐनोयवाडपीपलीआम
धेन्दुरीपीचो १० दचनाड ५०
पचायललज्पटर १०० ऐमओ
रुापपेआपऐनोभपदेवी
नङ्केशीपराावेयमहाजेदीत
भत्नीपलापेयटो

१ सुरीमीन
डोमपान

१ श्राडिमाधोयाय
कालन

१ मीरांज्मय प्रतरेगे॥

ना ग्रज्भ्याराम
पचन

१ लोकुरेयानकीगा

१ लोकुदेवणंभ
येद

१ लांधइर्पांत्राम्य
दीम

श्री दीनदीप
रविदीवानिजी

[illegible]:

संवत १५१६ [illegible]
[illegible] श्रीनागमंडलकोट [illegible]
[illegible] श्रीसुलतानमगपुर [illegible]
[illegible] श्रीश्रीयनसीरखापारे
[illegible] तथा श्रीसीपाद
[illegible] आसदीन माहियीन [illegible]
[illegible] सीपाद [illegible]
[illegible] माहियीयव [illegible]
[illegible] सागरव
[illegible] नेयीसीपाव [illegible]
[illegible] ताड १०० तथा [illegible]
[illegible] ताड [illegible]
[illegible] पालिताडव [illegible]
[illegible] पालिसम
[illegible] दीवान श्री [illegible]
[illegible]

१ [illegible]
१ [illegible] आसदीन माहियान
१ [illegible]
१ [illegible]
१ [illegible]
१ [illegible] माहियीय
१ [illegible] आसा माहियीय
१ [illegible] नईआरा [illegible]
१ [illegible]
१ [illegible] माहियीयां

१.स्री। म्हा श्रुत्र श्री आप दीन बंदिहुं नि
। नोम्म स्रलेकेनपदानाइ येहीबाद
। ब.वांदिम्यामदीन्हयाइ श्र गयाग
दे श्र होज स्यार बिगाहदता लिदीइ
। हिनु ऊदी वुनौनामुस्त बिदिहलि
हूंडे एक देव दे नाशन्नम मूश्री हीआ
। बानथ स्रलै. गिस्त्रिारएकुरिज
। रामुत्र्पानी निमत श्री श्री गौनबरि
हनी श्रदेनाजै दवाकु नेदवलैइनी
न बुक इसे वातको धव पर ए श्री. म
रजीरी पां नुबे दुयुडवीताबादक
। दीननी श्रीम्हया दरीकरवा मोकल
उकि प्रु बकि वाइ बकि डा दुकिनी
। तुकि डेदु श्रपरागी दी. निजो ईइ
दुवकि एद नीत तबु एलनै केब
। ाई करजो यहीरी. गु श्री ६ मा. श्रा
। संवत १६४६ वर्षे
नमस्र बहिदीन न दश्री गानुपद
नाई श्री की नादबास वु

Proceedings of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society,

1903.

A MEETING of the Society was held on the 17th January 1903,

MR. JAMES MACDONALD, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Prof. MacMillan, who was the Society's delegate to the Oriental Congress at Hanoi, then read a paper on the Congress, giving an interesting account of the various proceedings in connection with it.

The Chairman then moved a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. MacMillan for his interesting paper, which was carried by acclamation.

A vote of thanks was also passed to Count Francesco L. Pullé for the gift of a valuable work of his "Studi Italiana di Filologia Indo-Iranica."

The annual meeting of the Society was held on the 9th March 1903.

The Hon. Mr. Justice E. T. CANDY, President, in the chair.

The Hon. Secretary read the following Report for 1902 :—

THE ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1902.

MEMBERS.

Resident.—Thirty new members were elected during the year, and 5 Non-Resident members came to Bombay and were added to the list of Resident members. Thirty-one members resigned, 14 retired, 4 died and 7, having left Bombay, desired their names to be transferred to the Non-Resident list, and the names of 3 members were removed from the roll for non-payment of subscription. The total number at the end of the year was 267, including Life members. Of these 41 were absent from India for the whole year or portions of the year. The number at the end of the previous year was 291.

Non-Resident.—Thirteen new members were admitted under this class and 7 were transferred from the list of Resident members. Six members withdrew, 1 retired and 5 became Resident members. The number on the roll at the close of the year was 70 against 62 in the preceding year.

Of the Resident members who resigned during the year, the larger number were military officers, and gentlemen connected with Banks and Mercantile Firms, who withdrew from membership on account of their leaving Bombay.

OBITUARY.

The Society record with regret the death of the following members during the year :—

Prabhuram Jivanram Vaidya, Esq.
Dalpatram P. Khakkar, Esq.
Byramji N. Cama, Esq.
J. Leusle, Esq.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The Society received the following papers during the year :—

Shahee Dialect of Arabic. By Lt.-Col. A. S. G. Jayakar, I. M. S., (Retired).

The Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat. By the Rev. Dr. G. P. Taylor.

Dhar and Mandu. By Captain E. Barnes.

Epigraphic Notes. By D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.

Gurjars. By D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.

LIBRARY.

The total issue for the year was 37,104 volumes, comprising 26,054 volumes of new books, including periodicals, and 11,050 of the old—a daily average, excluding Sundays and Holidays, of 124 volumes. The issue in the previous year amounted to 36,648 volumes.

The issues of each month are noted in the subjoined table :—

	Old Books.	*New Books.*
January	951	2,507
February...	772	1,988
March	912	2,301
April	868	2,350
May	792	2,421
June	831	2,161
July	1,002	2,451
August	988	1,992
September	1,050	2,312
October	912	2,320
November	808	1,830
December	1,164	1,421

The volumes of issues of old and new books arranged according to subjects are shown in the following table :—

Subject.	*Volumes.*
Fiction	11,215
Miscellaneous, Collected Works, Essays, &c.	1,639
Biography	1,508
Voyages, Travels, Geography and Topography	1,020
History and Chronology	849
Oriental Literature	739
Reviews, Magazines, Transactions of Learned Societies, &c. (in bound volumes)	635
Politics, Political Economy	606
Naval and Military	439
Poetry and Drama	419
Art, Architecture, Engineering, &c.	362
Philology, Literary History and Bibliography	321
Religion and Theology	310
Classics and Translations	274
Philosophy	225
Foreign Literature	204
Archæology, Antiquities, Numismatics, &c.	201
Government Publications and Public Records	184
Natural History, Geology, Mineralogy and Ethnography	184
Medicine, Surgery and Physiology	145
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Astronomy	144
Botany, Agriculture and Horticulture	113
Grammatical Works	79
Law	76
Logic, Rhetoric, &c.	22
Periodicals in loose numbers...	15,191

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The accessions to the Library during the year numbered 1,174 volumes. Of these 766 volumes were acquired by purchase and 408 by gift.

Presents of books were, as usual, received from the Bombay Government, the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, and the other Local Governments, and a few from individual authors and donors.

Among the books presented during the year was a valuable collection of works on Oriential literature and philology, received from Mr. A. M. T. Jackson. These books have been placed in a case by themselves. There were also received, from the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat, books on Iranian subjects.

The volumes belonging to each class of books purchased and presented to the Society in 1902 are shown in the subjoined table:

	Purchased.	*Presented.*
Religion and Theology	21	3
Philosophy	11	...
Classics and Translations	7	...
Philology, Literary History and Bibliography ...	13	11
History and Chronology	27	4
Politics, Political Economy, Trade and Commerce, &c.	17	8
Law	3	9
Government Publications and Public Records ...	13	159
Biography	49	...
Archæology, Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry, &c.	7	27
Voyages, Travels, Geography and Topography ...	41	5
Poetry and Drama	16	...
Fiction	239	...
Miscellaneous, Collected Works, Essays, &c. ...	37	2
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Astronomy, &c.	4	1
Art, Music, Engineering, &c.	31	...
Naval and Military	18	1
Natural History, Geology, Mineralogy and Ethnology	11	1
Botany, Agriculture and Horticulture	5	3
Medicine, Surgery and Physiology	6	...
Annuals, Serials, Encyclopædias, Transactions of Learned Societies, &c.	178	90
Dictionaries and Grammatical Works	6	33
Oriental Literature	6	51

Newspapers and Periodicals.

The Newspapers, Periodicals, and Journals and Transactions of Learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during the year were:—

Literary Monthlies	16
Illustrated	18
Scientific and Philosophical Journals, Transactions of Learned Societies, &c.	35
Reviews	15
English Newspapers	18
English Registers, Almanacs, Directories, &c.	13
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals	10

American Literary and Scientific Periodicals	...	...	11
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazettes	...	...	20
Indian Journals, Reviews, &c.	...	...	30

A meeting of the Society, as required by Article XX of the Rules, was held in November, for the revision of the Newspapers, Periodicals, &c., taken by the Society.

At this meeting it was resolved to discontinue—

The Churchman,
The Record,
Le Muséon,
The Grantha Mālā,
La Nouvelle Revue,

and to subscribe to

The Hibbert Journal (for one year),
La Revue de Paris,

from the commencement of 1903.

Coin Cabinet.

The Cabinet received an addition of 14 coins during the year. Of these 2 were gold, 8 silver, and 4 copper. They were all received under the Treasure Trove Act.

A detailed list is subjoined.

Presented by the Bombay Government :—

1 Gold Coin of Shri Pratap Harihar (Vijayanagar dynasty), found in the Parner Taluka, Ahmednagar District.

1 Gold Coin of Shri Pratap Deva Raya (Vijayanagar dynasty), found in the Poona District.

1 Silver Coin of Jehangir, found in the Ahmedabad District.

1 Silver Coin of the Western Satraps, found in the Dholka Taluka, Ahmedabad.

Presented by the Collector of Belgaum :—

6 Silver Coins of the Malabar Coast and Travancore current in the 17th and 18th Centuries, A. D.

4 Copper Coins of the Malabar Coast and Travancore found in the possession of a wandering mendicant who died in Sadalgi, in Chikodi Taluka, Belgaum District.

Journal.

Number 58, forming the second number of Vol. XXI of the Journal, has been published. It contains the following papers and an abstract of the proceedings of the Society for 1902, with a list of books, pamphlets, &c., presented to it during the year :—

The Parsis at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana. By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

The Shahee Dialect of Arabic. By Lt.-Col. A. S. G. Jayakar, I.M.S. (Retired).

The Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat. By the Rev. Dr. G. P. Taylor, M.A.

Dhar and Mandu. By Capt. Ernest Barnes, I.S.C.

Epigraphic Notes and Questions. By D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.

Gurjars. By D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.

and an appendix, a classified list of Sanskrit MSS. in the Society's Library, No. I. (The Bhagvanlal Indraji Collection).

The following is a list of Governments, Learned Societies and other Institutions to which the Journal of the Society is presented :—

Bombay Government.
Government of India.
Government of Bengal.
Government of Madras.
Punjab Government.
Government N. W. Provinces and Oudh.
Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces.
Chief Commissioner, Coorg.
Resident, Hyderabad.
Government of Burma.
Geological Survey of India.
G. T. Survey of India.
Marine Survey of India.
Bengal Asiatic Society.
Agricultural Society of India.
Literary Society of Madras.
Provincial Museum, Lucknow.
Bombay University.
Madras University.
Punjab University.
Mahabodhi Society, Calcutta.
Government Museum, Madras.
Indian Journal of Education, Madras.
R. A. Society, Ceylon Branch.
R. A. Society, North-China Branch.
The Asiatic Society of Japan.
Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences.
Strasburg Library.
Geographical Society, Vienna.
London Institution of Civil Engineers.
Royal Geographical Society, London.
Statistical Society, London.
Royal Astronomical Society.
Literary and Philosophical Society, Manchester.
Imperial Academy of Science, St. Petersburg.
Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.
Royal Society of Edinburgh.
Deutsche Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig.
Literary and Philosophical Society, Liverpool.
British Museum, London.
Royal Society, London.
Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland.
Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa.
Societé de Géographie Commercial de Bordeaux.
Societé de Géographie de Lyons.
Hungarian Academy of Sciences, (Buda Pest).
Sociedad Geografica de Madrid.

Royal Dublin Society.
Societé Géographie de Paris.
Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences.
United States Survey.
Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenchaften, Vienna.
United Service Institution.
Minnesota Academy of Natural Science.
India Office Library.
London Bible Society.
Vienna Orientalische Museum.
Boston Society of Natural History.
Musee Guimét, Lyons.
Victoria Institution, London.
Royal Institution, Great Britain.
American Geographical Society.
American Oriental Society.
Hamilton Association, America.
Editor, Journal of Comparative Neurology, Granville, Ohio, U. S. A.
American Museum of Natural History.
Societe Asiatique, Paris.
Geological Society, London.
Royal Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam.
American Philological Association, Cambridge.
Royal University, Upsala (Sweden).
Franklin Institute, Philadelphia.
University of Kansas, U. S. A.
Director, Missouri Botanical Garden.
L'Ecole Française de Extréme Orient.
Royal Institute of Philology and Ethnology of Netherlands India.

ACCOUNTS.

A statement of accounts for 1902 is appended, giving details of income and expenditure during the year. The total amount of subscriptions collected was Rs. 10,880-6-8. The subscription received in 1901 amounted to Rs. 11,509-14-0. There was, besides, a sum of Rs. 120 received on account of life-subscription from one Non-Resident member, which has been duly invested in Government Securities as required by the Rules.

The balance to the credit of the Society at the end of the year was Rs. 659-6-11 and the invested funds amount to Rs. 14,800.

ORIENTAL CONGRESS AT HANOI.

A Society of French savants, presided over by Dr. Senart, invited an International Congress of Orientalists to meet at Hanoi, in the first week of December, for the purpose of carrying on researches on subjects relating to India and the Far East.

The Director of the Ecole Française d'Extréme-Orient, which had been entrusted with the organisation of the Congress, and the French Consul at Bombay, on behalf of the French Government, sent an invitation to the Society, expressing a hope that it would be pleased to be represented at the Congress, adding that the delegates would be given a free passage, first-class, by the Messageries Maritimes Steamers, to and from Indo-China.

In pursuance of this invitation the Committee of Management nominated Principal M. MacMillan and Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar as the Society's Delegates. Dr. Bhandarkar, however, was not able to accept the invitation. Principal MacMillan accepted and read a paper and otherwise took part in the proceedings of the Congress.

On the motion of the Hon. Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, seconded by the Hon. Mr. Dick, the report was adopted.

On the motion of Mr. G. A. Kittredge, seconded by Mr. Furdoonjee Jamsetjee Parekh, the following Committee for the current year was appointed :—

President.

The Hon'ble Mr. E. M. H. Fulton, I.C.S.

Vice-Presidents.

James MacDonald, Esq.
Kharsetji R. Cama, Esq.
Principal M. Macmillan.
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar.

Members.

Camrudin Amirudin, Esq.
Framji R. Vicaji, Esq.
The Hon'ble Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt.
Shams-ul-Ulma Jivanji J. Modi.
Rao Bahadur K. G. Desai.
Shams-ul-Ulma Dastur Darab P. Sanjana.
Prof. A. L. Covernton.
Khan Bahadur Darasha R. Chichgar.
J. E. Aspinwall, Esq.
Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan.
A. M. T. Jackson, Esq., I. C. S.
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. Batty.

Honorary Secretary.

Rev. R. Scott.

Honorary Auditors.

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.
Framroze A. Vakil, Esq.

Thanks to the Retiring President.

The Rev. Dr. Mackichan then moved "That the members of the Society, in view of the early departure of the Hon. Mr. Justice Candy from India, desire to place on record their high and grateful appreciation of his services to them as a member of the Committee and for the last four years as President. In all questions that have arisen respecting the management of the Society, or the rooms it occupies, Mr. Candy has brought to it the full benefit of his experience and influence.

His attention to the interests of the Society has been constant, and his helpful counsel highly beneficial. The members, in bidding him good-bye, wish him many years of the highest happiness."

Dr. Mackichan said this was the last occasion on which Mr. Candy would preside at the Society. They had already accepted his successor in the chair, and they had thus said their official farewell to him. It would be unbecoming on their part, however, to content themselves with such a formal farewell for the valuable services he had rendered. Mr. Candy, in whatever office or duty he undertook, put his whole heart and soul into his work. He showed energy and an amount of zeal which called for their warmest recognition. His connection for many years with the Society had now terminated; and they had this last opportunity of placing on record their appreciation of his services. They wished him every blessing on his departure from India, and trusted he might be spared for many long years in his homeland to interest himself in the prosperity of the Society.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, in seconding the proposition, said: There was the disadvantage of speaking of Mr. Candy in his presence, but, he thought, he ought to say that he knew Mr. Candy in another place, and they were all indebted to him for his qualities of head and heart, especially for his work outside the sphere of his official duties. Either as a Judge or on the administrative side of the High Court they knew how conscientious and hardworking he had been. As Vice-Chancellor of the University or President of this Society, his work had always been conscientious, and he had done a good deal of work for both the institutions.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Candy in reply said, he felt very much the kindness they had shown him, and was most grateful for the terms of the Resolution. He might say a few words on the spur of the moment, and he felt no elaborate preparation, no ornate sentences were necessary. No man, however, could leave the land of his birth without feeling a wrench at parting from it, for he was born at Mahableshwar in 1845 and had spent thirty-seven or thirty-eight years in service. His father had passed fifty-six years of his life in India. The associations of his service for the last 14 or 15 years in connection with this Society would, he believed, stand out very brightly, because in the rooms of the Society, European and Native gentlemen were brought into contact in an informal way. After a long day's toil as a Judge he enjoyed passing an hour in the rooms of the Society. They had very kindly said he had done all in his power for the benefit of the Society, but he might say that beyond attending all meetings and making efforts for the good of the Society, he had done nothing special. He wished every prosperity to the Society, and in saying farewell he did so from the bottom of his heart and in all sincerity. (*Applause.*)

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements

	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Balance on 31st December 1901 ...	.....	397 9 2
Subscription of Resident Members ...	9,719 2 8	
Do. of Non-Resident Members	1,161 4 0	
Do. of Life Members	120 0 0	
Government Contribution	4,200 0 0	
Sale Proceeds of Journal Numbers ...	267 6 0	
Do. of Catalogues	58 5 0	
Do. of Waste papers, &c. ...	10 0 0	
Interest on Society's Government Paper	507 10 9	16,043 12 5
Total Rs...	.....	16,441 5 7

Examined and found correct.

FRAMROZ ARDESIR VAKIL,

Auditor.

7-3-03.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

from 1st January to 31st December 1902.

	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Books purchased in Bombay ...	2,907	2	6			
Remittances to Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.— Books ... ... Rs. 745-8-8; Periodicals & Papers... ,, 2,017-3-4	2,762	12	0			
Subscription to Indian Newspapers ...	311	8	0			
Printing Charges	527	4	0			
Do. of Journal Number	694	8	0			
Binding Charges	863	13	0			
Office Establishment	6,150	12	0			
General Charges	316	6	7			
Stationery	84	4	9			
Postage and Receipt Stamps	118	10	9			
Shipping and Landing Charges ...	12	5	0			
Gas Charges	129	0	9			
Insurance	312	8	0			
Grain Compensation	160	8	0			
Pension	300	0	0			
Govt. Promissory Note purchased ...	100	0	0			
				15,751	7	4
Balance in Bank of Bombay	659	6	11			
Do. in hand...	30	7	4	689	14	3
Total Rs....	.....			16,441	5	7

Invested Funds.	Rs.	Rs.
Government Paper of the Society	11,800	
Premchand Roychand Fund	3,000	
		14,800

R. SCOTT,

Honorary Secretary.

A meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 10th March 1903.

Principal M. MacMillan, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Professor MacMillan, in introducing Count Pullé, remarked, that he had been urged at Hamburg by Dr. Stein and other savants present at the Congress of Orientalists to visit India and make known there his great collection of maps with a view to the publication of a complete atlas of Indian cartography. He had embraced the opportunity afforded by his invitation to the Congress of Hanoi, and on his way back from Indo-China had made a stay of more than two months in India. In carrying out this intention he had received every support from the Italian Government. Signor Nunzio Nasi, the Italian Minister of Public Instruction, who had appointed Count Pullé to represent the Italian Government at the Congress of Hanoi, had given him permission to stay three months in India on his way back. Simultaneously with his more learned studies in India, Count Pullé was able to collect facts concerning the artistic and industrial progress of India, which he will, on his return to Italy, submit to Signor Guido Baccelli, the present Minister of Industry and Commerce, who, under the presidency of Signor Zanardelli, the leader of the movement now in progress in Italy for the extension of peaceful enterprise in new directions, co-operates with Signor Nasi, the Minister of Public Instruction, in promoting peaceful relations, intellectual and industrial, between Italy and the East. Count Pullé was doing a good work by bringing India and Italy into closer relations, and it was a pleasure and an honour for the Bombay Asiatic Society to have the opportunity of hearing him on the eve of his departure.

Count Pullé, after a few introductory remarks in English, proceeded to deliver the body of his discourse in French. Even those of the audience who were not masters of that language were able to follow the main lines of the address, owing to the constant references made by the lecturer to the splendid collection of maps arranged in chronological order round the lecture room. These maps showed the gradual progress made by the world in the knowledge of Indian geography from the earliest maps extant of Indian, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Persian and Arabic origin to the time of the discovery by Vasco da Gama of the Cape route to India. In the two centuries before Vasco da Gama, the maps of India, as represented in Italian books, approached more and more closely to its correct form, which showed that during the middle ages and at the time of the Renaissance there was a considerable amount of intercourse between Europe and the East. Several Italian

travellers had visited India during this period, and India was well known in Italy long before the Portuguese went round the Cape. After the time of Vasco da Gama there were two distinct schools of Indian cartography, the Portuguese and the Italian. The French, the Dutch, the Germans, and apparently the English based their ideas of the shape of India on the maps made by the Portuguese, but the Italian maps nevertheless were much more correct. The difference between the forms of the Indian peninsula conceived by the two schools of cartography were clearly seen in the maps exhibited by the lecturer. "The study of Indian cartography," remarked Count Pullé in conclusion, "besides its special end with regard to the history of the geographical descriptions of India, contributes also to another class of observations, namely, to the history of the relations which have existed for centuries between the East and the West, and especially between India and Italy, relations of sympathy connected with commercial and intellectual interests. The progress of the study of Sanskrit, and of Indian art, archæology, and ethnology has made uninterrupted progress in Italy since. My friends and masters, Paolo Montegazza and Angelo de Gubernatis, travelled to India. I will try to do my best that my brief sojourn in your country may aid in strengthening good relations between India and England, and I must sincerely thank you, members of the Bombay Asiatic Society, since it is owing to you that the last hour of my sojourn has been spent in expounding an Italian work designed to further the knowledge of your ancient and glorious country."

Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, said :—Mr. MacMillan, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure you will all join with me in voting a hearty vote of thanks to Count Pullé for the very interesting account he has given us of his magnificent collection of maps. It is not often that we in Bombay have the chance of hearing from a scholar of acknowledged authority in Europe his own account of his researches. It is, therefore, with all the greater warmth that we welcome those scholars who from time to time do honour our meetings with their presence. Count Pullé in his very interesting address did not deal with the question of the age of that representation of the earth which we find in the Lokaprakasha which is based on the puranic geography. The age of the puranas is still a matter of dispute, but I for one should not be at all surprised to find it turn out to be at least as old as Alexander's invasion of India. Ptolemy's erroneous picture of India was due to the belief that its width was greater than its length. It is perhaps hardly to be regretted that in Christian Europe his views were superseded by the crude speculations of Cosmas, which dominated the ideas of geographers well on into the middle ages. The Ptolemaic tradition was preserved by the Arabs, and no doubt influenced Ibn Hangal in his

very crude maps in spite of the fact that he had himself travelled in India. Count Pullé justly lays stress on the fact that the Italian travellers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were really the first to give Europe a correct knowledge of India. But for a very long period the trading nations of Europe followed in their maps the less correct views of the Portuguese navigators. In fact, our English maps of India remained very defective down to nearly the end of the eighteenth century, when Major Rennell first prepared a correct map of India. In conclusion, I have no doubt you will join with me in wishing Count Pullé a pleasant and prosperous voyage.

The vote was seconded by Mr. J. J. Modi and was carried by acclamation.

A meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 7th April 1903.

Mr. J. MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Prin. MacMillan then read a paper on "Matheran Folk Songs."

Remarks were made by Messrs. J. J. Modi and J. C. Coyaji, and a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. MacMillan for his interesting paper.

A meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 13th July 1903.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi then read the following papers :—

(1) Anquetil Du Perron's Notes on King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana (lately discovered in the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris).

(2) References to China in the Ancient Books of the Parsees.

On the motion of Mr. K. R. Cama and Mr. S. T. Bhandare, supported by Mr. Camruddin Amiruddin, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Modi for the interesting papers he had read.

A meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 22nd September 1903.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. R. K. Dadachanji then read a paper on the Cyropædia of Xenophon.

On the proposition of Mr. K. R. Cama, seconded Mr. J. J. Modi, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Dadachanji for the paper he read.

A general meeting of the Society under article XX of the Rules was held on Thursday, the 26th November 1903, for the revision of the list of papers, periodicals, &c., taken by the Society.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

No proposals were received from members suggesting alterations or additions.

The meeting went over the existing list, and it was resolved that it should remain as it is.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 17th December 1903.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following papers were then read :—

(1) "Discovery of Ancient Brahmi Script in Kashmir." By the Rev. J. E. Abbott, D.D.

(2) "Shivaji's Swarajya." By Mr. Purshottamdas Vishram Mawjee.

On the motion of Mr. S. T. Bhandare, seconded by Mr. J. P. Watson, a vote of thanks was passed to the Rev. Dr. Abbott and Mr. Purshottamdass Vishram for the interesting papers they read.

List of Presents to the Library.

1903.

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ACTS passed by the Governor-General of India in Council in 1902.	Government of India.
ADMINISTRATION Report, Baluchistan Agency, 1901-02.	Government of India.
——— Report, Bengal, for 1901-02.	Bengal Government.
——— Report, Bombay Presidency, 1901-02.	Bombay Government.
——— Report, Burma, 1901-02.	Burma Government.
——— Report, Forest Department, Bombay Presidency, including Sind, for 1901-02.	Bombay Government.
——— Report, Hyderabad Assigned Districts, 1901-02.	The Resident.
——— Report, Madras, 1901-02.	Madras Government.
——— Report of the Lower Provinces of Bengal during the Lieut.-Governorship of Sir John Woodburne (Supplement to the General Annual Administration Report of 1901-02).	Bengal Government.
——— Report of the Persian Gulf Political Residency and Muscat Political Agency for 1902-03.	Government of India.
——— Report of the Railways in India, 1902.	Government of India.
——— Report of the Rajputana States and Ajmere-Merwara, 1901-02.	Government of India.
——— Report of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, 1901-02.	U. P. of Agra and Oudh Government.
——— Report, Punjab, 1901-02.	Punjab Government.

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ACCOUNT of the Operations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, Vol. XVII.

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——— Factory Report, Bombay Presidency, 1902.

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——— Report of the working of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act XIII of 1900.

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——— Report, Reformatory School, Yerrowda, 1902.
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